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TO

THE RIGHT HONOURABLE

THE EARL OF BUTE.

MY LORD,

I Have the Honour to preſent to your LORDSHIP a Tranſlation of the Hiſtory of MEXICO, written by a Native of that Country. The Obligation I am under to your LORDSHIP for an Acquaintance with the Original, and the Relation which every Effort to diſſeminate pleaſing and inſtructive Knowledge, bears to your Lordſhip's Life and Manners, have dictated this Addreſs. I chearfully lent my

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DEDICATION.

Induſtry to aſſiſt an Advocate in the Cauſe of Truth, who ſaw her Intereſts abandoned, and felt for her Oppreſſion. Though the Taſk might eaſily have fallen into abler Hands, I dare freely appeal to your LORDSHIP for the Fidelity of my Labours.

I have the Honour to be, with the utmoſt Reſpect,

MY LORD,

Your LORDSHIP's much obliged,

And moſt obedient humble Servant,

CHARLES CULLEN.

TRANSLATOR's PREFACE.

THE diſcovery of America conſtitutes one of the moſt remarkable æras of the world; and the hiſtory of it a ſubject not only curious but univerſally intereſting, from its various connections with almoſt every other part of the globe. The Spaniſh hiſtorians of the two preceding centuries have done little towards elucidating this point. Partiality, prejudice, ignorance, and credulity, have occaſioned them all to blend ſo many abſurdities and improbabilities with their accounts, that it has not been merely difficult, but altogether impoſſible, to aſcertain the truth. To collect from their ſcattered materials whatever wore the face of probability, that was naturally curious, or politically intereſting, ſo as to form one uniform conſiſtent relation of the whole, was a taſk in which, for a long time, no modern writer dared to engage. Dr. Robertſon at laſt undertook, and executed it with the applauſe due to his beauty of ſtyle, his induſtry, and his judgment.

But notwithſtanding the aſſiduity of his reſearches, and the pains he has taken to extricate facts from the confuſion of different authors, as what is true does not always appear poſſible, and what appears probable is not always true, he has not entirely ſucceeded, though he has done all that

could be expected. The want of many eſſential documents, which are preſerved in archives of the new world, and other diſadvantages attending the ſituation of a writer at a diſtance from that continent, unacquainted with its languages, productions, or people, perhaps, have made him diffident of entering into very minute details, or of dwelling upon grounds where he was uncertain of being accurate, and induced him, rather than offer conjectures which might not have reached the truth reſpecting that country and its inhabitants, to adhere to records more authentic concerning the diſcoverers of it.

This conduct, however prudent, has left the American ſide of the picture ſtill greatly in the dark. The Abbé Raynal and M. de Paw have not contributed much to remedy this defect. The hiſtory of Mexico, by the Abbé Clavigero, a native of Vera Cruz, who reſided near forty years in the provinces of New Spain, examined its natural produce, acquired the language of the Mexicans and other nations, gathered many of their traditions, ſtudied their hiſtorical paintings, and other monuments of antiquity, it is preſumed, has ſupplied their deficiencies. The tranſlator, therefore, hopes the preſent work which contains all the valuable matter of other authors, beſides many important particulars never before publiſhed, will prove acceptable to the public.

PRE-

PREFACE.

THE hiſtory of Mexico, undertaken in order to avoid the pain and reproach of idleneſs to which I found my life condemned, to ſerve to the utmoſt of my power my native country, and to reſtore to their full light truths obſcured by an incredible number of modern writers on America, has been a taſk equally laborious, difficult, and expenſive. Excluſive of the great expences occaſioned by procuring from Cadiz, Madrid, and other cities of Europe, the books which were neceſſary to my purpoſe, I have read and examined every publication which has appeared hitherto on the ſubject: I have compared the accounts of authors, and critically weighed their authority; I have ſtudied many hiſtorical paintings of the Mexicans; I have profited from their manuſcripts, which I read formerly in Mexico; and conſulted with many perſons well acquainted with theſe countries. In addition to ſuch diligence I might add, to give credit to my labours, that I reſided thirty-ſix years in that extenſive kingdom; acquired the Mexican language, and for ſeveral years converſed with the Mexicans, whoſe hiſtory I write. I do not, however, flatter myſelf with having been able to give a perfect work; ſince, beſides finding myſelf unpoſſeſſed of thoſe endowments of genius, judgment, and eloquence, which are the requiſites of a good hiſtorian, the loſs of the greateſt part of the Mexican paintings, and the want of many valuable manuſcripts which are preſerved in different libraries of Mexico, and required repeated conſultation, are inſuperable obſtacles to any one who undertakes ſuch a hiſtory, particularly at a conſiderable diſtance from theſe countries. Nevertheleſs, I hope my work will be acceptable; not on account of the elegance of

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the ſtyle, the beauty of the deſcriptions, the magnitude of the events, or the weight of the opinions delivered in it; but from the diligence of my reſearches, the integrity of my relation, and the ſervice done to the learned, who are deſirous of being made acquainted with the hiſtory of Mexico.

At the perſuaſion of ſome perſons of learning, I wrote the Eſſay on the Natural Hiſtory of Mexico, contained in the firſt book, which I had not before judged neceſſary; and it may, in the opinion of many, be conſidered as foreign to the purpoſe: but not to deviate from my ſubject, I have connected the account of natural productions with the general hiſtory, by mentioning the uſe which the Mexicans made of them. On the other hand, to thoſe who are attached to the ſtudy of Natural Hiſtory, this eſſay will appear, what in truth it is, too confined and ſuperficial; but to ſatisfy the curious on that ſubject, it would be neceſſary to write a work very different from that which I have undertaken. At the ſame time, I ſhould have ſpared myſelf a great deal of trouble, if I had not been obliged to comply with the ſolicitations of my friends; as in writing that ſketch of Natural Hiſtory, I found it neceſſary to ſtudy the works of Pliny, Dioſcorides, Laet, Hernandez, Ulloa, Buffon, Bomare, and other naturaliſts; not content with what I had ſeen myſelf, or the information I had received from intelligent people to whom thoſe countries were well known.

In this hiſtory, nothing has been more anxiouſly ſtudied than fidelity; I might have abridged my labours, and, perhaps, rendered my work more acceptable to many, if all the diligence which I uſed to inveſtigate facts, had been employed to ſtrew the relation with philoſophical and political reflexions, or fictions of capricious invention, after the example of many authors in this boaſted age; but to me, as to thoſe who are the ſworn enemies of deceit, falſehood, or affectation, truth appears a beauty whoſe charms increaſe in proportion to her ſimplicity of dreſs. In recounting the events of the conqueſt made by the Spaniards, I have equally abſtained from the panegyric of Solis, or the in-

invectives of Las Caſas (*a*); being unwilling either to flatter or calumniate my countrymen. I have left facts in the ſame degree of certainty, or probability, in which I found them; wherever I could not aſcertain an event on account of the diſagreement among authors, as for example, the death of Montezuma, I have faithfully reported their different opinions, without having omitted, however, ſuch additional conjectures as reflexion on the ſubject has ſuggeſted. In ſhort, I have always had before my eyes the two ſacred laws of hiſtory; not to dare to ſpeak what is falſe; nor to fear to ſpeak what is true: and I flatter myſelf I have violated neither.

I do not doubt there may be readers too nice and refined to bear with the harſhneſs of ſo many Mexican names as are ſcattered through this hiſtory; but it is an evil which I have not been able to remedy, without hazarding another defect leſs tolerable, though ſufficiently common in almoſt all the Europeans who have written on America, that is, the altering of names, for the purpoſe of ſoftening them, until they are rendered unintelligible. Who would be capable of divining that De Solis ſpeaks of Quauhnahuac, when he ſays *Quatlabaca*; of Huejotlipan, where he ſubſtitutes *Guaſipar*; or of Cuitlalpitoc, where he writes *Pilpatoc*? I have therefore thought it moſt ſafe to imitate the example of thoſe modern writers, who, whenever they introduce into their works the names of perſons, places, or rivers, of any particular country of Europe, write them in the language of its reſpective nation; and in the writings of theſe authors there are names taken from the German, and other tongues, fully harſher to the ear, from the greater concourſe of rough conſonants, than any of the words I have made uſe of. I do not, however, reject names that have been formerly altered, by which there is no danger of being deceived, as they are generally known.

With reſpect to the geography of Anahuac, I have uſed every endeavour to render it correct; availing myſelf of the knowledge which I

(*a*) I do not mean to charge Solis with flattery, nor Las Caſas with calumny: all I wiſh to be underſtood is, that I could not adopt the ſentiments of Solis, who was ambitious of aggrandizing his hero; nor of Las Caſas, who was fired with pious zeal in behalf of the Indians, without accuſing myſelf of both.

gained in many excurſions through that country, as well as the information and writings of others; after all, I have not entirely ſucceeded; for, in ſpite of my moſt earneſt attempts, I have not been able to procure the few incomplete aſtronomical obſervations which have been made on theſe places. The ſituation, therefore, and diſtances mentioned in the body of the hiſtory, as well as in the chart, are not to be conſidered as being aſcertained with that preciſion and accuracy which are required from a geographer; but according to ſuch computation as could be made by an attentive ſurveyor who judged by the eye. I have in my hands innumerable ancient and modern charts of Mexico, of which it would have been eaſy to have copied the moſt correct; but among theſe I have not found even one that is not full of errors, as well in regard to the latitude and longitude of places, as in reſpect to the diviſion of provinces, the courſe of rivers, and the direction of the coaſts.

To make known what dependence may be placed on any of the charts hitherto publiſhed, it will be ſufficient to mention the difference between them concerning the longitude of the capital, notwithſtanding it ought to have been better aſcertained than any other city of Mexico. This difference is not leſs than fourteen degrees, as by ſome geographers the city of Mexico is placed in two hundred and ſixty-four degrees of longitude from the iſland of Ferro; by others, in two hundred and ſixty-five; by others, in two hundred and ſixty-ſix, and even in two hundred and ſeventy-eight, or rather more.

To give ſome ornament, however, to my hiſtory, as well as to facilitate the underſtanding of many things deſcribed in it, I have added twenty plates. The Mexican characters, the repreſentations of the cities, of the kings, of the armour, of the dreſſes, of the ſhields, of the century, of the year, and of the deluge, have been copied from different Mexican paintings. The figure of the greater temple was taken from that of the Anonymous Conqueror, his dimenſions of it, however, being corrected, and additions made to it according to the deſcription of other ancient authors. The figure of the other temple is a copy of that which Valades publiſhed in his *Chriſtian Rhetoric*.

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The portrait of Montezuma was taken from a copy which Gemelli publiſhed of the original, in the poſſeſſion of Siguenza. The portraits of the conquerors are copies of thoſe which are found in the Decades of Herrera. All the other figures are deſigns from what we have ſeen ourſelves, and the deſcriptions of ancient hiſtorians.

Beſides theſe, I have thought proper to prefix to my narration a ſhort account of the writers on the ancient hiſtory of Mexico, to ſhew the ground-work of my labours; alſo to do honour to the memory of ſome illuſtrious Americans, whoſe writings are entirely unknown in Europe. It will ſerve likewiſe to point out the ſources from whence others may obtain the hiſtory of Mexico, who may be hereafter inclined to complete this imperfect work.

AN

ACCOUNT

OF THE

WRITERS

ON THE

ANCIENT HISTORY OF MEXICO.

In the Sixteenth Century.

FErdinand Cortes. The four very long letters written by this famous conqueror to his ſovereign, Charles the Fifth, containing an account of the Conqueſt, and many valuable particulars reſpecting Mexico, and the Mexicans, were publiſhed in Spaniſh, in Latin, in the Tuſcan, and other languages; the firſt of theſe letters was printed in Seville in 1522; they are all well written, and diſcover both modeſty and ſincerity in the relation; as he has neither made a boaſt of his own actions, nor thrown obſcurity on thoſe of others. If he had had the raſhneſs to deceive his king, his enemies who preſented ſo many complaints at court againſt him, would not have failed to reproach him with ſuch a crime.

Bernal Diaz del Caſtillo, a ſoldier and conqueror; *A True Hiſtory of the Conqueſt of New Spain*, written by him, was printed in Madrid in 1632, in one volume, folio. Notwithſtanding the miſcarriage of his undertaking, and the coarſeneſs of the ſtyle, this hiſtory has been much eſteemed for the ſimplicity and ſincerity of its author, which is every where diſcoverable. He was an eye-witneſs of all that he relates; but, from being illiterate, he was unqualified for the taſk he untook; and frequently ſhews himſelf forgetful of facts, by having written many years after the conqueſt.

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Alfonſo de Mata, and Alfonſo d'Ojeda, both conquerors, and writers of commentaries on the conqueſt of Mexico, which Herrera and Torquemada have made uſe of. Thoſe of Ojeda are the fulleſt and the moſt eſteemed. He was more acquainted with the Indians, being the perſon appointed to attend to the auxiliary troops of the Spaniards.

The Anonymous Conqueror. This is the name given to the author of a ſhort, but very curious, and eſteemed relation which is found in the collection of Ramuſio, under the title of *The Relation of a Gentleman who attended Ferdinand Cortes*. I have not been able to conjecture who this gentleman may have been, as no author makes mention of him; but, whoever he was, he is candid, accurate, and curious. Without troubling himſelf with the events of the conqueſt, he relates what he obſerved in Mexico concerning the houſes, the ſepulchres, the arms, the dreſſes, the manner of eating and drinking, &c. of the Mexicans, and deſcribes the form of their temples. If his work had not been ſo much confined, there would have been no one comparable to it reſpecting the antiquities of Mexico.

Franciſco Lopez de Gomara. The hiſtory of New Spain, written by this learned Spaniard agreeable to information received from the mouths of the conquerors, and the writings of the firſt religious miſſionaries who were employed in the converſion of the Mexicans, and printed in Saragoſſa in 1554, is curious and well drawn up. He was the firſt who publiſhed the feſtivals, rites, laws, and the method by which the Mexicans computed time: but there are many inaccuracies in it on account of theſe firſt informations which he obtained not having been altogether exact. The tranſlation of this work in the Tuſcan language, printed at Venice in 1599, is ſo full of errors it cannot be read without diſguſt.

Toribio de Benavente. A moſt celebrated Spaniard of the order of St. Francis, and one of the twelve firſt preachers who announced the goſpel to the Mexicans, known commonly from his evangelical poverty, by the Mexican name of *Motolinia*, wrote, among his apoſtolical works, *The Hiſtory of the Indians of New Spain*, divided into three parts. In the firſt, he explains the rites of their ancient religion; in

the ſecond, their converſion to the Chriſtian faith, and their life when Chriſtians; and in the third, he diſcourſes of their genius, their arts, and their cuſtoms. Of this hiſtory, which is completed in one volume, folio, there are ſome copies to be found in Spain. He wrote alſo a work on the Mexican Calendar (the original of which is preſerved in Mexico), and others not leſs uſeful to the Spaniards than the Indians.

Andrea d' Olmos. A Franciſcan Spaniard, of holy memory. This indefatigable preacher acquired the Mexican, Totonacan, and Huaxtecan languages, and compoſed a Grammar and Dictionary of all three. Beſides other works written by him for the uſe of the Spaniards and the Indians, he wrote in Spaniſh a Treatiſe on Mexican Antiquities; and in the Mexican language, the exhortations which the ancient Mexicans uſed to their children, of which there is a ſpecimen in the ſeventh book of this hiſtory.

Bernardo Sahagun, a laborious Franciſcan Spaniard. Having been more than ſixty years employed in inſtructing the Mexicans, he made great proficiency in their language and the knowledge of their hiſtory. Beſides ſeveral works written by him, both in Mexican and in Spaniſh, he compoſed in twelve great volumes in folio, a Univerſal Dictionary of the Mexican Language, containing all that belonged to the geography, the religion, and the political and natural hiſtory of the Mexicans. This work, of immenſe erudition and labour, was ſent to the royal hiſtoriographer of America, reſident at Madrid, by the marquis of Villamanrique, viceroy of Mexico; and we do not doubt, but it is ſtill preſerved in ſome library of Spain. He wrote alſo the General Hiſtory of New Spain, in four volumes, which were preſerved in manuſcript in the library of the convent of Franciſcans in Toloſa dè Navarra, according to the affirmation of Juan de S. Antonio, in his *Bibliotheca Franciſcana*.

Alfonſo Zurita, a Spaniſh lawyer and judge of Mexico. After having, by order of king Philip II. made diligent reſearches into the civil government of the Mexicans, he wrote in Spaniſh *A compendious Relation of the Lords there were in Mexico, and their Difference:*

of

of the Laws, Uſages, and Cuſtoms of the Mexicans: of the Tributes which they paid, &c. The original manuſcript in folio, is preſerved in the library of the college of St. Peter and St. Paul, of the Jeſuits of Mexico. From this work, which is well written, ſome conſiderable part of what we have ſaid on the ſame ſubject is extracted.

Juan de Tobar, a moſt noble Jeſuit of Mexico. He wrote on the ancient hiſtory of the kingdoms of Mexico, of Acolhuacan, and of Tlacopan, after having made diligent enquiries, by order of the viceroy of Mexico, D. Martino Enriquez. By theſe manuſcripts, P. Acoſta was principally directed in what he wrote concerning Mexican antiquities, as he himſelf acknowledges.

Joſeph D'Acoſta, a moſt celebrated Spaniſh Jeſuit, well known in the literary world by his writings. This great man, after having reſided ſome years in both the Americas, and informed himſelf, from experienced people, of the cuſtoms of thoſe nations, wrote in Spaniſh the *Natural and Moral Hiſtory of the Indians*, which was printed firſt in Seville, in 1589, reprinted afterwards in Barcelona in 1591, and from thence circulated into various languages of Europe. This work is well written, particularly in regard to the phyſical obſervations on the climate of America; but, it is too confined, defective in many articles, and there are ſome miſtakes concerning ancient hiſtory.

Fernando Pimentel Ixtlilxochitl, ſon of *Coanacotzin*, laſt king of Acolhuacan, and Antonio de Tobar Cano Motezuma Ixtlilxochitl, a deſcendant of the two royal houſes of Mexico and Acolhuacan. Theſe two nobles, at the requeſt of the count of Benavente, and the viceroy of Mexico D. Luis de Velaſco, wrote letters on the genealogy of the kings of Acolhuacan, and other points relative to the ancient hiſtory of that kingdom, which are preſerved in the above mentioned college of the Jeſuits.

Antonio Pimentel Ixtlilxochitl, ſon of D. Fernando Pimentel. He wrote Hiſtorical Memoirs of the Kingdom of Acolhuacan, by which Torquemada was aſſiſted; and from it we have taken the calculation

lation mentioned in the fourth book of our hiſtory, of the annual expences incurred in the palace of the famous king Nezahualcojotl, great-great-grandfather of that author.

Taddeo de Niza, a noble Indian of Tlaſcala. He wrote in the year 1548, by order of the viceroy of Mexico, the Hiſtory of the Conqueſt, which was ſubſcribed by thirty other nobles of Tlaſcala.

Gabriel d' Ayala, a noble Indian of Tezcuco. He wrote in the Mexican language Hiſtorical Commentaries; containing an account of all the affairs of the Mexicans from the year 1243 of the vulgar æra, unto 1562.

Juan Ventura Zapata e Mendoza, a noble of Tlaſcala. He wrote in the Mexican language the Chronicle of Tlaſcala; containing all the events of that nation, from their arrival in the country of Anahuac, to the year 1589.

Pedro Ponce, a noble Indian, rector of Tzompahuacan. He wrote in Spaniſh, An Account of the Gods and the Rites of Mexican Paganiſm.

The chiefs of Colhuacan. They wrote the Annals of the Kingdom of Colhuacan. A copy of this work was in the above mentioned library of the Jeſuits.

Chriſtoval del Caſtillo, a Mexican Meſtee. He wrote the Hiſtory of the Travels of the Aztecas, or Mexicans, to the country of Anahuac; which manuſcript was preſerved in the library of the college of Jeſuits of Tepozotlan.

Diego Mugnoz Camargo, a noble Meſtee of Tlaſcala. He wrote in Spaniſh the Hiſtory of the City and Republic of Tlaſcala. Torquemada made uſe of this work, and there are copies of it both in Spain and Mexico.

Fernando d'Alba Ixtlilxochitl, a Tezcucan, and deſcendant, in a right line from the kings of Acolhuacan. This noble Indian ex-

tremely converſant with the antiquities of his nation, wrote, at the requeſt of the viceroy of Mexico, ſeveral very learned and valuable works; 1. The Hiſtory of New Spain; 2. The Hiſtory of the Chechemecan Lords; 3. An Epitome of the Hiſtory of the Kingdom of Tezcuco; 4. Hiſtorical Memoirs of the Toltecas, and other nations of Anahuac. All theſe works, written in Spaniſh, were preſerved in the library of St. Peter and St. Paul of the Jeſuits of Mexico, and from them we have extracted ſome materials for this hiſtory. The author was ſo cautious in writing, that, in order to remove any grounds for ſuſpicion of fiction, he made his accounts conform exactly with the hiſtorical paintings, which he inherited from his illuſtrious anceſtors.

Juan Batiſta Pomar, of Tezcuco, or Cholula, a deſcendant from a baſtard of the royal houſe of Tezcuco. He wrote Hiſtorical Memoirs of that Kingdom, which Torquemada has made uſe of.

Domingo de San Anton Muñon Chimalpain, a noble Indian of Mexico. He wrote in the Mexican language four works, much eſteemed by the intelligent: 1. American Chronicle, containing all the Events of that Nation, from the Year 1068, to the Year 1597 of the vulgar era. 2. The Hiſtory of the Conqueſt of Mexico by the Spaniards. 3. *Original* Accounts of the Kingdoms of Acolhuacan, of Mexico, and of other provinces. 4. Hiſtorical Commentaries from the year 1064 to 1521. Theſe works, which I moſt ardently wiſhed for, were preſerved in the library of the college of St. Peter and St. Paul of Mexico. Boturini had copies of them, as well as of almoſt all the works of the Indians, which I have mentioned; there was a copy of the Chronicle alſo in the library of the college of St. Gregory of the Jeſuits of Mexico.

Fernando d' Alvarado Tezozomoc, an Indian of Mexico. He wrote in Spaniſh a Mexican Chronicle, about the year 1598, which was preſerved in the above mentioned library of St. Peter and St. Paul.

Bartolomè de Las Caſas, a famous Dominican Spaniard, firſt biſhop of Chiapa, and highly worthy of memory among the Indians. The bitter

bitter memorials preſented by this venerable prelate to king Charles V. and Philip II. in favour of the Indians, and againſt the Spaniſh conquerors, printed in Seville, and afterwards tranſlated and reprinted, in odium to the Spaniards, in various languages of Europe; contains ſome particulars of the ancient hiſtory of the Mexicans, but ſo altered and exaggerated, we cannot rely on the authority of the author, however otherwiſe reſpectable. The exceſſive fire of his zeal ſent forth light and ſmoke together, that is, he mixed truth with falſehood, not becauſe he ſtudied an opportunity of deceiving his king and the world, as a ſuſpicion of ſuch guilt in him would be offering wrong to that virtue which his enemies acknowledged and revered; but becauſe, not having been preſent at what he relates concerning Mexico, he truſted too much to information from others, which will be made to appear in ſome parts of this hiſtory. We ſhould have, probably, been much more aſſiſted by two great works of the ſame prelate never publiſhed, the one, A Hiſtory of the Climate and Soil of the Countries of America; and the Genius and Manners, &c. of the Americans under Subjection to the Catholic King. This manuſcript, conſiſting of 830 pages, was preſerved in the library of the Dominicans of Valladolid, in Spain, where it was put by Remeſal, as he makes us credit in his Chronicle of the Dominicans of Chiapa and Guatemala. The other, A General Hiſtory of America, in three volumes, folio; a copy of which was in the library of the count of Villaumbroſa, in Madrid, where Pinelo ſaw it, as he affirms, in his *Bibliotheca Occidentali:* two volumes of this hiſtory the above mentioned author ſaw in the celebrated archives of Simancas, which have been the ſepulchre of many precious manuſcripts on America. Two volumes alſo were in the library of J. Kricio, at Amſterdam.

Aguſtino Davila, and Padillo, a noble and ingenious Dominican of Mexico, preacher to king Philip III. royal hiſtoriographer of America, and archbiſhop of the iſland of St. Domingo. Beſides the Chronicle of the Dominicans of Mexico, printed in Madrid, in 1596, and the Hiſtory of New Spain and Florida, printed in Valladolid, in 1632, he wrote the Ancient Hiſtory of the Mexicans, employing materials already collected by Fernando Duran, a Dominican of Tezcuco; but this work has not been found.

Doctor Cervantes, dean of the metropolitan church of Mexico. Herrera, the Chronicle-writer, praiſes the Hiſtorical Memoirs of Mexico, written by this author; but we have no other intelligence of him.

Antonio de Saavedra Guzman, a noble Mexican, during his voyage to Spain, wrote in twenty cantos, the Hiſtory of the Conqueſt of Mexico, and printed it in Madrid, under the Spaniſh title of *El Peregrino Indiano*, in 1599. This work ought to be reckoned amongſt the hiſtories of Mexico; for it has nothing of poetry but the meaſure.

Pedro Guterrez de S. Chiara. Betancourt made uſe of the manuſcripts of this author in his Hiſtory of Mexico; but we know nothing of the title or quality of the work, nor of the country of the author, although we ſuſpect he was an Indian.

In the Seventeenth Century.

Antonio de Herrera, royal hiſtoriographer for the Indies. This candid and judicious author wrote in four volumes in folio, Eight Decades of the Hiſtory of America, beginning from the year 1492, together with a Geographical Deſcription of the Spaniſh Colonies; which work was printed for the firſt time in Madrid, at the beginning of the laſt century, and afterwards reprinted in 1730; alſo tranſlated and publiſhed in other languages of Europe. Although the principal deſign of the author was to relate the actions of the Spaniards, he does not, however, omit the Ancient Hiſtory of the Americans; but in what relates to the Mexicans, he copies for the moſt part the accounts of Acoſta and Gomara. His method, however, like that of all rigid annaliſts, is diſagreeable to the lovers of hiſtory, becauſe at every ſtep the narration of facts is interrupted with the account of other unconnected occurrences.

Arigo Martinez, a foreign author, although of Spaniſh ſurname. After having travelled through the greateſt part of Europe, and reſided many years in Mexico, where he made himſelf moſt uſeful by his great ſkill in mathematics, he wrote the Hiſtory of New Spain,

which was printed in Mexico in 1606. In the Ancient Hiſtory, he treads for the moſt part in the footſteps of Acoſta; but there are aſtronomical and phyſical obſervations in it of importance to the geography and natural hiſtory of theſe countries.

Gregorio Garcia, a Dominican Spaniard. His famous treatiſe on the Origin of the Americans, printed in quarto, at Valentia, in 1607, afterwards enlarged and reprinted in Madrid, in 1729, in folio, is a work of vaſt erudition, but almoſt totally uſeleſs, as it gives little or no aſſiſtance in diſcovering truth; the foundation for the opinions which he maintains concerning the origin of the Americans, are, for the moſt part, weak conjectures founded on the reſemblance between ſome of their cuſtoms and words, and thoſe of other nations.

Juan de Torquemada, a Franciſcan Spaniard. The Hiſtory of Mexico, written by him under the title of the Indian Monarchy, printed in Madrid about 1614, in three great volumes in folio, is, without queſtion, the moſt complete in reſpect to the antiquity of Mexico of any hitherto publiſhed. The author reſided in Mexico from his youth to his death; knew the Mexican language well, converſed with the Mexicans for upwards of fifty years, collected a great number of ancient pictures and excellent manuſcripts, and laboured at his work more than twenty years; but in ſpite of his diligence, and ſuch advantages, he frequently betrays want of memory, of critical ſkill, and good taſte; and in his hiſtory there appear many groſs contradictions, particularly in chronology, ſeveral childiſh recitals, and a great deal of ſuperfluous learning, on which account it requires conſiderable patience to read it; nevertheleſs, there being many things of curioſity and value in it, which would be ſought for in vain in other authors, I was under the neceſſity to do with this hiſtory what Virgil did with the works of Ennius, to ſearch for the gems amongſt the rubbiſh.

Arrias Villalobos, a Spaniard. His Hiſtory of Mexico carried on from the foundation of the capital, to the year 1623, written in verſe, and printed there in the above year, is a work of little value.

Chriſtoval

Chriſtoval Chaves Caſtillejo, a Spaniard. He wrote, about the year 1632, a volume in folio, on the Origin of the Indians, and their firſt Colonies in the Country of Anahuac.

Carlos de Siguenza e Gongora, a celebrated Mexican profeſſor of mathematics in the univerſity of his native country. This author has been one of the moſt comprehenſive writers on the Hiſtory of Mexico, as he made, at a great expence, a large and choice collection of ancient pictures and manuſcripts, and applied himſelf with the greateſt diligence and aſſiduity to illuſtrate the antiquity of that kingdom. Beſides many mathematical, critical, hiſtorical, and poetical works compoſed by him, ſome of them manuſcripts, ſome of them printed in Mexico from the year 1680 to 1693, he wrote in Spaniſh, 1. *The Mexican Cyclography*, a work of great labour, in which, by calculating eclipſes and comets, marked in the hiſtorical pictures of the Mexicans, he adjuſted their epochs with ours, and by availing himſelf of good inſtruction, explained the method they uſed to count centuries, years, and months. 2. *The Hiſtory of the Chechemecan Empire*, in which he explains what he found in Mexican manuſcripts and paintings concerning the firſt colonies which paſſed from Aſia to America, and the events of the moſt ancient nations eſtabliſhed in Anahuac. 3. A long and learned Diſſertation on the Announcing of the Goſpel in Anahuac; which was done there, as he believed, by the apoſtle St. Thomas, ſupporting his opinion on traditions of the Indians, croſſes found, and formerly worſhipped in Mexico, and other monuments. 4. The Genealogy of the Mexican Kings; in which he traced their aſcending line as far back as the ſeventh century of the Chriſtian æra. 5. Critical Annotations on the Works of Torquemada and Bernal Diaz; all theſe moſt learned manuſcripts which would have afforded conſiderable aid to this hiſtory, were loſt through the negligence of the heirs of that learned author; and there now remain only ſome fragments of them preſerved in the works of other contemporary writers, namely, of Gemelli, Betancourt, and Florencia.

Aguſtino de Betancourt, a Franciſcan of Mexico: his Ancient and Modern Hiſtory of Mexico, printed in that capital, in 1698, in one volume

volume in folio, under the title of *The Mexican Theatre*, is nothing elſe in reſpect to ancient hiſtory, but an abridgment of Torquemada done in haſte, and written with little accuracy.

Antonio de Solis, royal hiſtoriographer of America. The Hiſtory of the Conqueſt of New Spain, written by this poliſhed and ingegenious Spaniard, is more a panegyric than a hiſtory. His diction is pure and elegant, but his manner is rather affected; the ſentences are too much laboured, and the public ſpeeches are the work of his own fancy; like one leſs ſtudious of truth than embelliſhment, he frequently contradicts authors the moſt worthy of credit, and even Cortes himſelf, whoſe panegyric he undertook. In the laſt books of this hiſtory, we ſhall take notice of ſome of the miſtakes of this famous writer.

In the Eighteenth Century.

Pedro Fernandez del Pulgar, a learned Spaniard, ſucceſſor to Solis in the office of hiſtoriographer. *The true Hiſtory of the Conqueſt of New Spain*, written by him, is found cited in the Preface of the modern edition of Herrera, but we have not ſeen it. It is to be believed, that he ſet about writing it for the purpoſe of correcting the errors of his predeceſſor.

Lorenzo Boturini Benaducci, of Milan. This curious and learned gentleman arrived in Mexico in 1736; and, deſirous of writing the hiſtory of that kingdom, he made, during eight years he remained there, the moſt diligent reſearches into its antiquity; acquired a conſiderable maſtery of the Mexican language, entered into friendſhip with the Indians to obtain their ancient pictures from them, and procured copies of many valuable manuſcripts which were in the libraries of the monaſteries. The muſeum which he formed of paintings and ancient manuſcripts, was the moſt numerous and ſelect ever ſeen in that kingdom, excepting that of the celebrated Siguenza; but before he put a hand to his work, the exceſſive jealouſy of the Spaniſh government ſtripped him of all his literary eſtate, and ſent him into Spain, where, being

being entirely cleared from every ſuſpicion againſt his loyalty and honour, but without recovering his manuſcripts, he publiſhed in Madrid, in 1746, in one volume in quarto, a ſketch of the great hiſtory he was meditating. It was found to contain much important knowledge, never before publiſhed; but there were alſo ſome errors in it. The hiſtorical ſyſtem which he had formed to himſelf, was too magnificent for execution, and therefore fantaſtical.

Beſides theſe and other Spaniſh and Indian writers, there are ſome anonymous writers whoſe works are worthy of being recorded on account of the importance of their ſubject; ſuch as, 1. Certain Annals of the Toltecan nation, painted on paper, and written in the Mexican language, in which there is an account given of the pilgrimage and wars of the Toltecas, of their king, of the founding of Tollan, their metropolis, and other occurrences until the year 1547 of the vulgar æra. 2. Certain Hiſtorical Commentaries in the Mexican Language on the Events of the Aztecan, or Mexican Nation, from the year 1066 to 1316; and others alſo in the Mexican language from the year 1367 to 1509. 3. A Mexican Hiſtory in the Mexican language, carried back as far as the year 1406. In this hiſtory, the arrival of the Mexicans at the city of Tollan, is fixed at 1196, agreeable to what we report in our hiſtory. All theſe manuſcripts were in the valuable muſeum of Boturini.

We ſhall not here mention thoſe authors who wrote on the antiquity of Michuacan, of Yucatan, of Guatemala, and of New Mexico; becauſe, although many at preſent believe all theſe provinces were comprehended in Mexico, they did not belong to the Mexican empire, the hiſtory of which we write. We have mentioned the writers on the ancient hiſtory of the kingdom of Acolhuacan, and the republic of Tlaſcala, becauſe their events are for the moſt part connected with thoſe of the Mexicans.

If in enumerating the writers on Mexico, we meant to diſplay our erudition, we could add a long catalogue of French, Engliſh, Italian, Dutch, Flemiſh, and German writers, who have written either deſignedly, or accidentally, on the ancient hiſtory of that kingdom; but after having read many of them, to obtain aſſiſtance to this work, I found none who were of ſervice except the two Italians, Gemelli and Botu-

Boturini, who having been in Mexico, and procured from the Mexicans many of their paintings, and particular intelligence concerning their antiquity, have contributed in ſome meaſure to illuſtrate their hiſtory. All the others have either repeated what was already written by Spaniſh authors mentioned by us, or have altered facts, at their own diſcretion, to inveigh the more ſtrongly againſt the Spaniards, as has lately been done by M. de Paw, in his Philoſophical Enquiries concerning the Americans, and Marmontel in his Romance of *The Incas*.

Amongſt the foreign hiſtorians of Mexico, none is more celebrated by them than the Engliſh writer, Thomas Gage, whom I obſerve many have quoted as an oracle, and yet there is no writer on America more addicted to falſehood. Some, under the influence of the paſſions of hatred, love, or vanity, have been induced to mix fables with their writings; but Gage appears to have delighted in the invention of falſehoods. What motive or intereſt could occaſion this author to ſay, that the Capuchins had a beautiful convent in Tacubaja, that in Xalapa there was a biſhop's palace erected in his time, with an income of ten thouſand ducats; that from Xalapa, he went to Rinconada, and from thence in one day to Tepeaca; that there is in this city a great abundance of *anonas* and of *chicozapotes*, that this fruit has a kernel larger than a pear; that the wilderneſs of the Carmelites ſtands to the north-weſt of the capital; that the Spaniards burnt the city Tinguez, in Quivira; that having rebuilt it, they inhabited it at the time he was there; that the Jeſuits had a college in it; and a thouſand other ridiculous lies, which appear in every page, and excite in readers who are acquainted with theſe countries both laughter and contempt?

Amongſt modern writers on American affairs, the moſt famous and eſteemed are the Abbé Raynal and Dr. Robertſon. The Abbé, beſides ſeveral groſs deluſions, into which he has fallen reſpecting the preſent ſtate of New Spain, doubts of every thing which is ſaid concerning the founding of Mexico, and the ancient hiſtory of the Mexicans. "Nothing," ſays he, "are we permitted to affirm, except that the "Mexican empire was governed by Montezuma, at the time that the "Spaniards landed on the Mexican coaſt." This is the manner of ſpeaking of a philoſopher of the eighteenth century. Nothing more

can we be permitted to affirm? And why not doubt alſo of the exiſtence of Montezuma? If we are permitted to affirm this, as it is aſcertained by the teſtimony of the Spaniards who ſaw that king, we find the atteſtation of the ſame Spaniards to a vaſt many other things belonging to the ancient hiſtory of Mexico which were ſeen by them, and further confirmed by the depoſitions of the Indians themſelves. Such particulars therefore may be affirmed, as poſitively as the exiſtence of Montezuma, or we ought alſo to entertain a doubt of it. If there is reaſon, however, to doubt of all the ancient hiſtory of the Mexicans, the antiquity of moſt other nations in the world will come equally in queſtion; for it is not eaſy to find another hiſtory, the events of which have been confirmed by a greater number of hiſtorians than thoſe of the Mexicans; nor do we know that any people ever publiſhed ſo ſevere a law againſt falſe hiſtorians as that of the *Acolhuas* mentioned in our eighth book.

Dr. Robertſon, though more moderate than Raynal, in his diſtruſt of their hiſtory, and furniſhed with more Spaniſh books and manuſcripts, has fallen into more errors and contradictions while he endeavoured to penetrate further into the knowledge of America and the Americans. To make us deſpair of being able to obtain any tolerable knowledge of the inſtitutions and cuſtoms of the Mexicans, he exaggerates the negligence of the conquerors, and the deſtruction made of the hiſtorical monuments of that nation by the ſuperſtition of the firſt miſſionaries. "In conſequence," ſays he, "of this fanatical zeal of the "monks, we have totally loſt every intelligence of the moſt remote "events contained in theſe rude monuments, and there does not re"main a *ſingle* trace of the policy and ancient revolutions of the em"pire, excepting thoſe which are derived from tradition, or from ſome "fragments of their hiſtorical pictures which eſcaped the barbarous ſearch "of Zumaraga. It appears evident from the experience of all na"tions, that the memory of paſt events cannot be long preſerved, "nor tranſmitted with fidelity by tradition. The Mexican pictures, "which are ſuppoſed to have ſerved as annals of their empire, are "few in number, and of ambiguous meaning. Thus from the un"certainty of the one, and the obſcurity of the others, we are obliged "to avail ourſelves of ſuch intelligence as can be gleaned from the "imper-

"imperfect materials which are found ſcattered in the Spaniſh wri-
"ters." But in theſe aſſertions this author is grievouſly deceived; for, 1. The materials which we find in Spaniſh hiſtorians are not ſo imperfect, but we may form from them a probable, though not altogether an authentic hiſtory of the Mexicans; which will appear evident to any one who impartially conſults them; all that is neceſſary is to make a ſelection. 2. Nor in the writing ſuch a hiſtory is it neceſſary to uſe the materials of the Spaniſh writers, while there are ſo many hiſtories and memoirs written by the Indians themſelves, of which Robertſon had no knowledge. 3. Nor are the hiſtorical pictures ſo few in number, which eſcaped the ſearch of the firſt miſſionaries, unleſs we compare thoſe which remain with the incredible quantity that formerly exiſted; as may eaſily be underſtood from this hiſtory, Torquemada, and other writers. 4. Neither are ſuch pictures of ambiguous meaning, except to Robertſon and thoſe who do not underſtand the characters and figures of the Mexicans, nor know the method they uſed to repreſent things. Our writings are of doubtful ſignification to thoſe who have not learned to read them. At the time the miſſionaries made that unfortunate burning of the pictures, many Acolhuan, Mexican, Tepanecan, Tlaſcalan, and other hiſtorians were living, and employed themſelves to repair the loſs of theſe monuments. This they in part accompliſhed by painting new pictures, or making uſe of our characters which they had learned, and inſtructing, by word of mouth, their preachers in their antiquity, that it might be preſerved in their writings, which Motolinia, Olmos, and Sahagun have done. It is therefore abſolutely falſe, that every knowledge of the moſt remote events has been totally loſt. It is falſe, beſides, that there is not a ſingle trace remaining of the political government, and ancient revolutions of the empire, excepting what is derived from tradition, &c. In this hiſtory, and chiefly in the diſſertations, we ſhall detect ſome of the many miſrepreſentations which occur in the hiſtory of the above mentioned author, and in the works of other foreign writers, which we might ſwell into large volumes. Some authors not contented with introducing errors, trifles, and lies, into the hiſtory of Mexico, have confounded it with falſe images and figures, ſuch as thoſe of the famous Theodore Dry. In Gage's work, in

the general hiſtory of the travels of Prevoſt, and others, is repreſented a beautiful road made over the Mexican lake, from Mexico to Tezcuco, which is certainly the greateſt abſurdity imaginable. The great work, entitled, *La Galerie agreable du Mond*, ſays that ambaſſadors were ſent in former times to the court of Mexico, mounted on elephants. Such fictions belong to romance not hiſtory.

OF PAINTINGS.

WE do not pretend here to give a regiſter of all the Mexican pictures ſaved from the burning of the firſt miſſionaries, or executed afterwards by the Indian hiſtorians of the ſixteenth century, of which ſome Spaniſh writers have availed themſelves, as ſuch an enumeration would not be leſs uſeleſs than tedious to our readers; but will only mention ſome collections, the knowledge of which may be of ſervice to any one inclined to write the hiſtory of that kingdom.

I. The collection of Mendoza. Thus we call the collection of ſixty-three Mexican paintings made by the firſt biſhop of Mexico, D. Antonio Mendoza, to which he cauſed to be added ſkilful interpretations in the Mexican and Spaniſh languages, for the purpoſe of ſending them to the emperor Charles V. The veſſel in which they were ſent was taken by a French corſair, and carried into France. The paintings fell into the hands of Thevenot, geographer to his moſt Chriſtian majeſty, of whoſe heirs they were purchaſed at a high price by Hakluit, then chaplain to the Engliſh ambaſſador at the court of France. Being from thence carried into England, the Spaniſh interpretations were tranſlated into Engliſh by Locke, but not the famous metaphyſician, by order of ſir Walter Ralegh; and laſtly, at the requeſt of the learned ſir Henry Spelman, publiſhed by Samuel Purchas in the third volume of his Collection. In 1692, they were afreſh printed in Paris, with a French interpretation by Thevenot, in the ſecond volume of his work, entitled, *Relation de divers Voiages Curieux*. The pictures as we

we have mentioned before, were ſixty-three in number; the twelve firſt containing the hiſtory of the foundation of Mexico, the years and conqueſts of the Mexican kings; the thirty-ſix following, repreſenting the tributary cities of that crown, and the quantity and ſpecies of their tributes; and the remaining fifteen, explained a part of the education of their youth, and their civil government. But it is neceſſary to obſerve, that the edition by Thevenot is imperfect; for in the copies of the eleventh and twelfth pictures, the figures of the years are changed; the figures which belong to the reign of Montezuma, being applied to the reign of Ahuitzotl; and on the contrary: the copies of the twenty-firſt and twenty-ſecond pictures are entirely wanting, and alſo in great part the figures of the tributary cities. Kirker republiſhed a copy of the firſt painting from that of Purchas, in his work, entitled, *Oedipus Ægyptiacus*. This collection of Mendoza we have diligently ſtudied, and obtained much aſſiſtance to our hiſtory from it.

II. The collection of the Vatican. Acoſta makes mention of ſome painted Mexican annals which were in his time in the library of the Vatican. We have no doubt but they are ſtill there; conſidering the laudable curioſity and great attention of the Italian gentlemen to preſerve ſuch monuments of antiquity; but we had not any opportunity of applying there to conſult them.

III. The collection of Vienna. Eight Mexican paintings are preſerved in the library of this court. "From a note," ſays Dr. Robertſon, "to this Mexican code, it appears, that it was made a pre-"ſent by Emanuel, king of Portugal, to pope Clement VII. After "having paſſed through the hands of ſeveral illuſtrious proprietors, it "came into the poſſeſſion of the cardinal of Saxe Eiſenach, who pre-"ſented it to the emperor Leopold." The ſame author, in his Hiſtory of America, gives a copy of one of theſe paintings, the firſt part of which repreſents a king, who makes war upon a city after having ſent an embaſſy to it. The figures of temples, and of ſome years and days appear in it; but as it is a ſingle copy without colours, or thoſe marks in the human figures, which, in other Mexican paintings, enable

able us to diſtinguiſh perſons, it is not ſimply difficult, but totally impoſſible to comprehend its ſignification. If Dr. Robertſon, had along with it publiſhed the other ſeven copies ſent him from Vienna, probably the meaning of them all might have been underſtood.

IV. The collection of Siguenza. This very learned Mexican having been extremely attached to the ſtudy of antiquity, collected a large number of ſelect ancient paintings, part of which he purchaſed at a great expence, and part were left him in legacy by the very noble Indian D. Juan d'Alba Ixtlilxochitl, who inherited them from the kings of Mexico, his anceſtors. Thoſe repreſentations of the Mexican century, and the migration of the Azteeas; and thoſe portraits of the Mexican kings, which Gemelli publiſhed in his *Tour of the World*, are copies of the paintings belonging to Siguenza, who was living in Mexico when Gemelli landed there *(a)*. The figure of the century, and the Mexican year, is the ſame in effect with that publiſhed a century before in Italy by Valades, in his *Chriſtian Rhetorick*. Siguenza, after having made uſe of the above mentioned paintings in his learned works, left them at his death to the college of St. Peter and St. Paul of the Jeſuits of Mexico; together with his ſelect library, and excellent mathematical inſtruments; where we ſaw and conſulted in the year 1759, ſome volumes of ſuch paintings, containing chiefly the penal laws of the Mexicans.

(a) Dr. Robertſon ſays, that the painting of the migration of the Mexicans, or Azteeas, was given to Gemelli by D. Chriſtoval Guadalaxara; but in that he contradicts Gemelli himſelf, who profeſſes he was indebted to Siguenza for all the Mexican antiquities that are copied in his relation. From Guadalaxara he had only the chart of the Mexican lake. "But as now," adds Robertſon, "it appears to be a generally received opinion, ſupported on I know "not what evidence, that Carreri never went out of Italy, and that his famous Tour of the "World was the narrative of fictitious travels, I have been unwilling to make any mention of "theſe pictures." If we did not live in the eighteenth century, in which the moſt extravagant ſentiments have been adopted, I ſhould be aſtoniſhed that ſuch an opinion was generally received. Who can poſſibly imagine, that any man who was never at Mexico ſhould have been capable of giving the moſt circumſtantial account of the moſt minute events of that time, of the perſons then living, of their rank and employments, of all the monaſteries of Mexico and other cities, of the number of their religious, of the altars of every church; and other particulars never before publiſhed? On the contrary, we muſt declare, in juſtice to the merit of this Italian, that we have found no traveller more accurate and exact in relating all that he ſaw himſelf, or learned by information from others.

V. The

V. The collection of Boturini. This valuable collection of Mexican antiquities, ſeized upon formerly, and taken from that learned and induſtrious gentleman by the jealous government of Mexico, was preſerved chiefly in the archives of the viceroy. We ſaw ſome of theſe paintings, repreſenting ſome events of the conqueſt, and ſome fine portraits of the kings of Mexico. In 1770, were publiſhed in Mexico, along with the letters of Cortes, the figure of the Mexican year, and thirty-two copies of paintings of tributes, which were paid by different cities to the crown of Mexico, taken from the muſeum of Boturini. Thoſe of the tributes are the ſame with Mendoſa's, publiſhed by Purchas and Thevenot, but they are better executed, and have the figures of the tributary cities, which are entirely wanting in thoſe of Purchas and Thevenot; but ſtill ſix copies of thoſe repreſenting the tributes are wanting, and there are a thouſand blunders in the interpretations, ariſing from total ignorance of antiquity, and the Mexican language. So much is neceſſary to be obſerved, that they who ſee that work publiſhed in Mexico, under a reſpectable name, may not be led into errors.

ADVERTISEMENT.

WHerever we have occaſion to make mention of perches, feet, or inches, without any ſpecification, they are to be underſtood, according to the meaſures of Paris; which, as they are more generally known, will, therefore, not be ſo apt to cauſe ambiguity to the reader. The perch of Paris *(toiſe)* is equal to ſix royal feet *(pie du roi)*. Every foot is equal to twelve inches, or thumbs *(pouces)*, and every inch to twelve lines. A line is ſuppoſed to conſiſt of ten parts, or points, in order to be able the more eaſily to expreſs the proportion which this foot bears to others. The Toledan, or Spaniſh foot, which is the third part of a Caſtilian *vara* (yard), is to the royal foot as 1240 to 1440; that is, of the 1440 parts, of which the royal foot is conſidered to be compoſed, the Toledan foot has 1240; wherefore ſeven Toledan feet make about ſix royal feet, or a Pariſian perch.

In the chart of the Mexican empire, we have thought it ſufficient to mark the provinces, and ſome few places; omitting a great many, even conſiderable cities, as their names are ſo long, the inſertion of them would not have left room for the names of the provinces.

CON-

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THE

THE

HISTORY

OF

MEXICO.

BOOK I.

Deſcription of the Country of Anahuac, or a ſhort Account of the Soil, Climate, Mountains, Rivers, Lakes, Minerals, Plants, Animals, and People of the Kingdom of Mexico.

THE name of *Anahuac*, which was originally given to the Vale of Mexico only, from its principal cities having been ſituated on little iſlands, and upon the borders of two lakes, taking afterwards a more extenſive ſignification, was uſed to denominate almoſt all that tract of land, which is known at preſent by the Name of *New Spain* (*a*).

SECT. I. Diviſion of the country of Anahuac.

This vaſt country was then divided into the kingdoms of Mexico, *Acolhuacan*, *Tlacopan*, and *Michuacan*; into the republics of *Tlaxcallan*, *Cholollan*, and *Huexotzinco*, and ſeveral other diſtinct ſtates.

The kingdom of Michuacan, the moſt weſterly of the whole, was bounded on the eaſt and ſouth by the Mexican dominions, on the

(*a*) *Anahuac* ſignifies *near to the water*, and from thence appears to be derived the name of *Anahuatlaca*, or *Nahuatlaca*, by which the poliſhed nations occupying the banks of the Mexican lake have been known.

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north by the country of the Chichemecas, and other more barbarous nations, and on the weſt by the lake of Chapalan, and ſome independent ſtates. The capital *Tzintzuntzan*, called by the Mexicans *Huitzitzilla*, was ſituated on the eaſtern ſhore of the beautiful lake of *Pazcuaro*. Beſides theſe two cities, there were others very conſiderable; namely, *Tiripitio*, *Zacapu*, and *Tarecuato*. All this country was pleaſant, rich, and well inhabited.

The kingdom of Tlacopan, ſituated between Mexico and Michuacan, was of ſo ſmall extent, that, excepting the capital of that name, it comprehended but a few cities of the Tepaneca nation, and the villages of the Mazahui, ſituated in the mountains to the weſt of the vale of Mexico.

The court of Tlacopan was on the weſtern border of the lake of Tezcuco, four miles weſtward from that of Mexico *(b)*.

The kingdom of Acolhuacan, the moſt ancient, and in former times the moſt extenſive, was afterwards reduced to more narrow limits by the acquiſitions of the Mexicans. It was bounded on the eaſt by the republic of Tlaxcallan; on the ſouth, by the province of Chalco, belonging to the kingdom of Mexico; on the north, by the country of the Huaxtecas; and in the weſt, it was alſo bounded by different ſtates of Mexico, and terminated in the lake of Tezcuco. Its length from ſouth to north was little more than two hundred miles, and its greateſt breadth did not exceed ſixty; but in this ſmall diſtrict there were large cities, and a numerous population. The court of Tezcuco, ſituated upon the eaſtern bank of the lake of the ſame name, fifteen miles to the eaſtward of that of Mexico, was juſtly celebrated not leſs for its antiquity and grandeur than for the poliſh and civilization of its inhabitants. The three cities of *Huexotla*, *Coatlichan*, and *Ateneo*, were ſo near adjacent, they appeared like its ſuburbs. *Otompan* was alſo a conſiderable city, and likewiſe *Acolman*, and *Tepepolco*.

The celebrated republic of Tlaxcallan or Tlaſcala, was bounded on the weſt by the kingdom of Acolhuacan, on the ſouth by the repub-

(b) The Spaniards have altered the Mexican names, and adapted them to their own language, ſaying Tacuba, Oculma, Otumaba, Guaxuta, Tepeaca, Guatemala, Churabuſco, &c. in place of Tlacopan, Acolman, Otompan, Huexotla, Tepejacac, Quauhtemallan, and Huitzilopochco, whoſe example we ſhall imitate, as far as it is convenient, to avoid giving our readers trouble in pronouncing them.

lics

lics of Cholollan and Huexotzinco, and by the ſtate of *Tepejacac*, belonging to the crown of Mexico, on the north by the ſtate of *Zacatlan*, and on the eaſt by other ſtates under ſubjection to the ſame crown. Its length did not reach fifty miles, nor its breadth more than thirty. Tlaſcala, from whence the republic took its name, was ſituated on the ſide of the great mountain *Mattalcueye*, towards the north-weſt, and about ſeventy miles to the eaſtward of the court of Mexico.

The kingdom of Mexico, although the moſt modern, was far more extenſive than all the other mentioned kingdoms and republics, taken together. It extended towards the ſouth-weſt and ſouth, as far as the Pacific Ocean; towards the ſouth-eaſt, as far as the neighbourhood of *Quauhtemallan*; towards the eaſt, excluſive of the diſtricts of the three republics, and a ſmall part of the kingdom of Acolhuacan, as far as the Gulf of Mexico; towards the north, to the country of the Huaxtecas; towards the north-weſt, it bordered on the barbarous Chichemecas; and the dominions of Tlacopan and Michuacan, were its boundaries towards the eaſt. The whole of the Mexican kingdom was comprehended between the 14th and 21ſt degrees of north latitude, and between 271 and 283 degrees of longitude, taken from the meridian of the iſland of Ferro *(c)*.

The fineſt diſtrict of this country, in reſpect to advantage of ſituation, as well as population, was the vale itſelf of Mexico, crowned by beautiful and verdant mountains, whoſe circumference, meaſured at their baſe, exceeded a hundred and twenty miles. A great part of the vale is occupied by two lakes, the upper one of ſweet water, the lower one brackiſh, which communicate together by a canal. In the lower lake, on account of its lying in the very bottom of the valley, all the water running from the mountains collected; from thence, when extraordinary abundance of rains raiſed the water of the lake over its bed, it eaſily overflowed the city of Mexico, which was ſituated in the lake; which accident happened not leſs frequently under the Mexican monarchy than in the time of the Spaniards. Theſe two lakes the circumference of which is not leſs than ninety miles, repreſented

(c) De Solis, and other Spaniſh, French, and Engliſh writers, allow ſtill more extent to the kingdom of Mexico; and Dr. Robertſon ſays, that the territories belonging to the chiefs of Tezcuco and Tacuba, ſcarcely yielded in extent to thoſe of the ſovereign of Mexico; but how far theſe authors are diſtant from the truth, will appear from our diſſertations.

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in ſome degree, the figure of a camel, the head and neck of which were formed by the lake of ſweet water, or *Chalco*, the body by the lake of brackiſh water, called the lake of *Tezcuco*, and the legs and feet were repreſented by the rivulets, and torrents, which ran from the mountains into the lake. Between the two lakes there is the little peninſula of *Iztapalapan*, which divides them. Beſides the three courts of Mexico, Acolhuacan, and Tlacopan, there were forty eminent cities, in this delightful vale, and innumerable villages and hamlets. The cities moſt noted next to theſe courts were *Xochimilco*, *Chalco*, *Itzte[illegible]apan*, and *Quauhtitlan*, which now, however, ſcarcely retain a twentieth part of their former greatneſs *(d)*.

Mexico, the moſt renowned of all the cities of the new world, and capital of the empire (the deſcription of which we ſhall give in another place) was, like Venice, built on ſeveral little iſlands in the lake of Tezcuco, in 19 deg. and 26 min. of north latitude, and in 276 deg. and 34 min. of longitude, between the two courts of Tetzcuco, and Tlacopan, 15 miles to the weſt of the one, and four to the eaſt of the other. Some of its provinces were inland, others maritime.

SECT. II. Provinces of the Kingdom of Mexico.

The principal inland provinces to the northward were, the Otomies; to the ſouthweſt, the Matlatzincas and the Cuitlatecas; to the ſouth, the Tlahuicas and the Cohuixcas; to the ſouth-eaſt, after the ſtates of *Itzocan*, *Jaubtepec*, *Quauhquecholla*, *Atlixco*, *Tehuacan*, and others, were the great provinces of the Mixtecas, the Zapotecas, and laſtly, the Chiapanecas. Towards the eaſt were the provinces of Tepeyacac, the Popolocas, and the Totonacas. The maritime provinces of the Mexican gulf were thoſe of *Coatzacualco* and *Cuetlachtlan*, which the Spaniards call Cotaſta. The provinces on the Pacific Ocean were thoſe of *Coliman*, *Zacatollan*, *Tototepec*, *Tecuantepec*, and *Xoconochco*.

The province of the Otomies commenced in the northern part of the Vale of Mexico, and extended through thoſe mountains to the

(a) The other reſpectable cities of the Vale of Mexico were, *Mizquic*, *Cuitlahuac*, *Azcapotzalco*, *Tenayocan*, *Ozompan*, *Colhuacan*, *Mexicaltzinco*, *Huitzilopochco*, *Coyohuacan*, *Atenco*, *Coatlichan*, *Huexotla*, *Chiautla*, *Acolman*, *Teotihuacan*, *Itzapalocan*, *Tepetlaoztoc*, *Tepepolco*, *Tizayocan*, *Cuitlahuac*, *Coyotepec*, *Tzompanco*, *Tolantlan*, *Xaltocan*, *Tetepanco*, *Ehecatepec*, *Tequixquiac*, *Huitzilhuacan*, *Tepotzotlan*, *Tehuillojocan*, *Huehuetoca*, *Atlacuihuayan*, &c. See our Sixth Diſſertation.

north,

north, the diſtance of 90 miles from the capital. The ancient and famous city of *Tollan*, now *Tula*, diſtinguiſhed itſelf over all the inhabited places, of which there were many; alſo *Xilotepec*, which after the conqueſt made by the Spaniards, was the metropolis of the Otomies. Beyond the ſettlements of this nation towards the north and north-weſt, there were no other places inhabited as far as New Mexico. All this great track of land of more than a thouſand miles in length, was occupied by barbarous nations, who had no fixed reſidence, nor paid obedience to any ſovereign.

The province of the Matlatzincas, comprehended beſides the valley of Tolocan, all that ſpace from thence to *Tlaximatoyan* (now *Taximaroa*), the frontier of the kingdom of Michuacan. The fertile valley of Tolocan from the ſouth-eaſt to the north-weſt is upwards of forty miles long, and thirty in breadth where it is broadeſt. Tolocan, which was the principal city of the Matlatzincas, from whence the valley took its name, was, as it ſtill is, ſituated at the foot of a high mountain perpetually covered with ſnow, thirty miles diſtant from Mexico. All the other places of the valley were inhabited partly by the Matlatzincas, partly by the Otomies. In the neighbouring mountains there were the ſtates of *Xalatlauhco*, *Tzompahuacan*, and *Malinalco*; at no great diſtance to the eaſtward of the valley the ſtate of Ocuillan, and to the weſtward thoſe of *Tozantla* and *Zoltepec*.

The Cuitlatecas inhabited a country which extended more than two hundred miles from the north-weſt to the ſouth-eaſt, from the kingdom of Michuacan, as far as the Pacific Ocean. Their capital was the great and populous city of Mexcaltepec upon the coaſt, the ruins of which are now ſcarcely viſible.

The capital of the Tlahuicas was the pleaſant and ſtrong city of Quauhnahuac, called by the Spaniards Cuernabaca, about forty miles from Mexico towards the ſouth. Their province, which commenced from the ſouthern mountains of the vale of Mexico, extended almoſt ſixty miles ſouthward.

The great province of the Cohuixcas was bounded on the north by the Matlatzincas, and Tlahuicas, on the weſt by the Cuitlatecas, on the eaſt by the Jopi and Mixtecas, and to the ſouthward it extended itſelf as far as the Pacific Ocean, through that part where at preſent the

BOOK I.

the port and city of Acapulco lie. This province was divided into ſeveral diſtinct ſtates, namely, *Tzompanco*, *Chilapan*, *Tlapan*, and *Teoitztla*, now *Tiſtla*, a country for the moſt part too hot, and unhealthy. Tlachco, a place celebrated for its ſilver mines, either belonged to the above mentioned province, or bordered upon it.

Mixtecapan, or the province of the Mixtecas, extended itſelf from *Acatlan*, a place diſtant an hundred and twenty miles from the court, towards the ſouth-eaſt, as far as the Pacific Ocean, and contained ſeveral cities and villages, well inhabited, and of conſiderable trade. To the eaſt of the Mixtecas, were the Zapotecas, ſo called from their capital Teotzapotlan. The valley of *Huaxyacac* was in their diſtrict, called by the Spaniards *Oaxaca*, or *Guaxaca*. The city of Huaxyacac, was afterwards conſtituted a biſhoprick, and the valley a marquiſate in favour of the conqueror D. Ferdinand Cortes *(e)*.

To the northward of the Mixtecas was the province of *Mazatlan*, and to the northward and the eaſtward of the Zapotecas was *Chimantla*, with their capitals of the ſame name, from whence their inhabitants were called Mazatecas, and Chinantecas. The provinces of the Chiapanecas, Zoqui, and Queleni were the laſt of the Mexican empire towards the ſouth-eaſt. The principal cities of the Chiapanecas were *Tochiapan* (called by the Spaniards Chiapa de Indios), *Tochtla*, *Chamolla*, and *Tziuacantla*, of the Zoqui, *Tecpantla*, and of the Queleni, *Tepixca*. Upon the ſide and around the famous mountain *Popocatepec*, which is thirty-three miles diſtant towards the ſouth-eaſt from the court, were the great ſtates *Amaquemecan*, *Tepoztlan*, *Jauhtepec*, *Huaxtepec*, *Chietlan*, *Itzocan*, *Acapetlayoccan*, *Quauhquechollan*, *Atlixco*, *Cholollan*, and *Huexotzinco*; theſe two laſt, which were the moſt conſiderable, having, with the aſſiſtance of their neighbours the Tlaſcalans, ſhaken off the Mexican yoke, re-eſtabliſhed their former ariſtocratical government. Cholollan, or Cholula, and

(e) Some believe, that anciently there was nothing in the place called Huaxyacac, but a mere garriſon of the Mexicans, and that that city was founded by the Spaniards; but beſides that it appears by the tribute-roll, that Huaxyacac was one of the tributary cities to the crown of Mexico, we know that the Mexicans were not accuſtomed to eſtabliſh any garriſon, except in the moſt populous places of their conquered provinces. The Spaniards were ſaid to found a city whenever they gave a Spaniſh name to an Indian ſettlement, and gave it Spaniſh magiſtrates; *Antequera* in *Huaxjacac*, and *Segura della Frontera*, in *Tepejacac* were no otherwiſe founded.

Huexot-

Huexotzinco were the largeſt and moſt populous cities of all that land. The Cholulans poſſeſſed a ſmall hamlet called Cuitlaxcoapan, in the very place where afterwards the Spaniards founded the city of Angelopoli, which is the ſecond of New Spain *(f)*.

To the eaſt of Cholula there was the reſpectable ſtate of Tepeyacac; and beyond that, the Popolocas, whoſe principal cities were *Tecamachalco* and *Quecholac*. To the ſouthward of the Popolocas there was the ſtate of *Tehuacan*, bordering upon the country of the Mixtecas; to the eaſt the maritime province of *Cuetlachtlan*, and to the north the Totonacas. This great province, which was the laſt in that part of the empire, extended a hundred and fifty miles, beginning from the frontier of *Zacatlan*, a ſtate belonging to the crown of Mexico, about eighty miles diſtant from the court, and terminating in the Gulf of Mexico. Beſides the capital *Mizquihuacan*, fifteen miles to the eaſtward of Zacatlan, there was the beautiful city of *Chempoallan* upon the coaſt of the Gulf, which was the firſt city of the empire entered by the Spaniards, and where, as will hereafter appear, their ſucceſs began. Theſe were the principal inland provinces of the Mexican empire; omitting the mention, at preſent, of ſeveral other leſſer ſtates, which might render our deſcription tedious.

Among the maritime provinces of the Pacific Ocean, the moſt northern was Coliman; whoſe capital ſo called, lay in 19 deg. of latitude, and in 272 deg. of longitude. Purſuing the ſame coaſt, towards the ſouth-eaſt was the province of Zacatolan, with its capital of the ſame name; then the coaſt of the Cuitlatecas; and after it that of the Cohuixcas, in which diſtrict was Acapulco, at preſent a celebrated port for commerce with the Philippine Iſlands, in 16 deg. 40 min. of latitude, and 276 of longitude.

Adjoining to the coaſt of the Cohuixcas, were the Jopi; and adjoining to that, the Mixtecas, known in our time by the name of *Xiquean*. Then followed the great province of Tecuantepec; and laſtly, that of Xoconochco. The city of Tecuantepec, from which the ſtate derived its name, was ſituated on a beautiful little iſland,

(f) The Spaniards ſay *Tlaſcala*, *Mexamexa*, *Izucar*, *Atrixco* and *Quechula* in place of *Tlaſcalan*, *Aculhuacan*, *Itzocan*, *Atlixco*, and *Quecholac*.

formed

BOOK I. formed by a river two miles from the ſea. The province of Xoconochco, which was the laſt and moſt ſoutherly of the empire, was bounded on the eaſt and ſouth-eaſt by the country of *Xochitepec*, which did not belong to the crown of Mexico; on the weſt, by that of Tecuantepec; and on the ſouth terminated in the ocean. Its capital, called alſo *Xoconochco*, was ſituated between two rivers, in 14 deg. of latitude, and in 283 of longitude. Upon the Mexican Gulf there were, beſides the coaſt of the Totonacas, the provinces of *Cuetlachtlan* and *Coatzacualco*; this laſt was bounded on the eaſt by the vaſt country of *Onohualco*, under which name the Mexicans comprehended the ſtates of Tabaſco, and the peninſula of Yucatan, which were not ſubject to their dominion. Beſides the capital, called alſo Coatzacualco, ſounded upon the borders of a great river, there were other well-peopled places amongſt which *Painalla* merits particular mention by having been the place of the nativity of the famous *Malintzin*, one of the moſt powerful inſtruments of the conqueſt of Mexico. The province of Cuetlachtlan which had a capital ſo called, comprehended all that coaſt which is between the river Alvarado, where the province of Coatzacualco terminates, and the river Antigua *(g)*, where the province of the Totonacas began. On that part of the coaſt which the Mexicans called Chalchicuecan, lie at preſent the city and port of Vera Cruz, the moſt renowned of all New Spain.

All the country of Anahuac, generally ſpeaking, was well peopled. In the hiſtory and in the diſſertations we ſhall have occaſion to mention ſeveral particular cities, and to give ſome idea of the multitude of their inhabitants. Almoſt all the inhabited ſettlements with their ancient names, are now ſtill exiſting, though much altered; but all the ancient cities excepting thoſe of Mexico or Orizaba and ſome others, appear ſo reduced, they hardly contain the fourth part of the number of buildings and inhabitants which they formerly poſſeſſed; there are many which have preſerved but a tenth part, and others hardly the twentieth part of their ancient greatneſs.

To ſpeak in general of the Indians, and comparing the ſtate of their population, reported by the firſt Spaniſh hiſtorians, and their

(*g*) We give this river the Spaniſh name, by which it is known at preſent; as we are ignorant of its Mexican name.

native

native writers, with what we have ſeen ourſelves, we can affirm that at preſent there hardly remains one-tenth part of the ancient inhabitants; the miſerable conſequence of the calamities they have undergone.

SECT. III. Rivers, lakes, and fountains.

The land is in great part abrupt and mountainous, covered with thick woods, and watered by large rivers; though not to be compared with thoſe of South America: ſome of theſe run into the Gulf of Mexico, and others into the Pacific Ocean. Amongſt the firſt, thoſe of *Papaloapan*, *Coatzacualco*, and *Chiapan* are the greateſt. The river Papaloapan, which the Spaniards call *Alvarado*, from the name of the firſt Spaniſh captain who ſailed into it, has its principal ſource in the mountains of the Zapotecas, and after making a circuit through the province of Mazatlan, and receiving other ſmaller rivers and ſtreams, is diſcharged into the Gulf by three navigable mouths, at thirty miles diſtance from Vera Cruz. The river Coatzacualco, which is alſo navigable, comes down from the mountains of the *Mixes*, and croſſing the province of which it takes the name, empties itſelf into the ocean nigh to the country of Onohualco. The river Chiapan begins its courſe from the mountains called *Cuchumataneo*, which ſeparate the dioceſe of Chiapan from that of Guatemala, croſſes the province of its own name, and afterwards that of Onohualco, where it runs into the ſea. The Spaniards call it *Tabaſco*, which they alſo called that tract of land which unites the peninſula of Yucatan to the Mexican continent. They called it alſo the river *Gribalva*, from the commander of the firſt Spaniſh fleet who diſcovered it.

Amongſt the rivers which run into the Pacific Ocean *Tolclotlan* is the moſt celebrated, called by the Spaniards *Guadalaxara*, or *great river*. It takes its riſe in the mountains of the valley of Toloccan, croſſes the kingdom of Michuacan and the lake of Chapallan, from thence it waters the country of *Tonollan*, where at preſent the city of Guadalaxara, the capital of New Gallicia, ſtands; and after running a courſe of more than ſix hundred miles, diſcharges itſelf into the ocean, in the latitude of 22 degrees. The river Tecuantepec ſprings in the mountains of the Mixes, and after a ſhort courſe empties itſelf into the ocean in the latitude of 15½ degrees.

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The river of the Jopi waters the country of that nation, and flows out fifteen miles to the eaſtward of the port of Acapulco; forming in that quarter the dividing line between the dioceſes of Mexico and Angelopoli.

There were beſides, and ſtill are, ſeveral lakes, which did not leſs embelliſh the country than give convenience to the commerce of thoſe people. The lake of Nicaragua, of Chapallan, and Pazquaro, which were the moſt conſiderable, did not belong to the Mexican empire. Amongſt the others, the moſt important to our hiſtory, are thoſe two in the vale of Mexico, which we have already ſpoken of. The lake of Chalco extended twelve miles from eaſt to weſt, as far as the city of Xochimilco, and from thence taking, for as many miles, a northerly direction, incorporated itſelf by means of a canal, with the lake of Tetzcuco; but its breadth did not exceed ſix miles.

The lake of Tetzcuco extended fifteen miles, or rather ſeventeen from eaſt to weſt, and ſomething more from ſouth to north; but at preſent its extent is much leſs, for the Spaniards have diverted into new channels many rivers which formerly ran into it. All the water which aſſembles there is at firſt ſweet, and becomes ſalt afterwards, from the nitrous bed of the lake where it is received *(b)*. Beſides theſe two great lakes, there were in the ſame vale of Mexico, and to the north of the coaſt, two ſmaller ones, named after the cities of Tzompanco, and Xaltocean. The lake of Tochtlan, in the province of Coatzacualco, makes a ſweet proſpect, and its banks a moſt delightful dwelling. With reſpect to fountains, there are ſo many in that land, and ſo different in quality, they would deſerve a ſeparate hiſtory, eſpecially if we had to enumerate thoſe of the kingdom of Michuacan. There are an infinity of nitrous, ſulphureous, vitriolic, and alluminous mineral waters, ſome of which

(*b*) M. de Bomare ſays, in his Dictionary of Natural Hiſtory, that the ſalt of the Mexican lake may proceed from the waters of the ocean in the north being filtered through the earth; and to corroborate his opinion he quotes *Le Journal des Sçavans*, of the year 1676. But this is truly a groſs error, becauſe that lake is one hundred and eighty miles diſtant from the ocean; beſides, the bed of this lake is ſo elevated, that it has at leaſt one mile of perpendicular height above the level of the ſea. The anonymous author of the work intitled, *Obſervations curieuſes ſur le Lac de Mexique*, (the work expreſsly from which the journaliſts of Paris have made their extracts,) is very far from adopting the error of M. de Bomare.

ſpring

ſpring out ſo hot, that in a few moments any kind of fruit or animal food is boiled in them. There are alſo petrifying waters, namely thoſe of Tehuacan, a city about one hundred and twenty miles diſtant from Mexico towards the ſouth-eaſt, thoſe of the ſpring of Pucuaro in the ſtates of the Conte di Miravalles, in the kingdom of Michuacan, and that of a river in the province of the Queleni. With the water of Pucuaro they make little white ſmooth ſtones, not diſpleaſing to the taſte; ſcrapings from which taken in broth, or in Atolli *(i)* are moſt powerful diaphoretics, and are uſed with remarkable ſucceſs in various kinds of fevers *(k)*. The citizens of Mexico during the time of their kings, ſupplied themſelves with water from the great ſpring of Chapoltepec, which was conveyed to the city by an aqueduct, of which, we ſhall ſpeak hereafter. In mentioning the waters of that kingdom, if the plan of our hiſtory would permit, we might deſcribe the ſtupendous falls or caſcades of ſeveral rivers *(l)*, and the bridges which nature has formed over others, particularly the *Ponte di Dio:* thus they call in that country a vaſt volume of earth thrown acroſs the deep river Atoyaque, cloſe to the village of Molcaxac, about one hundred miles to the ſouth-eaſt from Mexico, along which, coaches and carriages conveniently paſs. It is probable, it has been a fragment of a neighbouring mountain, thrown from it by ſome former earthquake.

SECT. IV. Climate of Anahuac.

The climate of the countries of Anahuac varies according to their ſituation. The maritime countries are hot, and for the moſt part moiſt and unhealthy. Their heat, which occaſions ſweat even in January, is owing to the perfect flatneſs of the coaſts compared with the inland country; or from the mountains of ſand that gather upon the ſhore, which is the caſe with Vera Cruz my native country. The moiſture proceeds not leſs from the ſea than from the abundance of waters deſcending from the mountains which

(*i*) Atolli is the name given by the Mexicans, to a gruel made of maiz or Indian corn; of which we ſhall ſpeak in another place.

(*k*) The little ſtones of Pucuaro have been known but a ſhort time. I have myſelf been an eye witneſs of their wonderful effect, in the epidemic of 1762. The doſe preſcribed for one who is eaſily brought to ſweat is one drachm of the ſcrapings.

(*l*) Amongſt the caſcades there is one famous, made by the great river Guadalaxara, in a place called Tempizque, fifteen miles to the ſouthward of that city.

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command the coaſt. In hot countries there is never any white froſt, and moſt inhabitants of ſuch regions have no other idea of ſnow than that which they receive from the reading of books, or the accounts of ſtrangers. Lands which are very high, or very near to very high mountains which are perpetually covered with ſnow, are cold; and I have been upon a mountain not more than twenty-five miles, removed from the capital, where there has been white froſt and ice even in the dog-days. All the other inland countries, where the greateſt population prevailed, enjoy a climate ſo mild and benign, they neither feel the rigour of winter, nor the heats of ſummer. It is true, in many of theſe countries there is frequently white froſt in the three months of December, January, and February, and ſometimes even it ſnows; but the ſmall inconvenience which ſuch cold occaſions, continues only till the riſing ſun: no other fire than his rays, is neceſſary to give warmth in winter; no other relief is wanted in the ſeaſon of heat, but the ſhade; the ſame clothing which covers men in the dog-days, defends them in January; and the animals ſleep all the year under the open ſky.

This mildneſs and agreeableneſs of climate under the torrid zone, is the effect of ſeveral natural cauſes, entirely unknown to the ancients, who believed it uninhabitable; and not well underſtood by ſome moderns, by whom it is eſteemed unfavourable to thoſe who live in it. The purity of the atmoſphere, the ſmaller obliquity of the ſolar rays, and the longer ſtay of this luminary upon the horizon in winter, in compariſon of other regions farther removed from the equator, concur to leſſen the cold, and to prevent all that horror which diſfigures the face of nature in other climes. During that ſeaſon, a ſerene ſky and the natural delights of the country, are enjoyed; whereas under the frigid, and even for the moſt part under the temperate zones, the clouds rob man of the proſpect of heaven, and the ſnow buries the beautiful productions of the earth. No leſs cauſes, combine to temper the heat of ſummer. The plentiful ſhowers which frequently water the earth after mid-day, from April or May, to September or October; the high mountains continually loaded with ſnow, ſcattered here and there through the country of Anahuac; the cool winds which breathe from them in that ſeaſon;

and

and the ſhorter ſtay of the ſun upon the horizon, compared with the circumſtances of the temperate zone, transform the ſummer of thoſe happy countries into a cool and chearful ſpring.

But the agreeableneſs of the climate is counterbalanced by thunder ſtorms, which are frequent in ſummer, particularly in the vicinity of Matlalcueje or the mountain of Tlaſclala, and by earthquakes which at all times are felt, although with leſs danger than terror. Theſe firſt and laſt effects are occaſioned by the ſulphur and other combuſtible materials, depoſited in great abundance in the bowels of the earth. Storms of hail are neither more frequent nor more ſevere than in Europe.

SECT. V. Mountains, Stones, and Minerals.

The fire kindled in the bowels of the earth by the ſulphureous and bituminous materials, has made vents for itſelf in ſome of the mountains or volcanos, from whence flames are often ſeen to iſſue, and aſhes and ſmoke. There are five mountains in the diſtrict of the Mexican empire, where at different times this dreadful phænomenon has been obſerved. *Pojauhtecatl*, called by the Spaniard, *Volcan d'Orizaba*, began to ſend forth ſmoke, in the year 1545, and continued to do ſo for twenty years: but after that, for the ſpace of more than two centuries, there has not been obſerved the ſmalleſt ſign of burning. This celebrated mountain, which is of a conical figure, is indiſputably the higheſt land of all Anahuac; and on account of its height, is the firſt land deſcried by ſeamen who are ſteering that way, at the diſtance of fifty leagues *(n)*. Its top is always covered with ſnow, and its border adorned with large cedar, pine, and other trees of valuable wood, which make the proſpect of it every way beautiful. It is diſtant from the capital upwards of ninety miles to the eaſtward.

The *Popocatepec* and *Iztaccihuatl*, which lay near each other, but thirty-three miles diſtant from Mexico towards the ſouth-eaſt, are alſo of a ſurpriſing height. Popocatepec, for which they have ſubſtituted

(*n*) *Pojauhtecatl* is higher than Taide or the Peak of Teneriffe, according to P. Tallandier the jeſuit, who made obſervations on them both: *vide Lettres Edifiantes*, &c. Thomas Gage ſays of the Popocatepec, it is as high as the higheſt Alps: he might have added, ſomething higher, if he had calculated the elevated ſtation on which this celebrated mountain riſes.

the

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the name *Volcan*, has a mouth or vent more than half a mile wide, from which, in the time of the Mexican kings, it frequently emitted flames; and in the laſt century many times threw out great quantities of aſhes upon the places adjacent; but in this century, hardly any ſmoak has been obſerved. *Iztaccihuatl*, known by the Spaniards under the name of Sierra Nevada, threw out alſo at ſometimes ſmoke and aſhes. Both mountains have their tops always covered with ſnow in ſo great quantities, as to ſupply with what precipitates on the neighbouring rocks, the cities of Mexico, Gelopoli, Cholula, and other adjoining places, to the diſtance of forty miles from theſe mountains, where an incredible quantity is yearly conſumed in cooling and congealing liquors *(n)*.

The mountains of Coliman and Tochtlan, conſiderably diſtant from the capital, and ſtill more ſo from each other, have emitted fire at different periods, in our time *(o)*.

Beſides theſe mountains there are likewiſe others, which, though not burning mountains, are yet of great celebrity for their height; namely, Matlalcueye, or the mountain of Tlaſcala; *Nappateuctli*, called by the Spaniards, from its figure, *Cofre* or trunk; *Tentzon*,

(*n*) The impoſt or duty upon ice or congealed ſnow conſumed in the capital, amounted in 1746, to 15,522 Mexican crowns; ſome years after, it roſe to 20,000, and at preſent we may believe it is a great deal more.

(*o*) A few years ago an account was publiſhed in Italy, concerning the mountains of Tochtlan or Tuxla, full of curious, but too ridiculous lies; in which there was a deſcription of rivers of fire, of frightful elephants, &c. We do not mention among the burning mountains, neither *Juruyo*, nor *Mamombo*, of Nicaragua; nor that of *Guatemala*; becauſe neither of theſe three was comprehended under the Mexican dominions. That of Guatemala, laid in ruins with earthquakes, that great and beautiful city, the 29th of July, 1773. With reſpect to Juruyo, ſituated in the valley of Ureche, in the kingdom of Michuacan, before the year 1760, there was nothing of it but a ſmall hill where there was a ſugar plantation. But on the 25th of September, 1760, it burſt with furious ſhocks, and entirely ruined the ſugar work, and the neighbouring village of *Guacana*; and from that time has continued to emit fire and burning rocks, which have formed themſelves into three high mountains, whoſe circumference was nearly ſix miles, in 1766, according to the account communicated to me, by Don Emmanuelle di Buſtamante, governor of that province, and an eye-witneſs of the fact. The aſhes at the eruption, were forced as far as the city of Queretaro, one hundred and fifty miles diſtant from Juruyo, a matter almoſt incredible, but public and notorious in that city; where a gentleman ſhewed me, in a paper, the aſhes which he had gathered. In the city of Valadolid, ſixty miles diſtant, it rained aſhes in ſuch abundance they were obliged to ſweep the yards of the houſes two or three times during the day.

near

near to the village of Moacaxac, Toloccan, and others, which, being of no importance to the ſubject, I intentionally omit. Every one knows that the famous chain of the Andes, or Alps of South America, are continued through the iſthmus of Panama, and through all New Spain till they loſe themſelves in the unknown countries of the North. The moſt conſiderable part of this chain is known in that kingdom under the name of *Sierra Madre*, particularly in Cinaloa, and Tarahumara, provinces twelve hundred miles diſtant from the capital.

The mountains of Anahuac abound in ores of every kind of metal, and an infinite variety of other foſſils. The Mexicans found gold in the countries of the Cohuixcas, the Mixtecas, the Zapotecas, and in ſeveral others. They gathered this precious metal chiefly in grains amongſt the ſand of the rivers, and the above mentioned people paid a certain quantity in tribute to the crown of Mexico. Silver was dug out of the mines of Tlachco, Tzompanco, and others; but it was not ſo much prized by them as it is by other nations. Since the conqueſt, ſo many ſilver mines have been diſcovered in that country, eſpecially in the provinces which are to the north-weſt of the capital, it is quite impoſſible to enumerate them. Of copper they had two ſorts, one hard, which they uſed inſtead of iron to make axes, hatchets, mattocks, and other inſtruments of war and agriculture; the other flexible, for making of baſons, pots, and other veſſels. This metal abounded formerly more than elſewhere in the provinces of Zacatollan, and the Cohuixchas; at preſent it abounds in the kingdom of Michuacan.

They dug tin from the mines of Tlachco, and lead from the mines of *Izmiquilpan*, a place in the country of the Otomies. Of tin they made money, as we ſhall obſerve in its place, and we know of lead that it was ſold at market, but we are entirely ignorant of the uſe it was put to; there were likewiſe mines of iron in Tlaſcala, in Tlachco, and other places; but they either did not find out theſe mines, or at leaſt did not know how to benefit themſelves by the diſcovery. There were alſo in Chilapan mines of quickſilver, and in many places mines of ſulphur, alum, vitriol, cinnabar, ochre, aud a white earth ſtrongly reſembling white lead. Of quickſilver and vitriol we do not know the uſe which they made; the other minerals were employed in painting and dying. Of amber and aſphaltum, or bitumen of Judea, there

was

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was and ſtill is great abundance on both coaſts, and they were both paid in tribute to the king of Mexico from many places of the empire. Amber they uſed to ſet in gold for ornament; aſphaltum was employed in certain incenſe offerings, as we ſhall find hereafter.

With reſpect to precious ſtones there were, and ſtill are, diamonds, though few in number; amethyſts, cats-eyes, turquoiſes, cornelians, and ſome green ſtones reſembling emeralds, and not much inferior to them; and of all theſe ſtones, the Mixtecas, the Zapotecas, and Cohuixcas, in whoſe mountains they were found, paid a tribute to the king. Of their plenty and eſtimation with the Mexicans, and the manner in which they wrought them, we ſhall ſpeak more properly in another place. The mountains which lay on the coaſt of the gulf of Mexico, between the port of Vera Cruz and the river Coatzacualco, namely, thoſe of Chinantla, and the province of Mixtecas, furniſhed them with cryſtal; and the cities of Tochtepec, Cuetlachtlan, Cozamaloapan, and others, were obliged to contribute annually to the luxury of the court.

Theſe mountains did not leſs abound in various kinds of ſtone, valuable in architecture, ſculpture, and other arts. There are quarries of jaſper, and marble of different colours in the mountains of Calpolalpan to the eaſt of Mexico; in thoſe which ſeparate the two vallies of Mexico and Toloccan, now called *Monte de los Cruzes*, and in thoſe of the Zapotecas: of alabaſter in Tecalco (at preſent *Tecale*), a place in the neighbourhood of the province of Tepeyacac, and in the country of the Mixtecas: of Tezontli, in the vale itſelf of Mexico, and in many other places of the empire. The ſtone Tetzontli is generally of a dark red colour, pretty hard, porous, and light, unites moſt firmly with lime and ſand, and is therefore more in demand than any other for the buildings of the capital, where the foundation is marſhy and unſolid. There are beſides entire mountains of loadſtone, and among others one very conſiderable between Teoitztlan and Chilapan, in the country of the Cohuixcas. Of *Quetzalitztli* commonly known by the name of the nephritic ſtone, the Mexicans formed various and curious figures, ſome of which are preſerved in different muſeums of Europe. *Chimaltizatl*, which is a kind of talc, is a tranſparent white ſtone, dividing eaſily into thin leaves;

on

on calcination gives a fine plaiſter, which the ancient Mexicans uſed to whiten their paintings. There are beſides infinite quantities of plaiſter and talc; but reſpecting this laſt we do not know what uſe it was put to. The *Mexcuitlatl*, that is, moon's-dung, belongs to that claſs of ſtones which, on account of their reſiſtance to the action of fire, are called by chemiſts *lapides refractarii*. It is tranſparent and of a reddiſh gold colour. But no ſtone was more common with the Mexicans than the itztli, of which there is great abundance in many places of Mexico. It is ſemitranſparent, of a glaſſy ſubſtance, and generally black, but it is found alſo white and blue; they made looking-glaſſes of this ſtone, knives, lancets, razors, and ſpears, as we ſhall mention when we treat of their militia; and after the introduction of the goſpel they made ſacred ſtones of it which were much valued *(p)*.

Sect. VI. Plants eſteemed for their flowers.

However plentiful and rich the mineral kingdom of Mexico may be, the vegetable kingdom is ſtill more various and abundant. The celebrated Dr. Hernandez, the Pliny of New Spain, deſcribes in his Natural Hiſtory, about twelve hundred plants, natives of that country; but his deſcription, although large, being confined to medicinal plants, has hardly compriſed one part of what provident nature has produced there for the benefit of mortals. Of the medicinal plants we ſhould give but an imperfect account if we applied to the medicine of the Mexicans. With regard to the other claſſes of vegetables, ſome are eſteemed for their flowers, ſome for their fruit, ſome for their leaves, ſome for their root, ſome for their trunk or their wood, and others for their gum, reſin, oil, or juice *(q)*. Among the many flowers which embelliſh the meads and adorn the gardens of the Mexicans, there are ſome worthy to be mentioned, either from the ſingular beauty of their colours, the exquiſite fragrance which they exhale, or the extraordinarineſs of their form.

The *Floripundio* which, on account of its ſize, merits the firſt mention, is a beautiful white odoriferous flower, monopetalous, or conſiſt-

(*p*) Itztli is known in South America by the name of the Pietra del Galinazzo. The celebrated Mr. Caylus proves, in a manuſcript Diſſertation, which Mr. Bomare has cited, that the *obſidiana*, of which the ancients made their *vaſi murrei*, which were ſo much eſteemed, was entirely ſimilar to this ſtone.

(*q*) We have adopted this though imperfect diviſion of plants, as it appears the moſt ſuitable and adapted to the plan of our hiſtory.

BOOK I.

ing of one leaf, but ſo large, in length it is full more than eight inches, and its diameter in the upper part three or four. Many hang together from the branches like bells, but not entirely round as their corolla *(r)*, has five or ſix angles equidiſtant from each other. Theſe flowers are produced by a pretty little tree, the branches of which form a round top like a dome. Its trunk is tender, its leaves large, angular, and of a pale green colour. The flowers are followed by round fruit as large as oranges, which contain an almond.

The Jollocxochitl *(s)*, or flower of the heart, is alſo large, and not leſs eſtimable for its beauty than for its odour, which is ſo powerful, that a ſingle flower is ſufficient to fill a whole houſe with the moſt pleaſing fragrance. It has many petals, which are glutinous, externally white, internally reddiſh or yellowiſh, and diſpoſed in ſuch a manner, that when the flower is open and its petals expanded, it has the appearance of a ſtar, but when ſhut it reſembles in ſome meaſure a heart, from whence its name aroſe. The tree which bears it is tolerably large, and its leaves long and rough.

The Coatzontecoxochitl, or flower with the viper's head, is of incomparable beauty *(t)*. It is compoſed of five petals or leaves, purple in the innermoſt part, white in the middle, the reſt red but elegantly ſtained with yellow and white ſpots. The plant which bears it has leaves reſembling thoſe of the iris, but longer and larger, its trunk is ſmall and ſlim; this flower was one of the moſt eſteemed amongſt the Mexicans.

The Oceloxochitl, or tyger-flower, is large, compoſed of three pointed petals, and red, but towards the middle of a mixed white and yellow, repreſenting in ſome degree the ſpots of that wild animal from which it takes its name. The plant has leaves alſo reſembling thoſe of the iris, and a bulbous root.

(r) The coloured leaves of which the flower is compoſed are called *petals* by Fabio Colonna, and *corolla* by Linnæus, to diſtinguiſh them from the real leaves.

(s) There is another Jolloxochitl alſo exceedingly fragrant, but different in form.

(t) Flos forma ſpectabilis, et quam vix quiſpiam poſſit verbis exprimere, aut penicillo pro dignitate imitari, a principibus Indorum ut naturæ miraculum valde expetitus, et in magno habitus pretio. Hernandez Hiſtor. Nat. N. Hiſpaniæ, lib. viii. c. 8. The Lincean Academicians of Rome, who commented on and publiſhed this Hiſtory of Hernandez in 1651, and ſaw the paintings of this flower, with its colours, executed in Mexico, conceived ſuch an idea of its beauty that they adopted it as the emblem of their very learned academy, denominating it *Flor de Lyncis*.

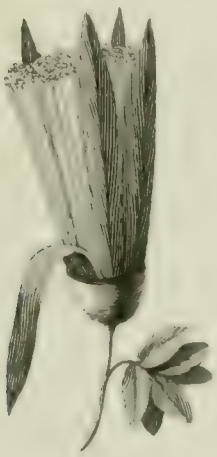
Tollocxochitl



Coatzontecoxochitl



Xiloxochitl



Cocoxochitl



Macpalxochitl



The *Cacaloxochitl*, or raven-flower is ſmall, but very fragrant, and coloured white, red, and yellow. The tree which produces theſe flowers appears covered all over with them, forming at the end of the branches natural bunches not leſs pleaſing to the ſight than grateful to the ſenſe. In hot countries there is nothing more common than theſe flowers; the Indians adorn their altars with them; and the Spaniards make excellent conſerves of them *(u)*.

The *Izquixochitl* is a ſmall white flower, reſembling in figure the cynorrhodo, or wood-roſe, and in flavour the garden-roſe, but much ſuperior to it in fragrance. It grows to a great tree.

The *Chempoalxochitl*, or *Chempaſuchil*, as the Spaniards ſay, is that flower tranſplanted to Europe which the French call Oeillet d'Inde, or Indian carnation. It is exceedingly common in Mexico, where they call it alſo Flower of the Dead; and there are ſeveral kinds differing in ſize, in figure, and in the number of petals of which they are compoſed.

The flower which the Mexicans call *Xiloxochitl*, and the Miztecas *Tiata*, is entirely compoſed of thin, equal, and ſtrait threads, but pliant and about ſix inches long, ſpringing from a round cup ſomething reſembling an acorn, but different in ſize, in colour, and ſubſtance. Some of theſe beautiful flowers are entirely red, others all white, and the tree which bears them is moſt beautiful.

The *Macpalxochitl*, or flower of the hand, is like a tulip, but its piſtillum repreſents the form of a bird's foot, or rather that of an ape, with ſix fingers terminated with as many nails. The vulgar ſpaniards of that kingdom call the tree which bears theſe curious flowers *Arbol de Manicas*.

Beſides theſe and innumerable other flowers, natives of that country, which the Mexicans delighted to cultivate, the land of Mexico has been enriched with all thoſe which could be tranſported from Aſia and Europe, ſuch as lilies, jeſſamines, carnations of different kinds, and others in great numbers, which at preſent in the gardens of Mexico rival the flowers of America.

With regard to fruits, the country of Anahuac is partly indebted to the Canary Iſlands, partly to Spain, for water melons, apples, peaches, Sect. VII. [illegible]

(*u*) It is probable that this tree is the ſame which Bomare deſcribes under the name of *Frangipanier*.

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quinces, apricots, pears, pomegranates, figs, black-cherries, walnuts, almonds, olives, cheſnuts, and grapes; although theſe laſt were not altogether wanting in the country (v). In Mizteca there are two kinds of wild vine original in the country: the one in the ſhoots and figure of the leaves ſimilar to the common vine, produces red grapes, large, and covered with a hard ſkin, but of a ſweet and grateful taſte, which would certainly improve from culture. The grape of the other vine is hard, large, and of a very harſh taſte, but they make an excellent conſerve of it.

With reſpect to the cocoa-tree, the plaintain, the citron, orange, and lemon, I am perſuaded, from the teſtimony of Oviedo, Hernandez, and Bernal Dias, that they had the cocoa from the Philippine Iſlands, and the reſt from the Canaries (y); but as I know there are many of another opinion, I decline engaging myſelf in any diſpute; becauſe, beſides its being a matter of no importance to me, it would force me to deviate from the line of my hiſtory. It is certain, that theſe trees, and all others which have been imported there from elſewhere, have ſucceſsfully taken root, and multiplied as much as in their native ſoil. All the maritime countries abound with cocoa-nut trees. Of oranges, there are ſeven different kinds, and of lemons only four. There are as many of the plaintain, or *platano*, as the Spaniards call it (z). The largeſt, which is the zapalot, is from fifteen

(x) The places named *Puerto* and *Pascual* in the dioceſe of New Biſcaglia, had theſe names from the abundance of vines which were found there, of which they made many vineyards, which at this day produce good wine.

(y) Oviedo, in his Natural Hiſtory, aſſerts, that F. J. Bulangas, a Dominican, was the firſt who brought the Muſa from the Canaries to Hiſpaniola, in 1516; and from thence it was tranſplanted to the continent of America. Hernandez, in the iiid book, chap. 40. of his Natural Hiſtory, ſpeaks thus of the cocoa: *Nascitur passim apud* Orientales et jam quoque apud Occidentales Indos. B. Dias in his Hiſtory of the Conqueſt, chap. 17. ſays, he ſowed in the country of Coatzacualco, ſeven or eight orange ſeeds; and theſe, he adds, were the firſt oranges ever planted in New Spain. With regard to the muſa, of the four ſpecies which there are of it, it is probable, one of them only is foreign, which is called *Guineo*.

(z) The muſa was not altogether unknown to the ancients. Pliny, in citing the account which the ſoldiers of Alexander the Great gave of all that they ſaw in India, gives this deſcription of it: *Major et alia (arbor) pomo cujus ars præcellentior, quo ſapientes Indorum vivunt. Folium avium alas imitatur, longitudine cubitorum trium, latitudine duum. Fructum corticem emittit admirabilem ſuci dulcedine, ut uno quaternos ſatiet. Arbori nomen Palæ, pomo Arienæ.* Hiſt. Nat. lib. xii. cap. 6. Beſides theſe ſpecific characters of the muſa he ſubjoins further, that the name *Palan*, which was given to the muſa in thoſe remote times, is ſtill preſerved in Malabar, as Garzia dell' Orto, a learned Portugueſe phyſician, bears witneſs, who reſided there many years. It is to be ſuſpected whether *Platano* or plantain has been derived from the word *Palan*

fifteen to twenty inches in length, and about three in diameter. It is hard and little eſteemed, and is only eat when roaſted or boiled. The *Platano largo*, that is *long*, is eight inches at the moſt in length, and one and a half in diameter. The ſkin at firſt is green, then yellow, and when perfectly ripe, black or blackiſh. It is a reliſhing and wholeſome fruit, whether boiled or raw. The *Guineo* is ſmaller than the other, but richer, ſofter, more delicious, and leſs wholeſome. The fibres which cover the pulp are flatulent. This ſpecies of plantain has been cultivated in the public garden of Bologna, and we have taſted it, but found it ſo unripe and unpalatable on account of the climate, that it might have been ſuppoſed to be a quite different ſpecies. The *Dominico* is the ſmalleſt and likewiſe the moſt delicate. The tree alſo is ſmaller than the others. In that country there are whole woods of large extent not only of the plantain, but alſo of oranges and lemons; and in Michuacan there is a conſiderable commerce with the dried plantains, which are preferable to raiſins or figs. BO

The fruits which are unqueſtionably original in that country are the pine-apple, which from being at firſt view like to the pine-tree, was called by the Spaniards *Piña*. The Mamei, Chirimoya *(a)*, Anona, Cabeza di Negro, black Zapote, Chicozapote, white Zapote, yellow Zapote, Zapote di S. Dominico, Ahuacate, Guayaba, Capulino, Guava, or Cuaxinicuil, Pitahaya, Papaya, Guanabana, Noce Encarcelado, Plums, Dates, Chajoti, Tilapo, Obo or Hobo, Nance, Cacahuate, and many others unimportant to be known by the reader. Moſt of theſe fruits are deſcribed in the works of Oviedo, Acoſta, Hernandez, Laet, Nieremberg, Marcgrave, Piſon, Barrere; Sloane,

Palan. The name Bananas, which the French give it, is the ſame as it bears in Guinea, and the name Muta, which the Italians give it, is taken from the Arabic. By ſome it has been called the Fruit of Paradiſe, and even ſome are perſuaded it is the very fruit which made our firſt parents tranſgreſs.

(*a*) Several European writers on the affairs of America, confound the Chirimoya with the Arcona and Guanabana: but they are three diſtinct ſpecies of trees; although the two firſt are ſomewhat reſemblin, each other. It is neceſſary alſo to guard againſt confounding the pine-apple with the Anona, which are more different from each other than the cucumber and melon. Bomare, however, makes two diſtinct fruits of the Chirimoya and Cherimolia, whereas Cherimolia is only the corruption of the firſt and original name of the fruit. The Ate likewiſe, which ſome judge a fruit different from the Cherimoya, is only a variety of the ſame ſpecies.

Ni-

BOOK I. Ximenes, Ulloa, and many other naturaliſts; we ſhall therefore only take notice of thoſe which are the leaſt known in Europe.

All the fruits comprehended by the Mexicans under the generic name of Tzapotl, are round or approach to roundneſs; and all have a hard ſtone *(b)*. The black Zapote, has a green, light, ſmooth, tender bark; a black, ſoft, and moſt exceeding ſavoury pulp, which at firſt ſight looks like the Caſſia *(c)*. Within the pulp, it has flat, blackiſh ſtones, not longer than a finger. It is perfectly round, and its diameter from one and a half, to four or five inches. The tree is of a moderate ſize and thickneſs, with ſmall leaves. Ice of the pulp of this fruit, ſeaſoned with ſugar and cinnamon, is of a moſt delicate taſte.

The white Zapote, which from its narcotic virtue, was called by the Mexicans Cochitzapetl, is ſomething ſimilar to the black, in ſize, figure, and colour of the bark; although in the white the green is more clear; but in other reſpects they are greatly different. Its ſtone, which is believed to be poiſonous, is large, round, hard, and white. The tree is thick, and larger than the black; and its leaves alſo are larger. Beſides, the black is peculiar to a warm climate; but the white, on the contrary, belongs to the cold and temperate climates.

The Chicozapote, (in Mexican, *Chictzapotl)* is of a ſpherical ſhape, or approaching thereto; and is one and a half, or two inches in diameter. Its ſkin is grey, the pulp white, and the ſtones black, hard, and pointed. Fron this fruit, when it is ſtill green, they draw a glutinous milk, which eaſily condenſes, called by the Mexicans, *Chictli*; and by the Spaniards, *Chicle*: the boys and girls chew it; and in Colima they form it into ſmall ſtatues, and other fanciful little figures *(d)*.

(*b*) The fruits comprehended by the Mexicans under the name of Tzapotl, are the Mammei *Zapota*, the Chirimoya *Matzapotl*, the Avocado *Quauhtzapotl*, the black Zapotl Tlilitzapotli, &c.

(*c*) Gemelli ſays, the black Zapotl has alſo the taſte of the Caſſia: but this is very far from being true, which all who have taſted it muſt know. He ſays alſo, that this fruit when crude, is poiſon to fiſh; but it is wonderful that ſuch a fact ſhould be known only to Gemelli, who was not more than ten months in Mexico.

(*d*) Gemelli is perſuaded that chicle was a compoſition made on purpoſe; but he is deceived, for it is nothing elſe than the mere milk of the unripe fruit condenſed by the air. — Tom. 6. lib. ii. cap. 1.

The

The Chicozapote, fully ripe, is one of the moſt delicious fruits; and by many Europeans reckoned ſuperior to any fruit in Europe. The tree is moderately large, its wood fit for being wrought, and its leaves are round, in colour and conſiſtence like thoſe of the orange. It ſprings without culture in hot countries; and in Mixteca, Huaxteca, and Michuacan, there are woods of ſuch trees twelve and fifteen miles long *(e)*.

The Capollino or Capulin, as the Spaniards call it, is the cherry of Mexico. The tree is little different from the cherry tree of Europe; and the fruit is like it in ſize, colour, and ſtone, but not in taſte.

The Nance is a ſmall, round fruit; yellow, aromatic, and ſavoury, with extremely ſmall ſeeds, which grow into trees peculiar to warm climates.

The Chayoti is a round fruit, ſimilar in the huſk, with which it is covered, to the cheſnut, but four or five times larger, and of a much deeper green colour. Its kernel is of a greeniſh white, and has a large ſtone in the middle, which is white, and like it in ſubſtance. It is boiled, and the ſtone eat with it. This fruit is produced by a twining perennial plant, the root of which is alſo good to eat.

The impriſoned nut, commonly ſo called, becauſe its kernel is cloſely ſhut up within an exceeding hard ſtone. It is ſmaller than the common nut; and its figure reſembles the nutmeg. Its ſtone is ſmooth, and its kernel leſs, and not ſo well taſted as the common one. This *(f)* tranſported from Europe, has multiplied and become as common as in Europe itſelf.

The *Tlalcacahuatl*, or Cacahuate as the Spaniards call it, is one of the moſt ſcarce plants which grow there. It is an herb, but very thick, and ſtrongly ſupplied with roots. Its leaves are ſomething

(e) Amongſt the ridiculous lies told by Thomas Gage, is the following, that in the garden of S. Giacinto, the hoſpital of the Dominicans of the Miſſion from the Philippine iſles, in the ſuburbs of Mexico where he lodged ſeveral months, there were Chicozapoti. This tree could never be raiſed either in the vale of Mexico or any other country ſubject to white froſt.

(f) We only ſpeak of the impriſoned nut of the Mexican empire, as the one of New Mexico is larger and better taſted than the common one of Europe, as I have been informed from reſpectable authority. Probably this of New Mexico is the ſame with that of Louiſiana, called *Pacana*, or *Pacana*.

like

BOOK I.

like purſlain, but not ſo groſs. Its flowerets are white, which bring no fruit. Its fruit are not borne on the branches or ſtem as in other plants, but attached to the junction of the roots, within a white, greyiſh, long, roundiſh, wrinkled ſheath, and as rough as we have repreſented it in our third figure of fruits and flowers. Every ſheath has two or three Cacahuati, which are in figure like pine-ſeeds, but larger and groſſer; and each is compoſed, like other ſeeds, of two *lobi*; and has its germinating point. It is fit for eating, and well taſted when not raw but only a little toaſted. If they are much toaſted, they acquire a ſmell and taſte ſo like coffee, any one may be deceived by it. Oil is made from the Cacahuati, which is not ill taſted; but it is believed to be unwholeſome becauſe it is very hot. It makes a beautiful light, but is eaſily extinguiſhed. This plant would thrive, with certainty, in Italy. It is ſown in March or April, and the fruit is gathered in October or November.

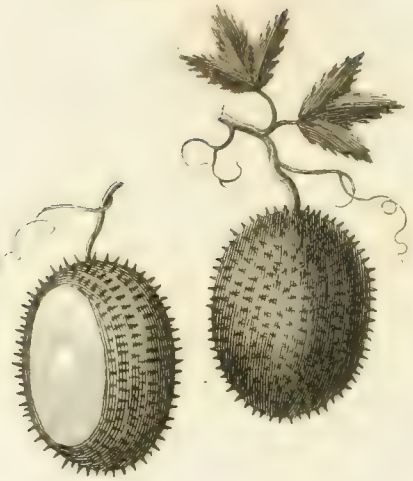
Among many other fruits, which I paſs over to ſhorten my account, I cannot diſpenſe with the mention of the cocoa, the cocoa nut, vainilla, chia, chilli or great pepper, Tomati, the pepper of Tabaſco, coton, grain, and leguminous plants which are moſt common with the Mexicans.

Of the Cocoa nuts, (a name taken from the Mexican word Cacahuatli,) Hernandez enumerates four ſpecies; but the Tlalcacahuatl, the ſmalleſt of the whole, was the one moſt uſed by the Mexicans in their chocolate and other daily drink; the other ſpecies ſerved more as money to traffic with in the market, than aliment. The Cocoa nut was one of the plants moſt cultivated in the warm countries of that empire; and many provinces paid it in tribute to the crown of Mexico; and amongſt others the province of Xoconocho, whoſe Cocoa-nut is excellent and better than that of Maddalena. The deſcription of this celebrated plant, and its culture, is to be found in many authors of every poliſhed nation in Europe.

The Vainilla or Vainiglia, ſo well known and much uſed in Europe, grows without culture, in warm countries. The ancient Mexicans made uſe of it in their chocolate and other drinks which they made of the cocoa.

The

Chapotli



Ahūtzapotl



Tlalcacahuatl



Nopalxochquatzalli



The Chia is the ſmall ſeed of a beautiful plant, whoſe ſtem is ſtreit and quadrangular; the branches extended in four directions, and ſymmetrically placed oppoſite each other, with blue flowerets. There are two ſpecies of it, the one black and ſmall, from which there is an oil drawn admirable for painting; the other white and larger, of which they make a cooling beverage. Both were uſed by the Mexicans for theſe and other purpoſes, which we ſhall mention hereafter.

Of Chilli or great Pepper *(g)*, which was as much in uſe with the Mexicans as ſalt in Europe, there are at leaſt eleven ſpecies, different in their ſize, figure and ſharpneſs. The Quauhchilli, which is the fruit of a ſhrub, and Chiltecpin are the ſmalleſt, but alſo the moſt ſharp. Of the Tomate there are ſix ſpecies, diſtinguiſhed by their ſize, colour, and taſte. The largeſt, which is the Xictomatl or Xitomate, as the Spaniards of Mexico call it, is now very common in Europe, in Spain, and France, under the name of *Tomate*; and in Italy, under the name of Pomo-d'oro. The Miltomatl is ſmaller, green, and perfectly round. How much both were uſed by the Mexicans at their meals, ſhall be mentioned when we treat of their diet.

The Xocoxochitl, vulgarly known by the name of Pepe di Tabaſco, from its abounding in that province, is larger than the pepper of Malabar. It grows on a large tree, whoſe leaves have the colour and luſtre of thoſe of the orange; and the flowers are of a beautiful red, and ſimilar in figure to thoſe of the pomegranate, and of a moſt penetrating and pleaſing ſcent, of which the branches alſo partake. The fruit is round and borne in cluſters which at firſt are green, afterwards become almoſt black. This pepper, uſed formerly by the ancient Mexicans, may ſupply the want of that of Malabar.

Cotton, from its utility, was one of the moſt valuable productions of that country, as it ſerved inſtead of flax (although this plant was not wanting to them), and the inhabitants of Anahuac were generally clothed in it *(h)*. There is white and tawny-coloured cotton, vulgarly

(g) In other countries of America the Chilli is called Axi; in Spain, Pimiento; in France, Poivre de Guinée, and by other names.

(h) Michuacan, Nueva Galicia, and Quiviria produced flax in great abundance and of the beſt quality; but we are ignorant if theſe nations cultivated or made uſe of it. The Cotton of

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vulgarly called *Coyote*. It is a plant common in warm countries, but more cultivated by the ancients, than the moderns.

The *Achiote*, called by the French *Rocou*, ſerved the Mexicans in dying, as it now does the Europeans. Of the bark they made cordage, and the wood was uſed to produce fire by friction, after the mode of the ancient ſhepherds of Europe. This tree is well deſcribed in the dictionary of Bomare.

With regard to corn and leguminous plants, that country had from Europe, wheat, barley, rice, peaſe, beans, lentils, and others; all of which rooted themſelves ſucceſsfully in ſoils ſuited to their nature, and multiplied accordingly as we ſhall ſhew in our diſſertations (*i*).

Of grain, the chief, the moſt uſeful, and moſt common was the maize, called by the Mexicans, *Tlaſlli*; of which there are ſeveral ſpecies, differing in ſize, colour, weight, and taſte. There is the large and the ſmall ſort, the white, the yellow, the blue, the purple, the red, and the black. The Mexicans made bread of maize, and other meats, of which we ſhall treat hereafter. Maize was carried from America to Spain, and from Spain into the other countries of Europe, to the great advantage of the poor; though an author of the preſent day, would make America indebted to Europe for it; an opinion the moſt extravagant and improbable which ever entered a human brain (*k*).

Spain, being made acquainted of the lands of Mexico being fit for the culture of flax and hemp, ſent, in the year 1778, twelve country families from Vega di Granata, to be employed in that kind of agriculture.

(*i*) Dr. Hernandez, in his Natural Hiſtory of Mexico, deſcribes the ſpecies of wheat found in Michuacan, and boaſts its prodigious fecundity: but the ancients either did not know, or did not incline to uſe it, but gave preference to them, as they ſtill do, to their own maize. The firſt perſon who ſowed European wheat in that country was, a Moorith ſlave belonging to Cortez, having diſcovered a few grains of it in a bag of rice, which he carried for proviſion, to the Spaniſh ſoldiers.

(*k*) Here follow the words of Bomare, in his Dictionary of Nat. Hiſt. *article Bled de Turquie.*— *On donne à cette plante encore, & mal, le nom de Bled d'Inde: parce qu'elle fut ſon origine, dit-on, d'un pays appelé les Turquies, & où la date toutes les autres parties de l'Europe, de l'Afrique, & de l'Amérique.* The name of Grano di Turchia, by which it is at preſent known in Italy, muſt certainly have been the only reaſon of Bomare's adopting an error, ſo contrary to the teſtimony of all writers on America, and the univerſal belief of nations. The wheat is called by the Spaniards of Europe and America, *Maize*, taken from the Haitina language, which was ſpoken in the iſland now called Hiſpaniola, or St. Domingo.

The chief pulſe of the Mexicans, was the French bean, of which the ſpecies are more numerous and more varied than thoſe of maize. The largeſt ſpecies is the *Ayacotli*, which is the ſize of a common bean, and comes from a beautiful red flower; but the moſt eſteemed is the ſmall black heavy French bean. This pulſe, which in Italy is of no value, becauſe it is not good there, is ſo excellent in Mexico, that it not only ſerves as ſuſtenance to the poor claſs of people, but is alſo eſteemed a luxury by the Spaniſh nobility.

SECT. VIII. Plants valuable for their root, for their leaves, for their trunk, or for their wood.

Of plants which were valuable for their root, their leaves, their trunk, or their wood, the Mexicans had many which ſerved them for food, namely, the Xicama, Camote, Huacamote, Cacomite, and others; or which furniſhed them with thread for their cloaths, or cordage, namely the Iczotl, and ſeveral ſpecies of Maguei; or gave them wood for buildings and other works, as the cedar, pine, cypreſs, fir, and ebony, &c.

The *Xicama*, called by the Mexicans *Catzotl*, is a root the figure and ſize of an onion; quite white, ſolid, freſh, juicy, and reliſhing, and always eat raw.

The *Camote* is another root, extremely common in that country, of which there are three ſpecies, one white, one yellow, and another purple. When boiled they taſte well, eſpecially thoſe of Queretaro, which are juſtly prized over all the kingdom (*l*).

The *Cacomite* is the eſculent root of the plant which bears the beautiful tyger-flower, already deſcribed.

The Huacamote is the ſweet root of a ſpecies of Jucca (*m*), which is alſo eat boiled. The papa which is a root tranſplanted into Europe, and greatly valued in Ireland, was alſo brought from South America, its native country, into Mexico, as many other roots and ſalads were from Spain and the Canaries, namely, turnips, radiſhes, carrots, garlic, lettuces, and aſparagus, cabbages, &c. Onions were ſold in the markets of Mexico, as Cortez mentions in his letters to Charles Vth. ſo that there was no neceſſity for importing

(*l*) Many call the Camoti, *Batate* or Patate; but I have avoided this name becauſe it is equivocal, and indifferently uſed by authors to ſignify Camoti and Pape which are totally different roots.

(*m*) The Jucca is that plant of whoſe root they make Caſſava bread, in ſeveral countries of America.

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them from Europe. Beſides the name Xonacatl which is given to the onion, and that of Xonocapetec, by which name a certain place has been known ſince the time of the Mexican kings; they let us underſtand that this plant was very ancient in that country, and never tranſplanted there from Europe.

The Maguei called by the Mexicans, *Metl*; by the Spaniards, *Pita*; and by many authors, the American aloe, from its being very ſimilar to the real aloe, is one of the moſt common and moſt uſeful plants of Mexico. Hernandez deſcribes nineteen ſpecies, ſtill more different in their interior ſubſtance than in their external form and colour of leaves. In the ſeventh book of our hiſtory we ſhall have occaſion to explain the great advantages the Mexicans derived from theſe plants, and the incredible profit the Spaniards now make of them.

The Iczotl is a ſpecies of mountain palm, pretty lofty, and generally with a double trunk. Its branches form the figure of a fan, and its leaves a ſpear. Its flowers are white and odorous, which the Spaniards preſerve; and its fruit, at firſt ſight, reſembles the muſa, but is altogether uſeleſs. Of its leaves they did formerly and ſtill make fine mats; and the Mexicans got thread from it for their manufactures.

This is not the only palm of that country. Beſides the *Royal Palm*, ſuperior to all others in the beauty of its branches, the cocoa-palm, and the date-palms (*n*), there are other ſpecies worthy to be mentioned.

The Quauhcojolli, is a palm of middle ſize, whoſe trunk is inacceſſible to quadrupeds, from being armed round with long, hard, and very ſharp thorns. Its branches have the figure of an elegant feather, between which its fruit hangs in cluſters, being round, large as the common walnut, and like it conſiſting of four parts, that is a ſkin at firſt green and afterwards blackiſh, a yellow pulp ſtrongly adhering to the ſtone, a round and very hard ſtone, and within the ſtone a kernel or white ſubſtance.

The Ixhuatl is ſmaller and has not more than ſix or ſeven branches, for as ſoon as a new one buds, one of the old one's withers. Of

(*n*) Beſides the Date palm proper to that country, there is alſo the Barbary date-palm. Dates are ſold in the month of June, in the markets of Mexico, Angelopoli, and other cities; but notwithſtanding their ſweetneſs they are little in demand.

its

its leaves they made baſkets and mats, and at preſent they make hats, and other conveniences of them. The bark to the depth of three fingers, is nothing but a maſs of membranes, about a foot long, thin and flexible, but alſo ſtrong; of a number of which joined together, the poor people make matraſſes.

The palm Teoiczotl is alſo ſmall. The ſubſtance of the trunk which is ſoft, is ſurrounded with leaves of a particular ſubſtance, round, groſs, white, ſmooth, and ſhining, which appears like ſo many ſhells heaped upon each other, with which, formerly the Indians, as they do now, adorned the arches of leaves which they made for their feſtivals.

There is another palm, which bears cocoas or nuts of oil, ſo called, (termed by the Spaniards *Cocos de Aceite*;) becauſe they obtain a good oil from it. The cocoa of oil, is a nut in figure and in ſize like the nutmeg; within which there is a white, oily, eatable kernel, covered by a thin purple pellicle. The oil has a ſweet ſcent, but is too eaſily condenſed, and then becomes a white maſs, ſoft, and white as ſnow.

For the excellence, variety, and plenty of its timber, that country is equal to any in the world; as there is no ſort of climate wanting in it, every one produces its peculiar wood. Beſides oaks, firs, pines, cypreſſes, beeches, aſhes, hazels, poplars, and many others common in Europe, there are entire woods of cedars and ebonies, the two ſpecies moſt valued by the ancients: there is an abundance of Agalloco or wood of aloe, in Mixteca; of Tapinzecan, in Michuacan; Caoba, in Chiapan *Palo Gateado*; which we might call *creeping wood*, in Zoncoliuhcan, (now *Zongolica*); *Camote* in the mountains of Tezcoco; Granadillo or red ebony, in Mixteca and elſewhere; Mizquitl or real Acacia, Tepehuaxin, Copti, Jabin, Guayacan or holy wood, Ayaquahuitl, Oyametl, the wood of Zopilote, and innumerable other woods valuable for their durability, their hardneſs, and weight (*o*), their pliableneſs or eaſineſs of being cut, the elegance of

(*o*) Pliny, in his Natural Hiſtory, lib. xvi. cap. 4. mentions no other woods of great ſpecific weight, in water, than theſe four, ebony, box, birch, and barked cork. But in Mexico there are many trees, whoſe wood does not float in water, as the Guayacan, Tapinzecan, Jabin, Quilbrahacha, &c. The Quilbrahacha, which means break-axe, is ſo called becauſe in cutting it the axe is frequently broke by the hardneſs of the wood.

their

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their colours, or the agreeableneſs of their odour. The Camote is of a moſt beautiful purple; and the Granadillo, a dark-red colour; but the Red Sanders, Caoba, and Tzopiloquahuitl or wood of Zopilot, are ſtill more admirable. The hardneſs of the Guayacan is well known in Europe; the Jabin has the ſame property in no leſs a degree. The aloe-wood of Mixteca, although different from the true Agalloco of the Eaſt, according to the deſcription given of it by Garzia dell'Orto (*p*) and other authors, is however, not leſs to be eſteemed for its delightful odour, eſpecially when it is freſh cut. There is alſo in that country, a tree whoſe wood is precious, but its nature is ſo malignant as to occaſion a ſwelling in the ſcrotum of any one who manages it indiſcreetly when freſh cut. The name which the Michuacans give it (which I do not at preſent remember) expreſſes diſtinctly that noxious effect. I have never been a witneſs of this fact, nor have I ſeen the tree; but I learnt it when I was in Michuacan, from reſpectable authority.

Hernandez, in his Natural Hiſtory, deſcribes about one hundred ſpecies of trees; but having, as we before mentioned, conſecrated his ſtudy to the medicinal plants, he omits the greater part of thoſe which that fertile ſoil produces, and in particular thoſe which are moſt conſiderable for their ſize, and valued for their wood. There are alſo trees, in height and largeneſs ſo prodigious, they are not at all inferior to thoſe which Pliny boaſts to be the miracles of nature.

Acoſta makes mention of a cedar, which was in Atlacuechahuayan, a place nine miles diſtant from Antequera or Oaxaca, the circumference of whoſe trunk was ſixteen fathoms, that is more than eighty-two feet of Paris; and I have ſeen in a houſe in the country a beam, one hundred and twenty Caſtilian feet, or one hundred and ſeven Pariſian feet long. In the capital, and other cities there are very large tables of cedar to be ſeen, conſiſting of one ſingle piece. In the valley of Atlixo there is ſtill exiſting a very ancient fir-tree (*q*), ſo large, that into a cavity of its trunk which was occaſioned by

(*p*) Storia dei Semplici, Aromati, &c. della India Orientale.

(*q*) The Mexican name of this tree is, Ahuehuetl; and the common Spaniard of that country calls it, Ahuehuete; but thoſe who would ſpeak in Caſtilian call it Sabino, that is Savin, in which they are deceived; for the Ahuehuetl, though very like to Savin, is not one, but a fir, as Hernandez demonſtrates, in lib. iii. cap. 66, of his Nat. Hiſt. I ſaw the fir of Atlixco in my way through that city, in 1756, but not near enough to form a juſt idea of its bigneſs.

lightning,

lightning, fourteen men on horſeback could conveniently enter. We are given a ſtill ſtronger idea of its capacity from a teſtimony even ſo reſpectable as his Excellency D. F. Lorenzana, formerly Archbiſhop of Mexico, now of Toledo. This Prelate, in the annotations which he made on the letters of Cortez, to Charles Vth. and printed in Mexico, in 1770, atteſts that having gone himſelf, in company with the Archbiſhop of Guatemala and the Biſhop of Angelopoli, to view that celebrated tree, he made one hundred young lads enter its trunk.

The Ceibas, which I ſaw in the maritime province of Xicayan, may be compared with this famous fir. The largeneſs of theſe trees is proportioned to their prodigious elevation, and they afford a moſt delightful proſpect at the time they are adorned with new leaves and loaded with fruit, in which there is incloſed a particular ſpecies of white, fine, and moſt delicate cotton. This might be, and actually has been made into webs as ſoft and delicate, and perhaps more ſo, than ſilk (*r*); but it is toileſome to ſpin, on account of the ſmallneſs of the threads, and the profit does not requite the labour, the web not being laſting. Some uſe it for pillows and mattraſſes which have the ſingular property of ſwelling enormouſly when expoſed to the ſun.

Amongſt the great many trees worthy of notice for their peculiarities, which I am however obliged to look over, I cannot omit a certain ſpecies of wood-fig, which grows in the country of the Cohuixcas and in other places of the kingdom. It is a lofty, groſs, thick tree, ſimilar in leaves and fruit to the common fig. From its branches, which extend horizontally, ſpring certain filaments which taking their direction towards the earth, increaſe and grow till they reach it; ſtrike root and form ſo many new trunks, that from one ſingle fig, a whole wood may be generated. The fruit of this tree is altogether uſeleſs, but its timber is good (*s*).

In

(*r*) D. Bonnae ſays, that the Mexicans make of the thread of the Ceiba, the reſemble cotton, which is ſo ſcarce, and ſo much uſed in Europe. I do not wonder at the ſoftneſs of ſuch cloth, conſidering the difficulty of making it. The name Ceiba is taken, as many others, from the language which was ſpoke in the iſland Haiti, or San Domingo. The Mexicans call it, Pochotl; and many Spaniards Pochote. In Africa it has the name of Bentem. The Ceiba, ſays the above author, is higher than all the trees hitherto known.

(*s*) A. Perez de Ribas makes mention of this ſingular fig, in his Hiſtory of the Miſſions, [illegible] and Bonnae in his Dictionary, under the names of Higuier del Indes, Grande Higuier,

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SECT. IX. Plants, of uſe for their reſins, gums, oils, and juices.

With reſpect laſtly to plants which yield profitable reſins, gums, oils, or juices, the country of Anahuac is moſt ſingularly fertile, as Acoſta in his Natural Hiſtory acknowledges.

The Huitziloxitl, from which a balſam diſtils, is a tree of moderate height. Its leaves are ſomething ſimilar to thoſe of the almond tree, but larger; its wood is reddiſh and odorous, and its bark grey, but covered with a reddiſh pellicle. Its flowers, which are pale, ſpring from the extremity of the branches. Its ſeed is ſmall, white, and crooked; and likewiſe comes from the extremity of a thin ſhell about a finger long. In whatever part an inciſion is made, eſpecially after rains, that excellent reſin diſtils which is ſo much valued in Europe, and nowiſe inferior to the celebrated balſam of Meccha (*t*). Our balſam is of a reddiſh black, or a yellowiſh white, as from an inciſion it runs of both colours, of a ſharp and bitter taſte, and an intenſe but moſt grateful odour. The balſam tree is common in the provinces of Panuco and Chiapan, and in other warm countries. The kings of Mexico cauſed it to be tranſplanted into the celebrated garden of Huaxtepec, where it rooted ſucceſsfully, and multiplied conſiderably in all thoſe mountains. Some of the Indians, to extract a greater quantity of balſam, after making an inciſion in the tree, have burnt the branches. The abundance of theſe valuable trees make them regardleſs of the loſs of numbers; by which means they are not obliged to wait the ſlowneſs of the diſtillation. The ancient Mexicans not only collected the opobalſam, or drop diſtilled from the trunk, but alſo extracted the xylobalſam from the branches by means of decoction (*u*). From the Huaconex and Maripenda (*x*), they extracted an oil equivalent to the balſam. The Huaconex is a tree of moderate height, and

Hiquier, & Higuier admirable. The hiſtorians of Eaſt India deſcribe another tree, ſimilar to this, which is found there.

(*t*) The firſt balſam brought from Mexico to Rome was ſold at one hundred ducats, by the ounce, as Monardes atteſts in his Hiſtory of the medicinal Simples of America, and was declared by the Apoſtolic See, meeter fit for chriſm, although it is different from that of Meccha, as Acoſta and other writers on America obſerve.

(*u*) There is an oil alſo drawn from the fruit of the Huitziloxitl, ſimilar in ſmell and taſte to that of the bitter almond, but more acrimonious and intenſe, which is found highly uſeful in medicine.

(*x*) The names Huaconex and Maripenda are not Mexican, but adopted by the authors who write of theſe trees.

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of an aromatic and hard wood which keeps freſh for years though buried under the earth. Its leaves are ſmall and yellow, its flowers likewiſe ſmall and white, and its fruit ſimilar to that of the laurel. They diſtilled oil from the bark of the tree; after breaking it, keeping it three days in ſpring water, and then drying it in the ſun. They likewiſe extracted an oil from the leaves, of a pleaſing odour. The Maripenda is a ſhrub, whoſe leaves are like the iron of a lance; and the fruit is ſimilar to the grape, and grows in cluſters which are firſt green, afterwards red. They extracted the oil, by a decoction of the branches, with a mixture of ſome of the fruit.

The Xochiocotzotl, commonly liquid amber, is the liquid Storax of the Mexicans. It is a great tree (not a ſhrub, as Pluche makes it); its leaves are ſimilar to thoſe of the maple tree indented, white in one part, and dark in the other; and diſpoſed in threes. The fruit is thorny and round but polygonous, with the ſurface and the angles yellow. The bark of the tree is in part green, part tawny. By inciſion in the trunk, they extract that precious reſin called by the Spaniards, *liquidambar*; and the oil of the ſame name, which is ſtill more odorous and eſtimable. They alſo obtain liquid amber from a decoction of the branches, but it is inferior to that which diſtils from the trunk.

The Mexican name Copalli, is generic, and common to all the reſins; but eſpecially ſignifies thoſe which were made uſe of for incenſe. There are ten ſpecies of trees which yield theſe ſorts of reſin, and differ not only in their name, but in foliage and fruit, and in the quality of the reſin. That ſimply called Copal, as being the principal, is a white tranſparent reſin, which diſtils from a large tree, whoſe leaves reſemble thoſe of the oak, but are larger, and the fruit is round and reddiſh. This reſin is well known in Europe by the name of gum *Copal*, and alſo the uſe which is made of it in medicine and varniſhes. The ancient Mexicans uſed it chiefly in burnt offerings which they made for the worſhip of their idols; or to pay reſpect to ambaſſadors, and other perſons of the firſt rank. At preſent they conſume a great quantity in the worſhip of the true God, and his ſaints. The *Tecopalli* or *Tepeco-palli*, is a reſin ſimilar in colour, odour, and taſte to the incenſe of

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Arabia; which diſtils from a tree of moderate ſize that grows in mountains, the fruit of which is like an acorn, containing the nut enveloped in a mucilage, within which there is a ſmall kernel, that is uſeful in medicine. Not only theſe two trees but all the others of this claſs, which we cannot here deſcribe, are peculiar to warm climates.

The *Caragna*, and the *Tecamaca*, reſins well known in the apothecaries ſhops of Europe, diſtil from two Mexican trees of rather large ſize. The trunk of the Caragna (*y*), is tawny, ſmooth, ſhining, and odorous; and its leaves, though round, not diſſimilar to thoſe of the olive. The tree of the Tecamaca has large indented leaves, and red, round, and ſmall fruit, hanging from the end of the branches.

The *Mizquitl* or Mezquite, as the Spaniards call it, is a ſpecies of true Acacia; and the gum which diſtils from it is the true gum arabic, as Hernandez and other learned naturaliſts teſtify. The Mezquite is a thorny ſhrub, whoſe branches are moſt irregularly diſpoſed; and its leaves ſmall, thin, and pinnated. Its flowers are like thoſe of the birch tree. Its fruits are ſweet, eatable ſhells, containing a ſeed, of which anciently the barbarous Cicimecas made a paſte, which ſerved them for bread. Its wood is exceedingly hard and heavy. Theſe trees are as common in Mexico as oaks in Europe, particularly on hills in temperate countries (*z*).

Lac, or Gomma Laca (as it is called by the Spaniards), runs in ſuch abundance from a tree like the Mezquite, the branches are covered with it (*a*). This tree, which is of moderate ſize, has a red-

(*y*) The Mexicans gave the Caragna tree, the name of *Trahuelilocaquahuitl*, that is, tree of malignity, not Haheliloca, as De Bomare writes it; becauſe they ſuperſtitiouſly believed it to be feared by evil ſpirits, and a powerful preſervative againſt ſorcery. The name Tecamaca is taken from the Tecomac Ihiyac of the Mexicans.

(*z*) There is in Michoacan a ſpecies of Mezquite or Acacia, without the leaſt thorn, and with finer leaves; but in every thing elſe like the other.

(*a*) Garzia dell'Orto, in his hiſtory of the ſimples of India, maintains, from the accounts of ſome perſons experienced in theſe countries, that Lac is produced by ants. This opinion has been adopted by many authors; and Bomare does him the honour to believe the fact fully demonſtrated; but let us examine how far this is from truth. Firſt, Theſe boaſted demonſtrations are but equivocal proofs and fallacious conjectures, which any one will be convinced of, who reads the above authors. Second, Of all the naturaliſts who write of Lac, no one has ever ſeen it on the tree, but Hernandez; and this learned and ſincere author affirms, without the ſmalleſt diffidence, that the Lac is a gum diſtilled from the tree

red-coloured trunk, and is very common in the provinces of the Cohuixcas and Tlahuica.

Dragon's blood runs from a large tree whoſe leaves are broad and angular. It grows in the mountains of Quauhchinanco, and in thoſe of the Cohuixca's (*b*).

The *Elaſtic Gum*, called by the Mexicans *Olin* or *Olli*, and by the Spaniards of that kingdom, *Ule*, diſtils from the Olquahuitl, which is a tree of moderate ſize; the trunk of which is ſmooth and yellowiſh, the leaves pretty large, the flowers white, and the fruit yellow and rather round, but angular; within which there are kernels as large as filberds, and white, but covered with a yellowiſh pellicle. The kernel has a bitter taſte, and the fruit always grows attached to the bark of the tree. When the trunk is cut, the Ule which diſtils from it is white, liquid, and viſcous; then it becomes yellow, and laſtly of a leaden colour though rather blacker, which it always retains. Thoſe who gather it can model it to any form according to the uſe they put it to.

The Mexicans made their foot-balls of this gum, which, though heavy, rebound more than thoſe filled with air. At preſent, beſides other uſes to which they apply it, they varniſh their hats, their boots, cloaks, and great coats with it, in the ſame way as wax is uſed in Europe, which makes them all water proof: from Ule, when rendered liquid by fire, they extract a medicinal oil. This tree grows in hot countries ſuch as Ihualapan and Mecatlan, and is common in the kingdom of Guatemala (*c*). The Quauhxiotl, is a

tree which the Mexicans call, Tzinacancuitla-quahuitl, and confutes the other opinion. Thirdly, The country where Lac abounds, is the fertile province of the Tlahuixchas, where all the fruits proſper ſurpriſingly; and are thence carried in great quantities to the capital. But ſuch a quantity of fruit could not be gathered if there were ſo many millions of ants in that land as would be neceſſary to produce ſuch an exceſſive quantity of Lac, the trees being very numerous, and almoſt all of them full of it. Fourthly, If the Lac is the labour of ants, why do they produce it only in theſe trees, and not in any other ſpecies? &c. Lac was called by the Mexicans, Bat's Dung, from ſome analogy which they diſcovered between them.

(*b*) The Mexicans call dragon's blood *Ezpàtli*, which ſignifies blood-coloured medicament; and the tree *Ezquahuitl*, that is blood-coloured tree. There is another tree of the ſame name in the mountains of Quauhnahuac, which is ſomething ſimilar, but its leaves are round and rough, its bark thick, and its root odorous.

(*c*) In Michuacan there is a tree, called by the Taraſcas *Tarimapa*, of the ſame ſpecies as the Olquahuitl; but its leaves are different.

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midling tree, the leaves of which are round, and the bark reddiſh. There are two inferior ſpecies of it, the one yields a white gum, which, when put in water, gives it a milk colour. The other drops a reddiſh gum; they are both very ſerviceable in dyſenteries.

In this claſs of plants we ought to give a place to the fir, the *Higuerilla* (which reſembles the fig), and the Ocote, a certain ſpecies of pine that is very aromatic, on account of the oils which they yield; and Braſil wood, logwood, indigo, and many others, on account of their juices; but ſeveral of theſe plants are already known in Europe, and the others we ſhall have occaſion to treat of elſewhere.

The ſmall part of the vegetable kingdom of Anahuac which we have here communicated, revives our regret that the accurate knowledge, which the ancient Mexicans acquired of natural hiſtory, has almoſt totally diſappeared. We know its woods, mountains, and vallies are ſcattered with innumerable plants, valuable and uſeful, yet hardly one naturaliſt has ever fixed his attention on them. Who can help lamenting, that of the immenſe treaſures which the period of two centuries and a half has diſcovered in its rich mines, no part ſhould have been deſtined to the foundation of an academy of Naturaliſts, who might have purſued the ſteps of the celebrated Hernandez, and imparted to ſociety the knowledge of theſe precious gifts which the Creator has there ſo liberally diſpenſed!

SECT. X. Quadrupeds of the kingdom of Anahuac.

The animal kingdom of Anahuac is not better known, although it was attended to with equal diligence by Doctor Hernandez. The difficulty of diſtinguiſhing the ſpecies, and the impropriety of appellations taken from analogy, have rendered the hiſtory of animals perplexed and indiſtinct. The firſt Spaniards who gave them names, were more ſkilful in the art of war than in the ſtudy of nature. Inſtead of retaining the terms which the Mexicans uſed, which would have been the moſt proper, they denominated many animals, tygers, wolves, bears, dogs, ſquirrels, &c. although they were very different in kind, merely from ſome reſemblance in the colour of their ſkin, or figure, or ſome ſimilarity in their habits and diſpoſition. I do not pretend to correct their errors, and ſtill leſs to illuſtrate the natural hiſtory of that vaſt kingdom; but only to give my readers ſome ſlight idea of the quadrupeds, birds, reptiles, fiſhes, and inſects, which inhabit the land and waters of Anahuac.

Of

Of the quadrupeds ſome are ancient, ſome modern. We call thoſe modern which were tranſported from the Canaries and Europe into that country in the ſixteenth century. Such are horſes, aſſes, bulls, ſheep, goats, hogs, dogs, and cats, which have all ſucceſsfully multiplied. In our fourth diſſertation we ſhall evince this truth in confutation of ſome philoſophers of the age, who have endeavoured to perſuade us that all quadrupeds degenerate in the new world.

Of the ancient quadrupeds, by which we mean thoſe that have from time immemorial been in that country, ſome were common to both the continents of Europe and America, ſome peculiar to the new world, in common however to Mexico and other countries of North or South America, others were natives only of the kingdom of Mexico.

The ancient quadrupeds common to Mexico and the old continent are, lions, tygers, wild cats, bears, wolves, foxes, the common ſtags, and white ſtags *(d)*, bucks, wild goats, badgers, polecats, weazles, martens, ſquirrels, *Polatucas*, rabbits, hares, otters, and rats. I am well aware that Mr. Buffon will not allow a native lion, tyger, or rabbit, to America: but as in our diſſertations we have combated this opinion, which reſts chiefly on the ſlight foundation of the imagined impoſſibility of animals, which are peculiar to warm countries of the old world, finding a paſſage to the new continent; it is not neceſſary here to interrupt the courſe of our hiſtory with confuting it.

The *Miztli* of the Mexicans, is certainly no other than the lion without hair mentioned by Pliny *(e)*, and totally diſtinct from the African lion; and the *Ocelotl* is no way different from the African tyger, according to the teſtimony of Hernandez, who knew both the latter and the former. The *Tochtli* of Mexico is exactly the rabbit of the old continent, and at leaſt as ancient as the Mexican calendar, in which the figure of the rabbit was the firſt ſymbolical cha-

(*d*) The white ſtag, whether it is of the ſame or a different ſpecies from the other ſtag, is unqueſtionably common to both continents. It was known to the Greeks and Romans. The Mexicans called it king of the Stags. Mr. Buffon is deſirous of perſuading us that the white colour of ſtags is the effect of their being in captivity; but as in the mountains of New Spain, the white ſtag is found, which was never made captive by man, ſuch an idea can no longer be entertained.

(*e*) Pliny, in lib. viii. cap. 16. diſtinguiſhes the two ſpecies of lions, with and without hair, and aſcertains the number of each ſpecies which Pompey preſented at the Roman ſpectacles.

racter

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racter of their years. The wild cats, in ſize much larger than the domeſtic cats, are fierce and dangerous. The bears are all black, and more corpulent than thoſe which are brought from the Alps into Italy. The hares are diſtinguiſhed from thoſe of Europe by their longer ears, and the wolves by a groſſer head. Both ſpecies are plentiful in that country. According to M. Buffon, we give the name *Polatuca* to the *Quimickpatlan*, or flying rat of the Mexicans. We call it rat, becauſe it reſembles it in the head, though it is much larger; and *flying*, becauſe in its natural ſtate the ſkin of its ſides is looſe and wrinkled, which it diſtends and expands together with its feet like wings when it makes any conſiderable leap from tree to tree. The vulgar Spaniard confounds this quadruped with the common ſquirrel from their likeneſs, but they are undoubtedly different. Mice were brought to Mexico in European ſhips; the rat was not ſo, but always known in Mexico by the name of *Quimichin*, which term they uſed metaphorically to their ſpies.

The quadrupeds which are common to Mexico and other regions of the new world, are the *Cojametl*, *Epatl*, ſeveral ſpecies of apes, comprehended by the Spaniards under the generic name of *Monos*, the *Ajotochtli*, *Aztacojotl*, *Tlacuatzin*, *Techichi*, *Telalmototli*, *Techallotl*, *Amiztli*, *Mapach*, and the *Danta (f)*.

The *Cojametl*, to which, from its reſemblance to the wild boar, the Spaniards gave the name of Javali, or wild hog, is called in other countries of America *Pecar*, *Saino*, and *Tayaſſu*. The gland it has in the cavity of its back from which a plentiful wheyiſh ſtinking liquid diſtils, led the firſt hiſtorians of the country, and ſince them many others into the miſtaken belief that it produced hogs with their navels on their backs; and many ſtill credit the abſurdity, although upwards of two centuries are elapſed ſince anatomiſts have evinced the

(*f*) Many authors include the *Paco*, or Peruvian ram, the *Huanaco*, the Vicogna, taruga, and the ſloth, amongſt the animals of Mexico; but all theſe quadrupeds are peculiar to South and none of them to North America. It is true, Hernandez makes mention of the *Paco* amongſt the quadrupeds of New Spain, gives a drawing of it, and makes uſe of the Mexican name *Pelonichcatl*; but it was on account of a few individuals which were brought there from Peru, which the Mexicans called by that name; in the ſame manner as he deſcribes ſeveral animals of the Philippine Iſles, not that therefore they had ever been bred in Mexico, or found in any country of North America, unleſs it was ſome individual carried there as a curioſity as they are carried into Europe.

error

error by diſſection of the animal. Such is the difficulty of rooting out popular prejudices! The fleſh of the *Cojametl* is agreeable to eat, provided it is quickly killed, the gland cut out, and all the ſtinking liquid cleaned from it; otherwiſe the whole meat becomes infected.

The *Epatl*, by the Spaniards called *Zorrillo*, ſmall fox, is leſs known in Europe by the beauty of its ſkin than the intolerable ſtink it leaves behind when huntſmen are in cloſe purſuit of it *(g)*.

The *Tlacuatzin*, which in other countries bears the names of *Chincha*, *Sarigua*, and *Opoſſum*, has been deſcribed by many writers, and is much celebrated on account of the double ſkin to the belly in the female, which reaches from the beginning of the ſtomach to the orifice of the womb, covering its teats, has an opening in the middle to admit its young, where they are guarded and ſuckled. In creeping, or climbing over the walls of houſes, it keeps the ſkin diſtended, with the entrance ſhut, ſo that its young cannot drop out; but when it wiſhes to ſend them abroad to begin to provide food for themſelves, or to let them re-enter either to be ſuckled or ſecured from danger, it opens the entrance by relaxing the ſkin, diſguiſing her burden while ſhe carries them, and her delivery every time ſhe lets them out. This curious quadruped is the deſtroyer of all poultry.

The *Ajotochtli*, called by the Spaniards *Armadillo*, or *Encobertado*, and by others *Tatu*, is well known to Europeans by the bony ſcales which cover its back, reſembling the ancient armour of horſes. The Mexicans gave it the name of *Ajotochtli*, from an imperfect likeneſs it has to the rabbit, when it puts out its head and throws it back upon its neck, while it ſhrinks under its ſcales or ſhell *(h)*.

(*g*) Mr. Buffon enumerates four ſpecies of the Epatl under the generic name of *Mouffetes*. He obſerves afterwards, that the two firſt which he names *Coeſo* and *Conipata*, are from North America, and the *Chincho* and Zorrillo, which are the two others, are from South America. We find no grounds to believe theſe four different ſpecies, but only four varieties of the ſame ſpecies. The name *Coeſo*, or ſquaſs taken from Dampier the navigator, who affirms the term to be common in New Spain, was never heard of in all that country. The Indians of Yucatam, where that navigator was, call that quadruped *Paſ*.

(*h*) Ajotochtli is a word compounded of *Ayotli*, the back part of the head, and *Tochtli*, rabbit. Buffon numbers eight ſpecies of them under the name of *Tatous*, eſtimating their difference from the number of ſcales and moveable ſubſtances which cover them. I cannot exactly ſay how many ſpecies there may be in Mexico, having but a few individuals; as I did not think at the time of writing on this ſubject, I was not curious to count their ſcales, nor do I know of any body who ever attended to ſuch a ſtrange kind of diſtinction.

But

But it reſembles no animal more than the turtle, although many parts of its form are totally diſſimilar. We might give it the name of the teſtaceous quadruped. When this animal happens to be chaced on level ground, it has no means of eſcaping from the hands of its purſuers; but as it chiefly inhabits the mountains, when it meets with any declivity it coils itſelf up in the form of a globe, and by rolling itſelf down the deſcent fools the hunter.

The *Techichi*, which had elſewhere the name of *Alco*, was a quadruped of Mexico, and other countries of America, which from its reſemblance to a little dog was called by the Spaniards *Perro*, which ſignifies *dog*. It was of a melancholy aſpect and perfectly dumb, from whence the fabulous account propagated by many authors ſtill living aroſe, of dogs becoming mute when tranſported from the old to the new world. The fleſh of the *Techichi* was eat by the Mexicans, and if we may credit the Spaniards who eat it, was agreeable and nouriſhing food. After the conqueſt of Mexico, the Spaniards having neither large cattle, nor ſheep, provided their markets with this quadruped; by which means the ſpecies was ſoon extinct, although it had been very numerous.

The *Tlalmotoli*, or land-ſquirrel, called by Buffon *Suizzero*, is like the real ſquirrel in the eyes, in the tail, in ſwiftneſs, and in all its movements; but very different in colour, in ſize, in its habitation, and ſome of its qualities. The hair of its belly is quite white, and the reſt of it is white mixed with grey. Its ſize is double that of the ſquirrel, and it does not dwell in trees, but in ſmall holes which it digs in the earth, or amongſt the ſtones of ramparts which encloſe fields, where it does conſiderable damage by the grain which it carries off. It bites moſt furiouſly any one who approaches it, and cannot be tamed, but has great elegance of form, and is graceful in its movement. This ſpecies is a very numerous one, particularly in the kingdom of Michuacan. The *Techallotl* is no way different from the preceding animal, except in having a ſmaller and leſs hairy tail.

The *Amyztli*, or ſea-lion, is an amphibious quadruped which inhabits the ſhores of the Pacific Ocean, and ſome rivers of that kingdom. Its body is three feet in length, its tail two. Its ſnout is long

long, its legs ſhort, the nails crooked. Its ſkin is valuable on account of the length and ſoftneſs of its hair *(i)*.

The Mapach of the Mexicans is, agreeable to the opinion of Buffon, the ſame quadruped which is known in Jamaica by the name of *Ratton*, rattoon, or Weſt-Indian fox. The Mexican one is of the ſize of a badger, with a black head, a long ſharp ſnout like a greyhound, ſmall ears, round body, hair mixed with black and white, a long and hairy tail, and five toes to every foot. It has a white ſtreak over each eye, and like the ſquirrel makes uſe of its paws to convey any thing to its mouth which it is going to eat. It feeds indifferently on grain, fruits, inſects, lizards, and pullet's blood. It is eaſily tamed, and entertaining with its play, but perfidious like the ſquirrel, and apt to bite its maſter.

The *Danta*, or *Anta*, or *Beori*, or *Tapir*, as it is differently named in different countries, is the largeſt quadruped of the kingdom of Mexico (*k*), and approaches moſt to the ſea-horſe, not however in ſize, but in ſome of its ſhapes and qualities. The danta is about the ſize of a middling mule. Its body is a little arched like that of a hog, its head groſs and long with an appendage to the ſkin of the upper lip, which it extends or contracts at pleaſure; its eyes are ſmall, its ears little and round, its legs ſhort, its fore feet have four nails, the hind feet three, its tail ſhort and pyramidical, its ſkin pretty thick and covered with thick hair, which at an advanced age is brown; its ſet of teeth, which are compoſed of twenty maxillary, and as many inciſors, is ſo ſtrong and ſharp, and it makes ſuch terrible bites with them that it has been ſeen, according to the teſtimony of Oviedo the hiſtorian, and an eye-witneſs, to tear off at one bite two or three handbreadths of ſkin from a hound, and at another a whole leg and thigh. Its fleſh is eatable (*l*), and its ſkin valuable, from its being ſo ſtout as to reſiſt not only arrows, but even muſket-balls.

(*i*) We reckon the *Mapach* among the quadrupeds which are common to other countries of America, as it appears to be the ſame animal which Buffon deſcribes under the name of Tarigueya.

(*k*) The Danta is much leſs than the Thacaxolotl deſcribed by Hernandez; but we do not know of this great quadruped ever having been in the kingdom of Mexico. The ſame may be ſaid of the ſtags of New Mexico, and of the Cibolle, or Biſonte, which are alſo larger than the Danta. See our IVth Diſſertation.

(*l*) Oviedo ſays, that the legs of the Danta are pretty good eating, provided they remain twenty-four hours continually at the fire.

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This quadruped inhabits the ſolitary woods of warm countries near to ſome river or lake, as it lives not leſs in the water than on the land.

All the ſpecies of monkies in that kingdom, are known by the Mexicans under the general name of *Ozomatli*, and by the Spaniards under that of *Monos*. They are of different ſizes and figure, ſome ſmall and uncommonly diverting; ſome middling, of the ſize of a badger; and others large, ſtout, fierce, and bearded, which are called by ſome *Zambos*. Theſe when they ſtand upright, which they do upon two legs, often equal the ſtature of a man. Amongſt the middling kind there are thoſe which from having a dogs-head, belong to the claſs of the cynocephali, although they are all furniſhed with a tail (*m*).

With reſpect to the ant-killers, that is, thoſe quadrupeds which are ſo ſingular for the enormous length of their ſnout, the narrowneſs of their throat, and immoderate tongue, with which they draw the ants out of their ant-hills, and from whence they have got their name; I have never ſeen any in that kingdom, nor do I know that there are any there; but I believe it is no other than the aztacojotl, that is, cojote, ant-killer, mentioned, but not deſcribed by Hernandez (*n*).

The quadrupeds which peculiarly belong to the land of Anahuac, whoſe ſpecies I do not know to have been found in South America, or in other countries of North America, exempt from the dominion of Spain, are the *Cojotl*, the *Tlalcojotl*, *Xoloitzcuintli*, *Tepeitzcuintli*, *Itzcuintepotzotli*, *Ocotochtli*, *Cojopolli*, *Tuza*, *Ahuitzotl*, *Huitztlacuatzin*, and perhaps others which we have not known.

The *Cojotl*, or Coyoto, as the Spaniards call it, is a wild beaſt voracious like the wolf, cunning like the fox, in form like a dog, and in ſome qualities like the *Adive* and the *Chacal*: from whence ſeveral

(*m*) The Cynocephalos of the ancient continent has no tail as every one knows. Their having been monkies found in the New World, which have the head of a dog, and are furniſhed with tails, Briſſon, in his claſs of apes, juſtly applies to them of this claſs the name of Cinocephali Cercopitechi, and divides them into two ſpecies. Buffon, amongſt the many ſpecies of monkies which he deſcribes, omits this one.

(*n*) We call thoſe quadrupeds, ant-killers, which the Spaniards term *Hormigueros*, and the French *Fourmillier*; but the bear, ant-killers, deſcribed by Oviedo, are certainly different from the Fourmilliers of Buffon; for although they agree in the eating of ants, and in their enormous tongue and ſnout, they are nevertheleſs remarkably diſtinguiſhed from each other as to tail, for thoſe of Buffon have an immenſe tail, but Oviedo's none at all. The deſcription which Oviedo gives of their way of hunting the ants is moſt ſingular and curious.

hiſtorians

hiſtorians have at one time judged it of one ſpecies, at another time of another ſpecies; but it is unqueſtionably different from all thoſe, as we ſhall demonſtrate in our Diſſertations. It is leſs than the wolf, and about the ſize of a maſtiff, but ſlenderer. It has yellow ſparkling eyes, ſmall ears pointed and erect, a blackiſh ſnout, ſtrong limbs, and its feet armed with large crooked nails. Its tail thick and hairy, and its ſkin a mixture of black, brown, and white. Its voice hath both the howl of the wolf and the bark of the dog. The Coyoto is one of the moſt common quadrupeds of Mexico *(o)*, and the moſt deſtructive to the flocks. It invades a ſheepfold, and when it cannot find a lamb to carry off, it ſeizes a ſheep by the neck with its teeth, and coupling with it, and beating it on the rump with its tail, conducts it where it pleaſes. It purſues the deer, and ſometimes attacks even men. In flight it does nothing in general but trot; but its trot is ſo lively and ſwift, that a horſe at the gallop can hardly overtake it. The *Cuetlachcojotl* appears to us to be a quadruped of the ſame ſpecies with the Coyoto, as it differs in nothing from it but being thicker in the neck, and having hair like the wolf.

The Tlalcojotl, or Tlalcoyoto, is of the ſize of a middling dog, but groſſer in make, and, in our opinion, the largeſt quadruped of thoſe which live under the earth. In the head it is ſomething like the cat, and in colour and length of hair like the lion. It has a long thick tail, and feeds on poultry, and other little animals, which it hunts after in the obſcurity of the night.

The *Itzcuintepotzotli*, and *Tepuitzcuintli*, and *Xoloitzcuintli*, are three ſpecies of quadrupeds ſimilar to dogs. The *Itzcuintapolzotli*, or hunch-backed dog, is as large as a Malteſan dog, the ſkin of which is varied with white, tawny, and black. Its head is ſmall in proportion to its body, and appears to be joined directly to it on account of the ſhortneſs and greatneſs of its neck; its eyes are pleaſing, its ears looſe, its noſe has a conſiderable prominence in the middle, and its tail ſo ſmall, that it hardly reaches half way down its leg; but the characteriſtic of it is a great hunch which it bears from its neck to its

(*o*) Neither Buffon nor Pomare make mention of the Coyoto, although the ſpecies is one of the moſt common and moſt numerous of Mexico, and amply deſcribed by Hernandez, whoſe Natural Hiſtory they frequently quote.

rump. The place where this quadruped moſt abounds is the kingdom of Michuacan, where it is called *Ahora*. The *Tepeitzcuintli*, that is, the mountain-dog, is a wild beaſt ſo ſmall, that it appears a little dog, but it is ſo daring that it attacks deer, and ſometimes kills them. Its hair and tail are long, its body black, but its head, neck, and breaſt are white *(p)*. The *Xoloitzcuintli* is larger than the two preceding; there being ſome of them, whoſe bodies are even four feet long. Its face is like a dog, but its tuſks like the wolf, its ears erect, its neck groſs, and tail long. The greateſt ſingularity about this animal is its being totally deſtitute of hair, except upon its ſnout, where it has ſome thick crooked briſtles. Its whole body is covered with a ſmooth, ſoft, aſh-coloured ſkin, but ſpotted in part with black and tawny. Theſe three ſpecies are almoſt totally extinct, or at leaſt very few of them remain *(q)*.

The *Ocotochtli* appears agreeable to the deſcription given of it by Hernandez, to belong to the claſs of wild cats; but the author adds ſome circumſtances to it which have much the air of a fable; not that he has been deſirous of deceiving, but that he has truſted too much to the informations of others *(r)*.

The Cojopollin is a quadruped of the ſize of a common mouſe; but the tail is groſſer which it uſes as a hand. Its ſnout and ears are ſimilar to thoſe of a pig: its ears are tranſparent, its legs and feet are white, and its belly is of a whitiſh yellow. It lives and brings up its young in trees. When its young fear any thing, they cling cloſely to their mother.

(p) Buffon believes the Tepeitzcuintli to be the glutton; but we contradict this opinion in our Diſſertations.

(q) Giovanni Fabri, a Lincean academician, publiſhed at Rome a long and learned diſſertation, in which he endeavoured to prove, that the xoloitzcuintli is the ſame with the wolf of Mexico; having without doubt been deceived by the original drawing of the xoloitzcuintli which was ſent to Rome with other pictures of Hernandez; but if he had read the deſcription which this eminent naturaliſt gives of that animal in the book of the Quadrupeds of New Spain, he would have ſpared himſelf the labour of writing that Diſſertation and the expences of publiſhing it.

(r) Dr. Hernandez ſays, that when the Ocotochtli makes any prey it covers it with leaves, and mounting after on ſome neighbouring tree, it begins howling to invite other animals to eat its prey; and itſelf is always the laſt to eat; becauſe the poiſon of its tongue is ſo ſtrong, that if it eat firſt the prey would be infected, and other animals who eat of it would die. This fable is ſtill in the mouths of the vulgar.

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The *Tozan*, or Tuza, is a quadruped of the bigneſs of an European mole, but very different otherwiſe. Its body which is well made is ſeven or eight inches long. Its ſnout is like that of a mouſe, its ears ſmall and round, and tail ſhort. Its mouth is armed with very ſtrong teeth, and its paws are furniſhed with ſtrong crooked nails, with which it digs into the earth and makes little holes, where it inhabits. The Tuza is moſt deſtructive to the fields by ſtealing the corn, and to the highways by the number of holes and hollows which it makes in them; for when it cannot, on account of its little ſight, find its firſt hole, it makes another, multiplying by ſuch means the inconveniences and dangers to thoſe who travel on horſeback. It digs the earth with its claws, and with two dogs-teeth which it has in the upper jaw, larger than its others; in digging it puts the earth into two membranes like purſes which are under its ear, which are furniſhed with muſcles neceſſary for contraction or diſtenſion. When the membranes are full, it empties them by ſtriking the bottom of the membranes with its paws, and then goes on to dig again in the ſame manner, uſing its dogs-teeth and claws as a mattock, and its two membranes as a little ſack or baſket. The ſpecies of the Tuza is very numerous; but we do not recollect to have ever ſeen them in the places where the land-ſquirrels inhabit.

The *Ahuitzotl* is an amphibious quadruped, which for the moſt part dwells in the rivers of warm countries. Its body is a foot long, its ſnout long and ſharp, and its tail large. Its ſkin is of a mixed black and brown colour.

The *Huitztlacuatzin* is the hedge-hog or porcupine of Mexico. It is as large as a midling dog, which it reſembles in the face, although its muzzle is flat; its feet and legs are rather groſs, and its tail in proportion with its body. The whole of its body, except the belly, the hinder part of the tail, and inſide of the legs, is armed with quills or ſpines, which are empty, ſharp, and a ſpan long. On its ſnout and forehead it has long ſtrait briſtles, which riſe upon its head like a plume. All its ſkin, even between the ſpines is covered with a ſoft black hair. It feeds only on the fruits of the earth (s).

(s) Buffon would make the Huitztlacuatzin the Coendù of Guiana, but the Coendù is carnivorous, whereas the Huitztlacuatzin feeds on fruits.

The

BOOK I.

The *Cacomiztle* is a quadruped, exceedingly like the martin in its way of life. It is of the ſize and form of a common cat; but its body is larger, its hair longer, its legs ſhorter, and its aſpect more wild and fierce. Its voice is a ſharp cry, and its food is poultry and other little animals. It inhabits, and brings up its young in places leſs frequented than houſes. By day it ſees little, and does not come out of its hiding-place but at night, to ſearch for food. The *Tlacuatzin*, as well as the *Cacomiztle*, are to be ſeen in ſome of the houſes of the capital (*t*).

Beſides theſe quadrupeds, there were others in the Mexican empire, which I know not whether to conſider as peculiar to that country, or as common to other parts of America; ſuch as the *Itzcuincuani* or dog-eater; the *Tlalocelotl* or little lion; and the *Tlalmiztli* or little tiger. Of thoſe, which although not belonging to the kingdom of Mexico are to be found in other parts of North America ſubject to the Spaniards, we ſhall take notice in our Diſſertations.

SECT. XI. Birds of Mexico.

We ſhould find the birds a more difficult taſk than the quadrupeds, if we ſhould attempt to give an enumeration of their different ſpecies, with a deſcription of their forms and manners. Their prodigious numbers, their variety, and many valuable qualities, have occaſioned ſome authors to obſerve that, as Africa is the country of beaſts, ſo Mexico is the country of birds. Hernandez, in his Natural Hiſtory, deſcribes above two hundred ſpecies peculiar to that kingdom, and yet paſſes over many that deſerve notice, ſuch as the *Cuitlacochi*, the *Zacua*, and the *Madrugador*. We ſhall content ourſelves with running over ſome claſſes of them, and point out any peculiarities, here and there, as they occur. Among the birds of prey there are keſtrels, goſhawks, and ſeveral ſpecies of eagles, falcons, and ſparrow-hawks. The naturaliſt already mentioned, allows the birds of this claſs a ſuperiority over thoſe of Europe; and the excellence of the Mexican falcons was ſo remarkable, that

(*t*) I do not know the true Mexican name of the Cacomiztle, and have therefore uſed the name which the Spaniards in that kingdom, gave it. Hernandez does not mention this quadruped. It is true he deſcribes one, under the name of Cacamiztli, but this is evidently an error of the preſs.

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by the deſire of Philip the Second, a hundred were every year ſent to Spain. The largeſt, the moſt beautiful, and the moſt valuable among the eagles is that named by the Mexicans, *Itzquauhtli*, which not only purſues the larger birds and hares, but will even attack men and beaſts. There are two kinds of keſtrel; the one called *Cenotzqui* is particularly beautiful.

The Ravens of Mexico, called by the Mexicans *Cacalotl*, do not, as in other countries, clear the fields of carrion, but are only employed in ſtealing the ears of corn. The buſineſs of clearing the fields there, is reſerved principally for the *Zopilots*, known in South America by the name of *Gallinazzi*; in other places, by that of *Aure*; and in ſome places, though very improperly, by that of ravens (*u*). There are two very different ſpecies of theſe birds; the one, the Zopilote properly ſo called, the other called the *Cozcaquauhtli*: they are both bigger than the raven. Theſe two ſpecies reſemble each other in their hooked bill and crooked claws, and by having upon their head inſtead of feathers, a wrinkled membrane with ſome curling hairs. They fly ſo high, that although they are pretty large, they are loſt to the ſight; and eſpecially before a hail ſtorm they will be ſeen wheeling, in vaſt numbers, under the loftieſt clouds, till they entirely diſappear. They feed upon carrion, which they diſcover by the acuteneſs of their ſight and ſmell, from the greateſt height, and deſcend upon it with a majeſtic flight, in a great ſpiral courſe. They are both almoſt mute. The two ſpecies are diſtinguiſhable, however, by their ſize, their colour, their numbers, and ſome other peculiarities. The Zopilots, properly ſo called, have black feathers, with a brown head, bill, and feet; they go often in flocks, and rooſt together upon trees (*x*). This ſpecies is very numerous, and is to be found in all the different climates; while on

(*u*) Hernandez has, without any heſitation, made the Zopilote a ſpecies of raven; but they are, certainly, very different birds, not only in their ſize, but in the ſhape of the head; in their flight, and in their voice. Bomare ſays, that the *Aura* is the *Coſquauel* of New Spain, and the *Tzopilot* of the Indians; ſo that the *Cozcaquauhtli*, as well as the *Tzopilotl*, are Mexican names uſed by the Indians, to denote not one bird only, but two different kinds. Some give the one ſpecies the name of *Aura*, and the other that of *Zopilote*, or *Gallinazzo*.

(*x*) The Zopilots contradict the general rule, laid down by Pliny, lib. x. cap. 10. *Unus ex omnibus habetur animus non congregantium, & ſibi quæque prædantium.* The rule can only apply ſtrictly to real birds of prey, ſuch as eagles, vultures, falcons, ſparrow-hawks, &c.

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BOOK I. the contrary, the Cozcaquauhtli is far from numerous, and is peculiar to the warmer climates alone. The latter bird is larger than the Zopilot, has a red head and feet with a beak of a deep red colour, except towards its extremity which is white. Its feathers are brown except upon the neck and parts about the breaſt, which are of a reddiſh black. The wings are of an aſh colour upon the inſide, and upon the outſide are variegated with black and tawny.

The *Cozcaquauhtli* is called by the Mexicans, *king of the Zopilots (y)*; and they ſay, that when theſe two ſpecies happen to meet together about the ſame carrion, the Zopilot never begins to eat till the *Cozcaquauhtli* has taſted it. The Zopilot is a moſt uſeful bird to that country, for they not only clear the fields, but attend the crocodiles and deſtroy the eggs which the females of thoſe dreadful amphibious animals leave in the ſand to be hatched by the heat of the ſun. The deſtruction of ſuch a bird ought to be prohibited under ſevere penalties.

Among the night birds, are ſeveral kinds of owls, to which we may add the bats, although they do not properly belong to the claſs of birds. There are great numbers of bats in the warm and woody countries; ſome of them will draw blood, with dreadful bites, from horſes and other animals. In ſome of the very hot countries bats are found of a prodigious ſize, but not ſo large as thoſe of the Philippine Iſles, and other parts of the Eaſt.

Under the title of aquatic birds I ſhall comprehend, not only the *Palmipedes* which ſwim and live generally in the water, but the *Himantopodes* alſo; with other fiſhing birds which live chiefly upon the ſea ſhore, upon the ſides of lakes and rivers, and ſeek their food

(y) The bird which now goes by the name of *King of the Zopilots*, in New Spain, ſeems different from the one we are now deſcribing. This modern king of the Zopilots is a ſtrong bird, of the ſize of a common eagle; with a ſtately air; ſtrong claws; fine, piercing eyes; and a beautiful black, white, and tawny plumage. It is remarkable, particularly, for a certain ſcarlet coloured, fleſhy ſubſtance, which ſurrounds its neck like a collar, and comes over its head in the form of a little crown. I have had this deſcription of it from a perſon of knowledge and veracity, who aſſures me that he has ſeen three different individuals of this ſpecies, and particularly that one which was ſent from Mexico, in 1750, to the catholic king, Ferdinand VI. He farther informs me, that there was a genuine drawing of this bird, publiſhed in a work called, the American Gazetteer. The Mexican name *Cozcaquauhtli*, which means Ring Eagle, is certainly more applicable to this bird than to the other. The figure exhibited in our plate, is copied from that of the American Gazetteer.

in the water. Of birds of this kind there is a prodigious number of geeſe, at leaſt twenty ſpecies of ducks, ſeveral kinds of herons and egrets, with vaſt numbers of ſwans, gulls, water-rails, divers, king's fiſhers, pelicans, and others. The multitude of ducks is ſometimes ſo great as quite to cover the fields, and to appear, at a diſtance, like flocks of ſheep. Among the herons and egrets, ſome are aſh-coloured, ſome perfectly white; and others of which the plumage of the body is white, while the neck, with the tips and upper part of the wings, and a part of the tail, are enlivened with a bright ſcarlet, or a beautiful blue. The Pellican, or Onocrontalus, known to the Spaniards of Mexico by the name of *Alcatraz*, is ſufficiently known by that great pouch or *venter*, as Pliny calls it, which is under its bill. There are two ſpecies of this bird in Mexico; the one having a ſmooth bill, the other a notched one. Although the Europeans are acquainted with this bird, I do not know whether they are equally well acquainted with the ſingular circumſtance of its aſſiſting the ſick or hurt of its own ſpecies; a circumſtance which the Americans ſometimes take advantage of, to procure fiſh without trouble. They take a live pelican, break its wing, and after tying it to a tree, conceal themſelves in the neighbourhood; there they watch the coming of the other pelicans with their proviſions, and as ſoon as they ſee theſe throw up the fiſh from their pouch, run in, and after leaving a little for the captive bird, they carry off the reſt.

But if the Pelican is admirable for its attention to the others of its ſpecies, the *Yoalquachilli*, is no leſs wonderful on account of the arms with which the Creator has provided it for its defence. This is a ſmall aquatic bird; with a long, narrow neck, a ſmall head; a long, yellow bill, long legs, feet, and claws, and a ſhort tail. The legs and feet are aſh-coloured; the body is black, with ſome yellow feathers about the belly. Upon its head is a little circle or coronet, of a horny ſubſtance, which is divided into three very ſharp points; and it has two others upon the forepart of the wings (*z*).

In the other claſſes of birds ſome are valuable upon account of their fleſh, ſome for their plumage, and ſome for their ſong;

(*z*) In Braſil, alſo, there is an aquatic bird with weapons of this kind; but which, in other reſpects, is a very different bird.

BOOK I. while others engage our attention by their extraordinary inſtinct, or ſome other remarkable quality.

Of the birds which afford a wholeſome and agreeable food, I have counted more than ſeventy ſpecies. Beſides the common fowls, which were brought from the Canary Iſles to the Antilles, and from theſe to Mexico, there were, and ſtill are fowls peculiar to that country; which as they partly reſemble the common fowl, and partly the peacock, were called *Gallipavos* * by the Spaniards, and *Huexolotl* and *Totolin* by the Mexicans. Theſe birds being carried to Europe in return for the common fowls, have multiplied very faſt; and eſpecially in Italy, where, on account of their manners and their ſize, they gave them the name of *Gallinacci* (*a*); but the European fowl has increaſed greatly more in Mexico. There are likewiſe wild fowls in great plenty, exactly like the tame, but larger, and in many places of a much ſweeter fleſh. There are partridges, quails, pheaſants, cranes, turtle-doves, pigeons, and a great variety of others, that are eſteemed in Europe. The reader will form ſome idea of the immenſe number of quails when we ſhall come to ſpeak of the ancient ſacrifices. The pheaſants are different from the pheaſants of Europe, and are of three kinds (*b*). The *Coxolitli* and *Tepetototl*, which are both the ſize of a gooſe, with a creſt upon their heads, which they can raiſe and depreſs at pleaſure, are diſtinguiſhable by their colour, and ſome particular qualities. The *Coxolitli*, called by the Spaniards, Royal Pheaſant, has a tawney-coloured plumage; and its fleſh is more delicate than that of the other. The *Tepetototl* will ſometimes be ſo tame as to pick from its maſter's hand; to run to meet him, with ſigns of joy, when he comes home; to learn to ſhut the door with its bill; and in every thing ſhow greater docility than could be expected in a bird which is properly an inhabitant of the woods. I have ſeen one of theſe pheaſants which, after being ſome time in a poultry yard, had learnt to fight in the manner of cocks, and would fight with them, erecting

(*a*) In Bologna, they are called *Tocchi* and *Tocchini*, and in other places, *Galli d'India*. The French call them *Dindes*, *Dindons*, and *Coqs d'Inde*.

(*b*) Bomare reckons the *Huatzin* among the pheaſants; but for what reaſon, I do not know, as the *Huatzin* belongs with crows, zopilots and others, to the ſecond claſs; the birds of prey.

* In Engliſh, the Turkey.

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the feathers of his creſt, as the cocks do thoſe of the neck. Its feathers are of a ſhining black, and its legs and feet aſh-coloured. The pheaſants of the third ſpecies, called by the Spaniards, *Gritones*, that is, ſcreamers, are ſmaller than the other two; with a brown body, and a black tail and wings. The *Chachalaca*, the fleſh of which is very good eating, is about the ſize of the common fowl. The upper part of the body is of a brown colour, the under part whitiſh, and the bill and feet blueiſh. It is inconceivable what a noiſe theſe birds make in the woods, with their cries; which, although they ſomewhat reſemble the cackling of fowls, are much louder, more conſtant, and more diſagreeable. There are ſeveral ſpecies of turtle-doves, and pigeons, ſome common to Europe, others peculiar to thoſe countries.

The birds valuable for their plumage are ſo many and ſo beautiful, that we ſhould afford a greater pleaſure to our readers, if we could bring them before their eyes, with all the colours which adorn them. I have reckoned five and thirty ſpecies of Mexican birds, that are ſuperlatively beautiful; of ſome of which I muſt take particular notice.

The *Huitzitzilin* is that wonderful little bird ſo often celebrated by the hiſtorians of America, for its ſmallneſs, its activity, the ſingular beauty of its plumage, the thinneſs of its food, and the length of its ſleep in the winter. That ſleep, or rather ſtate of immobility, occaſioned by the numbneſs or torpor of its limbs, has been often required to be proved in legal form, in order to convince ſome incredulous Europeans; an incredulity ariſing from ignorance alone, as the ſame kind of torpor takes place in many parts of Europe, in dormice, hedge-hogs, ſwallows, bats, and other animals whoſe blood is of the ſame temperature; although perhaps it does not continue ſo long in any of them as in the *Huitzitzilin*, which in ſome countries remains without motion from October to April. There are nine ſpecies of *Huitzitzilin*, differing in ſize and colour (*c*).

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(*c*) The Spaniards of Mexico call this bird *Chupamirto*, becauſe it ſucks chiefly the flowers of a plant known there, though very improperly, by the name of a Myrtle. In

 other

The *Tlauhquechol* is an aquatic bird of ſome ſize, with feathers of a beautiful ſcarlet colour, or a reddiſh-white, except thoſe of the neck, which are black. It lives upon the ſea-ſhores, and by the ſides of rivers; and lives only upon live fiſh, never touching any thing that is dead.

The *Nepapantototl*, is a wild duck which frequents the lake of Mexico, and ſeems to have all the colours together aſſembled in its plumage.

The *Tlacuiloltototl*, or painted bird, juſtly deſerves its name; for its beautiful feathers are variegated with red, blue, purple, green, and black. Its eyes are black, with a yellow iris; and the feet aſh-coloured.

The *Tzinizcan* is of the ſize of a pigeon, with a ſmall, crooked, yellow bill. The head and neck are like thoſe of a pigeon, but adorned with ſhining green feathers; the breaſt and belly are white except near the tail, which is variegated with white and blue; the tail is green upon the upper ſide, and black underneath; the wings are partly black, and partly white; and the eyes are black, with reddiſh yellow irides. This bird lives upon the ſea-coaſts.

The *Mezcanauhtli*, is a wild duck, about as large as a domeſtic fowl, but of ſingular beauty. Its bill is pretty long and broad, azure above, and black upon the underſide; the feathers of the body are white, and marked with numerous black ſpots. The wings are white and brown on the under-ſide, and upon the upper-ſide variegated with black, white, blue, green, and tawny-colour. Its feet are of a yellowiſh red; its head brown, and tawny-coloured, and partly purple, with a beautiful white ſpot betwixt the eyes and bill: the eyes are black; and the tail is blue above, brown below, and white at its extremity.

The *Tlauhtototl* is extremely like the *Tlacuiloltototl* in its colours, but is ſmaller. The Huacamaye and the Cardinals, ſo much prized by the Europeans, upon account of their fine colours, are very common in this country.

All theſe beautiful birds and others peculiar to Mexico, beſides ſome which have been brought thither from the countries adjacent,

other parts of America, it is called *Chupaflor*, *Picaflor*, *Tominejo*, *Colibre*, &c. Among the numerous authors who deſcribe this precious little bird, no one gives a better idea of the beauty of its plumage than Acoſta.

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are of great value to the Mexicans, in their ſingular works of Moſaic, which we ſhall mention in another place. Peacocks have been carried there from the old continent, but they have not been attended to; and have, therefore, propagated very ſlowly.

Many authors, who allow to the birds of Mexico a ſuperiority in the beauty of their plumage, have denied them that of ſong: but we can with perfect confidence affirm, that that opinion has not been formed upon real obſervation, but has proceeded from ignorance, as it is more difficult for Europeans to hear the Mexican birds than to ſee them.

There are in Mexico, as well as in Europe, gold-finches and nightingales, and at leaſt two-and-twenty ſpecies beſides, of ſinging birds, which are little or nothing inferior to theſe; but all that we are acquainted with are ſurpaſſed by the very famous *Centzontli*, ſo named by the Mexicans to expreſs the wonderful variety of its notes (*d*). It is impoſſible to give any idea of the ſweetneſs and mellowneſs of its ſong, of the harmony and variety of its tones, or of the facility with which it learns to imitate whatever it hears. It counterfeits naturally, not only the notes of other birds, but even the different noiſes of quadrupeds. It is of the ſize of a common thruſh. Its body is white upon the under-ſide, and grey above; with ſome white feathers, eſpecially about the head and tail. It eats any thing, but delights chiefly in flies, which it will pick from one's finger with ſigns of pleaſure. The Centzontli is to be found every where in great numbers; yet they are ſo much eſteemed, that I have ſeen five-and-twenty crowns paid for one. Attempts have often been made to bring it to Europe, but I do not know if they ever ſucceeded: and I am perſuaded that, although it could be brought to Europe alive, yet it could not be, without injuring its voice and other qualifications, by a change of climate and the hardſhips of a voyage.

(*d*) *Centzontlatotle*, (for that is the real name, and *Centzontli* is but an abbreviation) means the many-voiced. The Mexicans uſe the word *Centzontli* (four hundred) as the Latins did *mille & ſexcenti*, to expreſs an indefinite and innumerable multitude. The Greek name of *Polyglotta*, which ſome modern Ornithologiſts apply to it, correſponds to the Mexican name. See further what we ſay of *Centzontli*, in our diſſertations.

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The birds called Cardinals, are not leſs delightful to the ear, from the ſweetneſs of their ſong, than to the ſight, by the beauty of their ſcarlet plumage, and creſt. The Mexican Calandra ſings very ſweetly alſo, and its ſong reſembles that of the nightingale. Its feathers are varied with white, yellow, and grey. It weaves its neſt in a wonderful manner, with hairs paſted together with ſome kind of viſcid ſubſtance, and ſuſpending like a little bag, from the bough of a tree. The *Tigrillo*, or little Tiger, which is likewiſe of ſome value upon account of its muſic, is ſo named from its feathers being ſpotted like the ſkin of a tiger. The *Cuitlaccochi* reſembles the Centzontli, in the excellence of its ſong, as well as in ſize and colour, as the *Coztctot!* exactly does the Canary bird, brought thither from the Canaries. The Mexican Sparrows, called *Gorriones* by the Spaniards, are nothing like the real ſparrows, except in their ſize, their manner of hopping, and in making their neſts in the holes of walls. Their body is white upon the under-ſide, and grey upon the upper; but at a certain age, the heads of ſome become red, and others yellow (*e*). Their flight is laborious, from the ſmallneſs of their wings, or the weakneſs of their feathers. Their ſong is moſt delightful and various. There are great numbers of theſe ſinging birds in the capital, and the other cities and villages of Mexico.

The talking birds too, or thoſe which imitate the human voice, are to be found in equal abundance, in the country of Anahuac. Even among the ſinging birds there are ſome which learn a few words; ſuch as the celebrated Centzontli, and the *Acolchichi*, or bird with the red back, which from that mark the Spaniards have called the *Commendador*. The *Cehuan*, which is bigger than a common thruſh, counterfeits the human voice, but in a tone that appears burleſqued; and will follow travellers a great way. The *Tzanahuei* reſembles the magpie in ſize, but is of a different colour. It learns to ſpeak, ſteals cunningly whatever it can get, and in every reſpect ſhows a kind of inſtinct ſuperior to what we generally obſerve in other birds. But of all the ſpeaking birds, the parrots hold the firſt place; of which they reckon, in Mexico, four principal

(*e*) I have heard it ſaid, that the *Gorriones* with red heads are the males; and thoſe with yellow heads, the females.

ſpecies, namely, the *Huacamaya*, the *Toznenetl*, the *Cochotl*, and the *Quiltototl (f)*.

The Huacamaya, the largeſt of all the parrots, is more valuable for its beautiful feathers than for its ſpeaking. It articulates words indiſtinctly, and its voice is harſh and diſagreeable. The Toznenetl, which is the beſt of them all, is about the ſize of a pigeon; its feathers are of a green colour, except upon the head, and fore-part of the wings, which in ſome of them are red, and in others yellow. It learns any words or tune, and imitates them faithfully. It naturally imitates the laugh of a man, or other ridiculous ſound, the cries of children, and the various noiſes of different animals. There are three ſpecies of the Cochotl differing from each other in ſize and plumage, which in them all is beautiful; and the prevailing colour is green. The largeſt of the *Cochotls* is nearly as large as the Toznenetl: the two other ſpecies, called by the Spaniards, *Caterine*, are ſmaller. They all learn to talk, though not ſo perfectly as the Toznenetl. The *Quiltototl*, is the ſmalleſt kind of parrot, and the leaſt valuable for ſpeaking. Theſe ſmall parrots whoſe plumage is of the moſt beautiful green, fly always in large flocks, ſometimes making a great noiſe in the air; and at other times committing havoc among the grain. When perched upon the trees they can hardly be diſtinguiſhed, by their colour from the leaves. All the other parrots go generally in pairs, a male and female.

The *Madrugadores (g)*, which we ſhall call the *Awakeners*, or *Twilight* birds, and which are called by the Mexicans *Tzaeua*, although they are not ſo remarkable for beauty or ſong, deſerve particular notice for ſome other qualities. Theſe birds are the laſt among the day birds to go to rooſt at night, and the firſt to leave it in the morning, and to announce the return of the ſun. They never ceaſe to ſing and frolic, till an hour after ſun-ſet; begin again long before the dawn, and never ſeem ſo happy as during the morning

(*f*) The Toznenetl and Cochotl, are called by the Mexican Spaniards, *Periços* and *Loros*. The word *Huacamaya* is from the Haitinian language which was ſpoken in Hiſpaniola. *Loro*, is from the Quichoan or Incan, and *Toznenetl*, *Cochotl*, and *Quiltototl* from the Mexican.

(*g*) *Madrugador*, in Spaniſh means *early riſer*; but as there is no word in Italian that anſwers to it; the Author has employed that of *Deſtatore* or *Awakener*. He ſeems to think, however, that the name of *Uccello crepuſcolare* or *Twilight* bird, would be more applicable.

and

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and evening twilight. About an hour before the break of day, one of them begins from the bough of a tree where he has paſſed the night along with many others of his ſpecies, to call them, with a ſhrill, clear note, which he continually repeats with a tone of gladneſs, till ſome of his companions hear and anſwer him. When they are all awake, they make a very chearful noiſe, which may be heard at a great diſtance. In the journies I have made through the kingdom of Michuacan, where they abound, they were of ſome uſe to me, as they always rouſed me in time, to allow me to ſet out by the break of day. Theſe birds are about as large as ſparrows.

The Tzacua, a bird which reſembles the above mentioned Calandra in ſize, in colour, and in the form of its neſt is ſtill more ſurpriſing. Theſe birds live in ſociety; and every tree is to them a village, compoſed of a great number of neſts, all hanging from the boughs. One of them which does the office of the head or the guard of the village, reſides in the middle of the tree; from which it flies about from one neſt to another, viſiting them all, and after ſinging a little while, returns to its place; while the reſt remain perfectly ſilent. If any bird of a different ſpecies approaches the tree, he flies to it, and endeavours, with his bill and wings, to drive it off; but if a man, or any other large animal comes near, he flies ſcreaming to another tree, and if at that time any *Tzacuas* belonging to the ſame village happen to be returning from the fields, he meets them, and changing his note, obliges them to retire again: as ſoon as he perceives the danger over, he returns happy to his wonted round of viſiting the neſts. Theſe obſervations upon the Tzacua, made by a man of penetration, learning, and veracity (*h*), ſhould make us expect to find ſome things ſtill more extraordinary in theſe birds, if the obſervations were repeated; but we muſt now leave theſe pleaſant objects, and turn our eyes upon ſome that are of the moſt diſagreeable kind.

SECT. XII. Reptiles of Mexico.

The reptiles of Mexico may be reduced to two orders or claſſes; namely, the four-footed, and the *apodes* or thoſe without feet (*i*). In

(*h*) The Abbé D. Giuſeppe Rafaelle Campoi.

(*i*) I am perfectly aware of the variety of opinions entertained by different authors, with reſpect to the animals which ought to be claſſed among the reptiles: but as I do not undertake to give an exact arrangement, but merely to preſent them in ſome order to the reader, I take the term of *Reptile*, in the ſame ſenſe in which it was commonly underſtood of old.

the

the firſt claſs are crocodiles, lizards, frogs and toads: in the ſecond all kinds of ſerpents.

The Mexican crocodiles reſemble the African in ſize, form, voracity, way of living, and in all the other peculiarities of their character. They abound in many of the lakes and rivers in the hot countries, and deſtroy men and other animals. It would be altogether ſuperfluous to give any deſcription of theſe terrible animals, when ſo much has been written about them in other books.

Among the greater lizards we reckon the *Acaltetepon*, and the *Iguana*. The *Acalcitapon*, known to the Spaniards by the very improper name of *Scorpions*, are two lizards which reſemble each other in colour and in form, but very different in their ſize and tails. The ſmalleſt is about fifteen inches, with a long tail, ſhort legs, a red, broad, cloven tongue, a grey rough ſkin covered with white warts like pearls, a ſluggiſh pace, and a fierce aſpect. From the muſcles of the hind-legs to the extremity of the tail, its ſkin is croſſed with yellow lines in the form of rings. The bite of this animal is painful, but not mortal as ſome have imagined. It is peculiar to the warmer climates. The other lizard is an inhabitant of the ſame climate, but twice as large, being, according to the report of ſome who have ſeen it, about two feet and a half long, and more than a foot thick round the back and belly. It has a ſhort tail, with a thick head and legs. This lizard is the ſcourge of rabbits.

The Iguana is a harmleſs lizard, ſufficiently known in Europe from the accounts of American hiſtorians. They abound in the warm countries, and are of two kinds, the one a land animal, and the other amphibious. Some of them have been found as long as three feet. They run with great ſpeed, and are very nimble in climbing trees. Their eggs and fleſh are eatable, and praiſed by ſome authors, but their fleſh is hurtful to thoſe labouring under the French diſeaſe.

Of the ſmaller lizards there are a great many ſpecies, differing in ſize, colour, and other circumſtances; of which ſome are poiſonous, and others harmleſs. Among the latter the firſt place is due to the cameleon, called by the Mexicans *Quatapalcatl*. This reſembles the common cameleon almoſt in every reſpect, but differs in having no creſt, and in having large, round, open ears. Among the other lizards

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of the harmleſs kind, there is none worth notice but the *Tapayaxin* (*k*), which is remarkable for its ſhape and ſome other peculiarities. It is perfectly round, cartilaginous, and feels very cold to the touch: the diameter of its body is ſix inches. Its head is very hard, and ſpotted with various colours. It is ſo lazy and ſluggiſh, that it does not move even although it is ſhaken. When its head is ſtruck, or its eyes preſſed, it darts out from them, to about two or three paces diſtance, a few drops of blood; but is in every thing elſe an inoffenſive animal, and ſeems to take pleaſure in being handled. It would ſeem as if, being of ſo cold a conſtitution, it received ſome comfort from the heat of the hand.

Among the poiſonous lizards, the worſt ſeems to be that one which, from its being uncommon, got the name of *Tetzauhqui* with the Mexicans. It is very ſmall, of a grey colour, which is of a yellowiſh hue upon the body, and blueiſh upon the tail. There are ſome others reckoned venomous, and known by the Spaniards by the name of *Salamanqueſas*, or that of *Scorpions* (for this name is applied to many reptiles by the vulgar): but I am certain, from many obſervations, that thoſe lizards are either entirely void of poiſon, or at leaſt, if they have any, it is not ſo active as is generally imagined. We may make the ſame remark with reſpect to toads, as we have never ſeen or heard of any bad effects occaſioned by their venom, although in many warm and humid places the earth is entirely covered with them. In thoſe places there are ſome toads of eight inches diameter.

In the lake of Chalco there are three very numerous ſpecies of frogs, of three very different ſizes and colours, and very common at the tables in the capital. Thoſe of Huaxteca are excellent, and will ſometimes weigh a Spaniſh pound: but I never ſaw or heard in that country the tree frogs, which are ſo common in Italy and other parts of Europe.

The ſerpents are of much greater variety than the reptiles already mentioned, there being many of different ſizes and colours, ſome poiſonous and others innocent.

The moſt conſiderable in point of ſize ſeems to have been one called *Canauhcauil* by the Mexicans. It was about three Pariſian perches

(*k*) See this lizard in our plate.

long,

long, and of the thickneſs of a middle ſized man. One of the *Tlil-coas*, or black ſerpents, which Hernandez ſaw in the mountains of Tepoztlan, was not quite ſo large; which, although it was not equal in thickneſs, yet was ten Spaniſh cubits, or more than ſixteen Pariſian feet long. Such monſtrous ſerpents are ſeldom to be found now adays, unleſs in ſome ſolitary wood, at a diſtance from the capital.

The moſt remarkable of the poiſonous ſerpents are the *Ahuyaẽtli*, the *Cuicuilcoatl*, the *Teixminani*, the *Cencoatl*, and the *Teotlacozauhqui*.

The *Teotlacozauhqui*, of which there are ſeveral ſpecies, is the famous rattle-ſnake. Its colour and ſize are various, but it is commonly three or four feet long. The rattle may be conſidered as an appendix to the vertebræ, and conſiſts of rings of a horny ſubſtance, moveable, and connected with each other by means of articulations or joints, every one being compoſed of three ſmall bones *(l)*. The rattle ſounds whenever the ſnakes moves, and particularly when he is in motion to bite. This ſnake moves with great rapidity, and upon that account it likewiſe obtained among the Mexicans the name of *Ehecacoatl*, or aerial ſerpent. Its bite is attended with certain death, unleſs remedies are ſpeedily applied, among which the moſt effectual is thought to be the holding of the wounded part ſome time in the earth. It bites with two teeth placed in the upper jaw, which as in the viper and other ſpecies of ſerpents, are moveable, hollow, and pierced at the extremity. The poiſon, which is a yellowiſh cryſtallizable liquor, is contained in ſome glands which lie over the roots of thoſe two teeth. Theſe glands being compreſſed in the action of biting, dart through the hollow of the teeth the fatal liquid, and pour it by the apertures into the wound and the maſs of blood. We ſhould have been glad to communicate to the public ſeveral other obſervations which we have made upon this ſubject, if the nature of this hiſtory ſhould have permitted it *(m)*.

The *Ahuyaẽtli* is not very different from the ſnake juſt deſcribed, except in having no rattle. This ſnake, as we are told by Hernandez,

(l) He ſuppoſes that a new ring is added every year, and that the number of rings correſpond with the years of the ſnake's age: but we do not know whether this is founded upon his own obſervations or the reports of others.

(m) Father Lamina, a great mathematician of California, has made many experiments upon ſnakes, which ſerve to confirm thoſe made by Mead upon vipers.

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communicates that kind of poiſon called by the ancients *Hemorrhoos*, which occaſions the blood to burſt from the mouth, noſe, and eyes of the perſon who has received it. There are certain antidotes, however, which prevent theſe virulent effects.

The *Cuicuilcoatl*, ſo named from the variety of its colours, is not quite eight inches long, and of the thickneſs of the little finger; but its poiſon is as active as that of the Teotlacozauhqui.

The *Teixminani* is that kind of ſerpent which Pliny calls *Jaculum*. It is of a long ſlender form, with a grey-coloured back and a purple belly. It moves always in a ſtraight line, and never coils, but ſprings from the trees upon paſſengers, and has thence derived its name *(n)*. Theſe ſnakes are to be found in the mountains of Quauhnahuac, and in other hot countries; but I never knew any inſtance of ſuch a thing happening to any traveller, although I lived ſo many years in that kingdom; and I can ſay the ſame thing of the terrible effects aſcribed to the Ahueyactli.

The *Cencoatl (o)*, which is alſo a poiſonous ſnake, is about five feet long, and eight inches round at the thickeſt part. The moſt remarkable quality of this ſnake is its ſhining in the dark. Thus does the provident Author of nature, by various impreſſions on our ſenſes, at one time upon our ears by the noiſe of a rattle, at another time upon our eyes by the impreſſions of light, awake our attention to guard againſt approaching danger.

Among the harmleſs ſnakes, of which there are ſeveral kinds, we cannot paſs over the *Tzicatlinan*, and the *Maquizcoatl*. The *Tzicatlinan* is very beautiful, about a foot in length, and of the thickneſs of the little finger. It lives always in ant-hills; and it takes ſo much pleaſure in being among ants, that it will accompany theſe inſects upon their expeditions, and return with them to their uſual neſt. The Mexican name *Tzicatlinan*, ſignifies *mother of ants*, and that is the name given it by the Spaniards; but I ſuſpect that all the attachment which this little ſnake ſhews to ant-hills, proceeds only from its living upon the ants themſelves.

(n) The Mexicans give this ſnake the name alſo of *Micoatl*; the Spaniards that of *Sctilla*, both ſignifying the ſame thing with the *Jaculum* of the Latins.

(o) There are ſome other ſpecies of ſnakes which having the ſame colours with the *Cencoatl*, go by the ſame name, but they are all of a harmleſs nature.

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The *Maquizcoatl* is about the ſame ſize but of a ſhining ſilvery hue. The tail is thicker than the head, and this ſnake can move progreſſively with either extremity at pleaſure. It is called by the Greeks *Amphiſbeæna* (*p*); it is a very rare ſpecies, and has never been ſeen as far as I know, in any other place than the valley of Toluca.

Of all the variety of ſnakes which are found in the unfrequented woods of that kingdom, I believe that no viviparous ſpecies has been diſcovered, except the acoatl or water-ſnake, which too is only ſuppoſed, but not certainly known, to be viviparous. That ſnake is about twenty inches long and one thick: its teeth are exceeding ſmall, the upper part of the head is black, the ſides of it are blue, and the under part yellow. The back is ſtriped with blue and black, the belly is entirely blue.

The ancient Mexicans who took delight in rearing all kinds of animals, and who by long familiarity loſt that horror which ſuch animals naturally inſpire, uſed to catch in the fields a little green harmleſs ſnake, which being brought up at home, and well fed, would ſometimes grow to the ſize of a man. It was generally kept in a tub, which it never left but to receive its food from its maſter's hand; which it would take, either mounted upon his ſhoulder or coiled about his legs.

If from the land we now turn our eyes to the rivers, lakes, and ſeas of Anahuac, we ſhall find in them a much greater variety of creatures. Even the known ſpecies of their fiſh are innumerable; for of thoſe only which ſerve for the nouriſhment of man, I have counted upwards of a hundred ſpecies, without reckoning the turtle, crab, lobſter, or any other teſtaceous or cruſtaceous animal. Of the fiſh, ſome are common to both the ſeas; ſome are peculiar to the Mexican gulf alone, others to the Pacific Ocean; and ſome are to be found only in the lakes and rivers.

SECT. XIII. The fiſh of the ſeas, rivers, and lakes of Anahuac.

The fiſh common to both the ſeas are whales, dolphins, ſword-fiſh, ſaw-fiſh, tiburones, manatis, mantas, porpoiſes, bonitas, cod, mullets,

(*p*) Pliny, in lib. viii. cap. 23, gives the *Amphiſbeæna* two heads; but the Greek name means nothing more than the double motion. The two-headed ſerpent of Pliny has been ſeen in Europe, and ſome have aſſerted that it is to be met with in Mexico, but I do not know that that any one has ſeen it. If it has been found in that country, it cannot be conſidered as a natural ſpecies, but rather as a monſter, like the two-headed eagle found a few years ſince in Oaaca, and ſent to the Catholic king.

thornbacks,

BOOK I. thornbacks, barbels, flying-fiſh, ſhad, lobſters, ſoles, and a great many others, together with ſeveral ſpecies of tortoiſes, polypus, crabs, ſpunges, &c.

The Mexican gulf, beſides thoſe already mentioned, affords ſturgeons, pike, congers, turbot, lampreys, cuttle-fiſh, anchovies, carp, eels, nautiluſes, &c.

In the Pacific Ocean, beſides thoſe common to the two ſeas, there are ſalmons, tunnies, ſea ſcorpions, herrings, and others.

In the lakes and rivers, are three or four kinds of white fiſh, carp, mullet, trout, barbels, eels, and many others.

As the particular deſcription of theſe fiſh would be foreign to the object of our hiſtory, and of little uſe to the European reader, we ſhall only take notice of a few of the more remarkable circumſtances with reſpect to them.

The *Tiburon* belongs to that claſs of ſea-animals called by the ancients *Caniculæ*. Its great voracity, its ſize, ſtrength, and ſwiftneſs, are well known. It has two, three, and ſometimes more rows of ſharp ſtrong teeth, and ſwallows whatever is thrown to it whether eatable or not. A whole ſheep's ſkin, and even a large butcher's knife, has been found in its belly. This fiſh frequently accompanies veſſels, and by Oviedo's account there have been Tiburones, which have kept up with a veſſel in full ſail with a fair wind, for five hundred miles, and often ſwimming round the ſhip to catch any filth that was thrown from it.

The *Manati* or *Lamentin*, as it is called by ſome, is a larger fiſh than the *Tiburon*, and of a very different diſpoſition. Oviedo ſays, that *Manatis* have been catched of ſuch a ſize as to require a cart, with two pair of oxen to draw them. It is like the *Tiburon* viviparous, but the female brings only one young one at a time, which, however, is of a great ſize (r). The fleſh of this animal is delicate, and ſomething like

(r) Buffon agrees with Hernandez in ſaying that the Manati brings but one young one at a time; but other perſons affirm that ſhe brings two. Perhaps the ſame thing takes place with the Manati as with the human ſpecies; which is commonly to have only one, but ſometimes to have two or more. Hernandez deſcribes the copulation of theſe animals in theſe words; *Humano more coit, fœmina ſupina ſeſe ſurſum in ventre precurvato, et ſuperne gerente, ſupervenante mare.* We do not with ſome modern naturaliſts rank the Manati among quadrupeds,

like veal. Some authors place the Manati in the claſs of amphibious animals, but improperly, as it is never upon land; but only raiſes its head, and a part of its body, out of the water, to brouſe upon the herbage which grows along the banks of the rivers *(s)*.

The *Manta* is that flat fiſh mentioned by Ulloa and others, which is ſo hurtful to the pearl-fiſhers, and which I have no doubt is the ſame with that which Pliny has deſcribed, though he ſeems not to have been very well acquainted with it, under the name of *Nabes* or *Nebula (t)*. It is not improbable, that this fiſh has made its way into theſe ſeas from thoſe of the old world in the ſame manner as ſome others appear to have done. The ſtrength of this fiſh is ſo great that it will not only ſtrangle a man whom it embraces or winds itſelf about, but it has even been ſeen to take the cable of an anchor and move it from the place where it had been caſt. It has been called *Manta*, becauſe when it lies ſtretched upon the ſea, as it frequently does, it ſeems like a fleece of wool floating upon the water.

The ſword-fiſh of theſe ſeas is quite different from that of Greenland. The ſword is larger, and in its figure more nearly reſembling a real ſword; and is not placed in the ſame manner with that of the Greenland fiſh upon the hinder part, but upon the fore part of the

peds, although it is viviparous; becauſe every one by the name of quadruped underſtands an animal with four feet, but the Manati has only two, and theſe imperfectly formed.

(s) Mr. de la Condamine confirms our obſervation with reſpect to the Manati's living conſtantly in water, and the ſame thing had been ſaid two centuries before by two eye-witneſſes Oviedo and Hernandez. It is true, that Hernandez does ſeem to ſay the contrary; but this is owing merely to a typographic [illegible], which is obvious to every reader. I ſhould mention likewiſe, that the Manati, although properly a ſea-animal, is frequently to be found in rivers.

(t) *Ipſi ferunt* (Urinatores) *et nubem quae [illegible] ſuper capita, planorum ſe [illegible] ſpiritum, praeſentem eos, [illegible] a re[illegible]ca[illegible]do [illegible]; quod in ſi perſoſſe ita, non recedant, caligine et pavore, [illegible], etiam. Nebulae [illegible] (cujus nomine id malum appellant) inter [illegible]*. Plin. Hiſtor. Nat. lib. ix. cap. 46. The account given of this *cloud* by thoſe divers is much the ſame with that which the divers in the American ſeas give of the [illegible], and the name of the [illegible] perfectly applicable to it, as it really ſeems to be a cloud to thoſe who are in the water below it: our ſwimmers likewiſe carry long knives, or ſharp [illegible], for the purpoſe of [illegible] the animal. This obſervation which has eſcaped all the interpreters of Pliny, was made by my countryman and friend the Abbé D. Joſ. Rat. [illegible], a [illegible] manners and integrity, than by his eloquence and erudition, particularly in the Latin language, in Hiſtory, in Criticiſm, and in Geography. His death upon the 20th of December, 1777, prevented his finiſhing ſeveral very uſeful [illegible].

In the

body, like the ſaw-fiſh. It moves this ſword at pleaſure, with great force, and employs it as an offenſive weapon.

Of the two ſpecies of ſaw-fiſh to be found in thoſe ſeas, the one is that common one known to Pliny, and deſcribed by ſo many naturaliſts. The other, which is about a foot in length, has a row of teeth or prickles like a ſaw, upon its back, which has obtained it the name of *Tlateconi*, from the Mexicans, and from the Spaniards that of *Sierra*.

The Roballo is one of the moſt numerous ſpecies, and affords the moſt delicate food, eſpecially the kind peculiar to rivers. Hernandez took this fiſh to be the ſame with the *Lupus* of the ancients, and Campoi imagined it to be the *Aſellus Minor*; but this muſt have been altogether conjecture, for the deſcriptions of thoſe fiſh left us by the ancients are ſo imperfect, that it is impoſſible to aſcertain their identity.

The Gobbo (called by the Spaniards *Corcobada*), was ſo called from a riſing or prominence reaching from the neck to the mouth, which latter part is exceedingly ſmall. The Sfirena had likewiſe the name of *Picuda* (which we might tranſlate long-ſnout), from the lower jaw being longer than the upper.

The Roſpo is a very diſagreeable fiſh to look at; of a perfectly round ſhape, three or four inches in diameter, and without ſcales. It affords a pleaſant wholeſome food.

Among the eels there is one called *Huitzitzilmichin* by the Mexicans, which is about three feet long and very ſlender. Its body is covered with a ſort of ſmall plates, inſtead of ſcales. The ſnout is about eight inches in length, with the upper jaw longer than the lower, in which it differs from all other eels, which this ſpecies likewiſe ſurpaſſes, as well in the delicacy of its fleſh as in the ſize of its body.

The Bobo, is a very fine fiſh, about two feet long, and four or ſix inches broad at the broadeſt part; and is in high eſteem as an excellent food. The river Barbel, known by the name of Bagre, is of the ſame ſize with the Bobo, and of exquiſite flavour, but unwholeſome till it is cleanſed with lemon juice, or ſome other acid, from a certain kind of froth or viſcid liquor which adheres to it.

The

The Bobos, I believe are got only in the rivers which fall into the Mexican gulf, and the Barbels in thoſe which diſcharge themſelves into lakes, or into the Pacific Ocean. The fleſh of theſe two kinds, although very delicate, does not equal that of the Pampano, and the Colombella, which are deſervedly eſteemed ſuperior to all others.

The Curvina is about a foot and a half long, of a ſlender, round ſhape, and of a blackiſh purple colour. In the head of this fiſh are found, two ſmall, white ſtones like alabaſter, each an inch and a half long, and about four lines broad, of which three grains taken in water, are thought to be uſeful in a ſtoppage of urine.

The Botetto is a ſmall fiſh, not more than eight inches in length, but exceſſively thick. This fiſh, while it lies alive upon the beach, immediately ſwells, whenever it is touched, to an enormous ſize; and boys often take pleaſure in making it burſt with a kick. The liver is ſo poiſonous as to kill with ſtrong convulſions in half an hour after it is eaten.

The Occhione *(u)*, is a flat, round fiſh of eight or ten inches diameter. The underpart of the body is perfectly flat, but the upper is convex; and in the center, which is the higheſt part, it has a ſingle eye as large as that of an ox, and furniſhed with its neceſſary eye-lids. The eye remains open even after it is dead, which ſometimes creates a degree of horror to a ſpectator *(x)*.

The *Iztacmichin*, or white fiſh, has always been in great repute in Mexico, and is now as common at the Spaniſh tables as it uſed to be anciently at thoſe of the Mexicans. There are three or four ſpecies. The *Amilotl*, which is the largeſt and the moſt eſteemed, is more than a foot in length, and has two fins upon the back, two at the ſides, and one under the belly. The *Xalmichin* ſeems to be of the ſame kind with the former, but not quite ſo large. The *Jacapitzahuac*, which is the ſmalleſt kind, is not more than eight

(u) This fiſh, which is only found in California, either has no name, or we, at leaſt, are not acquainted with it; for which reaſon we have given it one, we think, ſufficiently applicable, namely, that of Occhione.

(x) Campoi was perſuaded that the Occhione is the *Uranoſcopus* or *Callionymus* of Pliny: but Pliny has not left any deſcription of that fiſh. The name of *Uranoſcopus*, which was the only foundation of Campoi's opinion, is equally applicable to all thoſe fiſh which, having eyes upon the head, look upwards to the ſky, ſuch as ſkates, and other flat fiſh.

inches long, and one inch and a half broad. All theſe kinds have ſcales, are a very delicate and wholeſome food, and are to be found in great plenty in the lakes of Chalco, Pazcuaro, and Chapalla. The fourth kind is the *Xalmichin* of Quauhnahuac, which has no ſcales, but is covered with a tender white ſkin.

The *Axolotl* or Axolote (*y*), is a great water-lizard of the Mexican lake. Its figure and appearance are ridiculous and diſagreeable. It is commonly about eight inches long, but is ſometimes to be found of twice that length. The ſkin is ſoft and black, the head and tail long, the mouth large, and the tongue broad, thin, and cartilaginous. The body gradually diminiſhes in ſize, from the middle to the extremity of the tail. It ſwims with its four feet which reſemble thoſe of a frog. But the moſt remarkable circumſtance with reſpect to this animal, which has been eſtabliſhed by many obſervations, and confirmed by the opinion of Hernandez, is the uterus, and a periodical evacuation of blood to which it is ſubject; in both which it is ſaid to reſemble the human ſpecies (*z*). The Axolotl is wholeſome to eat, and is of much the ſame taſte with an eel. It is thought to be particularly uſeful in caſes of conſumption.

There are many other kinds of ſmall fiſh, in the lake of Mexico, but they ſcarcely deſerve our notice.

As to ſhells, they are found in prodigious numbers, and of great variety; and ſome of them of extraordinary beauty, eſpecially thoſe of the Pacific Ocean. Pearls alſo have been fiſhed, at different times, along all the coaſts of that ſea. The Mexicans got them upon the coaſts of Tototepec, and of the Cuitlatecans, where we now get the tortoiſe-ſhell. Among the Sea-ſtars is one which has five rays, and

(*y*) Mr. Bomare could not light upon the name of this fiſh. He calls it *Azalotl, Axolotl, Azoloti, and Axoloti*; and ſays that the Spaniards call it *Juguete del' agua*: yet the Mexicans call it *Axolotl*, and the Spaniards give it no other name but the *Axolote*.

(*z*) Bomare has ſome heſitation in believing what is ſaid of the *Axolote*; but while we may reſt ſecure upon the teſtimony of thoſe perſons, who have had theſe animals actually under their own inſpection, we need not pay much regard to the doubts of a Frenchman, who, however verſed in Natural Hiſtory, never ſaw the Axolotis, and is even ignorant of their name: more eſpecially, when we reflect that the periodical evacuation of blood is not confined to women alone, but has been obſerved, likewiſe, in apes; for, as Mr. Bomare ſays, *Les femelles des ſinges ont pour la plupart des menſtrues comme les femmes.*

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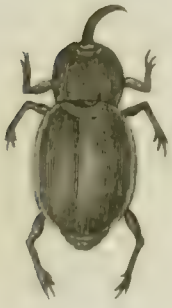














one eye in each. Of Spunges, and Lithophyts, there are many rare and ſingular ſpecies. Hernandez gives us a print of a ſpunge, ſent to him from the Pacific Ocean, which was of the ſhape of a man's hand, but with ten or more fingers; of a clay colour, with black points and red ſtreaks, and was harder than the common ſpunges.

Deſcending, at length, to the ſmaller creatures, in which the power and wiſdom of the Creator eſpecially appear; we ſhall divide the innumerable multitude of Mexican inſects into three claſſes, the flying, the terreſtrial, and the aquatic; although there are land and water inſects which afterwards become flying inſects, and might be conſidered as belonging to different claſſes, at different times.

Among the flying inſects are, beetles, bees, waſps, flies, gnats, butterflies, and graſshoppers. The beetles are of ſeveral kinds, and moſtly harmleſs. Some of them are of a green colour, and called by the Mexicans, *Majatl*; which, by the great noiſe they make in flying, afford amuſement to children. There are others black, of a diſagreeable ſmell and irregular form, which are called *Pinacatl*.

The *Cucujo* or ſhining beetle, which beſt deſerves our notice, has been mentioned by many authors, but not hitherto, as far as I know, deſcribed by any one. It is more than an inch in length; and, like other flying beetles, is furniſhed with double wings. Upon the head, is a ſmall, moveable horn, which is of great uſe to it; for if at any time it happens to be turned over and laid upon its back, it is by means of this horn, by thruſting and preſſing it into a membrane ſomewhat like a bag, which it has upon the belly, that this inſect recovers its natural poſition. Near the eyes are two ſmall membranes, and upon the belly one ſomewhat larger, of a thin, tranſparent ſubſtance, which are full of luminous matter, affording a light ſtrong enough to read by, and to ſhew the way to thoſe who travel at night. It ſhews moſt light when it flies; but none at all while it ſleeps, as it is then covered with the other opaque membranes. The luminous matter is a white, mealy, viſcid ſubſtance, which preſerves its luminous quality after it has been taken from the body of the Cucujo, and one may draw ſhining characters with it, upon a hat. There are great numbers of theſe flying phoſphori upon the ſea-coaſts, and which ſwarm upon the neigh-

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bouring hills, at night, a very beautiful and brilliant ſpectacle. The boys eaſily catch them by waving a light in the evening, and the beetles, drawn by the light, come into their hands. Some authors have confounded this wonderful inſect with the glow-worm, but the latter is much ſmaller, and much leſs luminous; is pretty frequent in Europe, and perfectly common in Mexico.

The appearance of the ſhining beetle is not more pleaſing than that of the *Temolin* is diſagreeable. This is a large beetle of a reddiſh cheſnut colour, with ſix hairy feet, and four toes upon each. There are two ſpecies of the *Temolin*: the one having one horn, in the forepart of the head; and the other, two.

There are, at leaſt, ſix different kinds of bees. The firſt is the ſame with the common bee of Europe, with which it agrees, not only in ſize, ſhape, and colour, but alſo in its diſpoſition and manners, and in the qualities of its honey and wax. The ſecond ſpecies, which differs from the firſt only in having no ſting, is the bee of Yucatan and Chiapa, which makes the fine, clear honey of *Eſtabentùn*, of an aromatic flavour, ſuperior to that of all the other kinds of honey with which we are acquainted. The honey is taken from them ſix times a year, that is, once in every other month; but the beſt is that which is got in November, being made from a fragrant white flower like Jeſſamine, which blows in September, called in that country *Eſtabentùn*, from which the honey has derived its name (z). The third ſpecies reſembles in its form, the winged ants, but is ſmaller than the common bee, and without a ſting. This inſect, which is peculiar to warm and temperate climates, forms neſts, in ſize and ſhape reſembling ſugar-loaves, and even ſometimes greatly exceeding theſe in ſize, which are ſuſpended from rocks, or from trees, and particularly from the oak. The populouſneſs of theſe hives are much greater than of thoſe of the common bee. The nymphs of this bee, which are eatable, are white and round, like a pearl. The honey is of a greyiſh colour, but of a fine flavour. The fourth ſpecies is a yellow bee, ſmaller than the common one, but,

(z) The honey of Eſtabentùn, is in high eſtimation with the Engliſh and French, who touch at the ports of Yucatan; and I have known the French of Guarico buy it ſometimes for the purpoſe of ſending it as a preſent to the king.

like

like it, furniſhed with a ſting. Its honey is not equal to thoſe already mentioned. The fifth, is a ſmall bee without a ſting, which conſtructs hives of an orbicular form, in ſubterraneous cavities; and the honey is ſour, and ſomewhat bitter. The *Tlalpipiolli*, which is the ſixth ſpecies, is black and yellow, of the ſize of the common bee, but has no ſting.

Of waſps there are at leaſt four kinds. The *Quetzalmiahuatl* is the common waſp of Europe. The *Tetlatoca* or wandering waſp, is ſo called from its frequent change of habitation; and is always found employed in collecting materials to build it. This waſp has a ſting, but makes no honey or wax. The *Xicotli* or Xicote, is a thick, black waſp, with a yellow belly; which makes a very ſweet honey, in holes made by it in walls. It is provided with a ſtrong ſting, which gives a very painful wound. The *Cuicalmiahuatl*, has likewiſe a ſting; but whether it makes honey or not, we do not know.

The *Quauhxicotli*, is a black hornet, with a red tail, whoſe ſting is ſo large and ſtrong, as not only to go through a ſugar cane, but even to pierce into the trunk of a tree.

Among the flies, beſides the common fly which is neither ſo troubleſome, nor in ſuch numbers as in Italy during ſummer (*a*), there are ſome luminous as the glow-worm. The *Axayacatl* is a marſh-fly, of the Mexican lake, the eggs of which being depoſited in immenſe quantities, upon the ruſhes and corn-flags of the lake, form large maſſes, which are taken up by fiſhermen and carried to market for ſale. This caviare called *Ahuaultli*, which has much the ſame taſte with the caviare of fiſh, uſed to be eat by the Mexicans, and is now a common diſh among the Spaniards. The Mexicans eat not only the eggs, but the flies themſelves made up together into a maſs, and prepared with ſaltpetre.

Gnats, which are ſo common in Europe, and eſpecially in Italy, abound in the maritime parts of Mexico, and in all places where heat,

(*a*) The ſame obſervation has been made before by Oviedo; "In the iſlands," ſaid he, "and in terra firma, there are very few flies; and in compariſon of their numbers in Europe, "one might almoſt ſay there are none." Nat. Hiſt. Ind. cap. 81. In Mexico, certainly there are not ſo few as Oviedo ſays, but, generally ſpeaking, they are neither ſo numerous nor ſo troubleſome as in Europe.

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ſtanding water, and ſhrubs, encourage their propagation. They are in immenſe numbers in the lake of Chalco; but the capital, although near to that lake, is entirely free of that nuiſance.

In the hot countries there is likewiſe a kind of ſmall flies, which make no buz in flying, but raiſe a violent itching by their puncture, and an open wound is very ready to be made, if the part is ſcratced.

In thoſe hot countries alſo, but particularly in thoſe next the ſea, *Cucarachas* are found in great numbers. This is a large winged, filthy, pernicious inſect, which ſpoils all eatables, particularly any thing ſweet; but in ſome other reſpects is of great uſe in clearing houſes of bugs. It has been remarked, that the ſhips which come from Europe full of bugs, return from New Spain quite freed of theſe ſtinking inſects, by means of the *Cucarachas* (*b*).

The Butterflies of Mexico, are much more numerous, and of greater variety, than in Europe. It is impoſſible to give any idea of their variety and beauty, and the fineſt pencil is unable to imitate the exquiſite colouring and deſign, which the Author of Nature has diſplayed in the embellishment of their wings. Many reſpectable Authors have celebrated them in their writings; and Hernandez has made ſome be drawn, in order to give Europeans an idea of their beauty.

But the butterflies although numerous, are not to be compared in that reſpect, with the locuſts, which, ſometimes darkening the air like thick clouds, fall upon the ſea coaſts, and lay waſte all the vegetation of the country; as I have myſelf witneſſed, in the year 1738, or 1739, upon the coaſts of Xicayan. From this cauſe a great famine was lately occaſioned in the Peninſula of Yucatan: but no country has been viſited by this dreadful ſcourge ſo often as the wretched California (*c*). Among the land-inſects, beſides the common ones, about which nothing occurs to me worthy to be mentioned, there

(*b*) This inſect is likewiſe an enemy of the ſtudious, preying upon the ink, in the night-time, unleſs it is carefully covered up. The Spaniards call it *Cucaracha*, others call it *Kakerlaques*, and others *Dermeſtes*, &c.

(*c*) In the hiſtory of California, which will be publiſhed in a few months, will be found a great many obſervations with reſpect to locuſts, made by the Abbé D. Mich. del Barco, who lived upwards of thirty years in that country, a country not more famous than undeſerving of the fame it has acquired.

are worms of ſeveral kinds, ſcolopendræ, ſcorpions, ſpiders, ants, nigua chegoes or jiggers, and the cochineal.

Of the worms, ſome are uſeful, and others pernicious; ſome ſerved as food to the ancient Mexicans, and others in the way of medicine, as the *Axin* and the *Poliin*, which we ſhall ſpeak of in another place. The *Tlecuilin* or burning worm, has the ſame qualities with the Cantharides: its head is red, the breaſt green, and the reſt of the body is of a tawny-colour. The *Temakuani*, is a worm covered with yellow, venemous prickles. The *Temiçtli* reſembles the ſilk-worm, both in its operations and its metamorphoſes. The ſik-worm was brought from Europe, and was propagated with ſucceſs. Great plenty of good ſilk was made, eſpecially in Mizteca *(d)*, where it became a great article of trade; but the Miztecans being afterwards, from political cauſes, forced to abandon it, the rearing of the worms was likewiſe neglected; and at this time very few are employed in that buſineſs. Beſides that common ſilk, there is another excellent kind, very white, ſoft, and ſtrong, which is often to be found upon trees, in ſeveral woods upon the ſea coaſts, particularly in thoſe years when there is little rain. But, unleſs by ſome poor people, this ſilk is not turned to any uſe, partly from inattention, to their intereſts, but chiefly from the obſtructions which would be certainly thrown in the way of any one who ſhould attempt a trade of that kind. We know from Cortes's letters to Charles Vth, that ſilk uſed to be ſold in the markets of Mexico; and ſome pictures are ſtill preſerved, done by the ancient Mexicans upon a paper made of ſilk.

The Scolopendras are ſometimes ſeen in the temperate parts, but more frequently in the warm and moiſt. Hernandez ſays, that he has ſeen ſome of them of the length of two feet, and two inches thick: but ſuch monſtrous inſects can only have been ſeen in the wetteſt and moſt uncultivated place; for we who have been in a great many places, through every variety of climate, never met with any one of ſuch extraordinary ſize.

Scorpions are common throughout the whole kingdom, but in the cold and temperate countries they are not numerous, nor very hurtful.

(*d*) Some places in Mizteca ſtill preſerve the name which they obtained formerly, upon account of that trade; as *ſilk St. Francis*, *ſilk Tepexe*.

They

BOOK I. They abound in the hot parts, or where the air is very dry although the heat is but moderate; and their poiſon is ſo active as to kill children, and occaſion terrible pain to adults. It has been remarked, that the poiſon of the ſmall, yellowiſh ſcorpion is more powerful than that of the large brown one, and that their ſting is the moſt dangerous during thoſe hours of the day when the ſun gives moſt heat.

Among the great variety of ſpiders, we cannot paſs over the Tarantola and Caſampulga (*e*). The name of Tarantola is given very improperly, in that country, to a very large ſpider, the back and legs of which are covered with a fine, ſoft, blackiſh down, like that upon young chickens. This ſpider is peculiar to the hot countries, and is found in houſes as well as in the fields. It is ſuppoſed to be poiſonous, and it is generally believed that if a horſe tramples upon one, he very ſoon looſes his hoof; but I have never known a ſingle inſtance of this happening, although I was for five years in a very hot country where thoſe ſpiders were in great numbers. The Caſampulga is a ſmall ſpider of the ſize of a chick pea, with ſhort legs, and a red belly. This ſpider is venemous, and common in the dioceſs of Chiapa, and elſewhere. It ſeems to anſwer to the deſcription of what is called the Ragno capullino in other countries, but I do not know whether it is the ſame.

The moſt common ants of that country are of three kinds: firſt, the ſmall black ants the ſame with thoſe of Europe; next, the large red ants called by the Spaniards *bravas*, or fierce, which give very painful wounds with their ſtings: and laſtly, the large brown ants, called by the Spaniards *harrieras*, or carriers, becauſe they are continually employed in carrying grain for their proviſion, and for that reaſon they are much more hurtful to the country than the common ants. Theſe carrier ants have been ſuffered by the careleſſneſs of the inhabitants in ſome places to multiply to exceſs; and in the province of Xicayan black lines are ſeen upon the earth for ſeveral miles, which conſiſt of nothing but of thoſe ants going and coming.

(*e*) I ſuſpect that the original name of this ſpider has been *Cazapulga* or flea-killer, corrupted in a manner common to the vulgar, into Caſampulga.

Beſides

Beſides the three ſpecies already mentioned, there is a ſingular kind of ant in Michuacan which, perhaps, is to be met with in other provinces. It is larger than the common ant, with a greyiſh-coloured body and a black head. Upon its hinder parts it carries a little bag, full of a very ſweet liquor, which the children are very fond of, and imagine it is a honey made by the ant like that made by the bee, but I rather take it to be eggs. Mr. de la Barrere, in his Natural Hiſtory of Equinoctial France, takes notice of ſuch ants being found in Cayenne; but thoſe are winged ants, and ours are without wings.

The Nigua or Chegoe, called in other countries *Pique*, is an exceeding ſmall inſect, not very unlike a flea, which, in ſome hot countries is bred in the duſt. It fixes upon the feet, and breaking inſenſibly the cuticle, it neſtles betwixt that and the true ſkin, which alſo, unleſs it is immediately taken out, it breaks, and pierces at laſt to the fleſh, multiplying with a rapidity almoſt incredible. It is ſeldom diſcovered until it pierces the true ſkin, when it cauſes an intolerable itching. Theſe inſects with their aſtoniſhing multiplication would ſoon diſpeople thoſe countries, were it leſs eaſy to avoid them, or were the inhabitants leſs dextrous in getting them out before they begin to ſpread. On the other hand, nature, in order to leſſen the evil, has not only denied them wings, but even that conformation of the legs, and thoſe ſtrong muſcles which he has given to the flea for leaping. The poor however, who are in ſome meaſure doomed to live in the duſt, and to a habitual neglect of their perſons, ſuffer theſe inſects ſometimes to multiply ſo far as to make large holes in their fleth, and even to occaſion dangerous wounds.

What the Niguas or Chegoes do in houſes, is done in the fields by the ticks, of which there are two ſpecies or rather claſſes. The firſt are common in the new, as well as the old world, which fix in the ſkins of ſheep, horſes, and other quadrupeds, and get into their ears, and ſometimes into thoſe of men.

The other abounds in the graſs of the hot countries, from which it readily gets upon the cloaths, and from theſe to the ſkin, upon which it fixes with ſuch force from the particular ſhape of its feet, that it is very difficult to detach it, and if it is not ſpeedily removed makes a wound like that made by the Nigua or Chegoe. At firſt it ſeems

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nothing more than a ſmall black ſpeck: but afterwards enlarges ſo quickly, and to ſuch a degree from the blood which it ſucks, that in a very ſhort time it becomes as large as a bean, and then takes the colour of lead (*f*).

The celebrated cochineal of Mexico, ſo well known and ſo highly eſteemed over all the world, for the beauty of the colour which it affords, is an inſect peculiar to that country, and the moſt uſeful of all that the land of Anahuac produces. There particular pains have always been taken to rear it from the times of the Mexican kings (*g*); but the country in which it thrives the beſt is that of Mizteca, where it is the principal branch of commerce of that place (*b*). In the ſixteenth century they uſed to rear it alſo in Tlaſcala, Huexotzinco, and other places, and it was a conſiderable article of trade; but the Indians (who have always been the perſons employed in that buſineſs), oppreſſed by the avaricious tyranny of ſome Spaniſh governors, were forced to abandon that employment which, of its own nature beſides, was always very troubleſome and tedious. The cochineal at its utmoſt growth, in ſize and figure reſembles a bug. The female is ill proportioned and ſluggiſh. The eyes, mouth, antennæ, and feet, are ſo concealed among the wrinkles of its ſkin, that they cannot be diſcovered without the aſſiſtance of a microſcope: and it is owing to that circumſtance, that ſome Europeans have been ſo poſitive in affirming it to be a kind of ſeed and not an animal, in oppoſition to the teſtimony of the Indians who reared it, and of Hernandez who examined it as a

(*f*) Oviedo ſays, that the beſt and ſafeſt method of ſeparating it ſpeedily, is to anoint the part with oil, and then to ſcrape it with a knife.

(*g*) The hiſtorian Herrera, in the Dec. IV. lib. viii. cap. 8. ſays, that although the Indians had the cochineal, yet they knew nothing of its virtues till they were inſtructed by the Spaniards. But what did the Spaniards teach them? To rear the cochineal? How were they fitted to teach what they were ignorant of themſelves, while they took that to be a ſeed which is in reality an inſect. They taught the Indians perhaps, to uſe it as a dye; but unleſs the Indians uſed it as a dye, to what purpoſe did they take ſo much pains in rearing it? Why were Huaxyacac, Coyolopan, and ſeveral other places obliged to pay twenty bags of cochineal yearly to the king of Mexico, as appears by the regiſter of taxes? Is it poſſible to imagine, that a people ſo given to painting even as they were, and who were beſides well acquainted with the uſe of the Achiote, the indigo, and of a great many mineral earths and ſtones, ſhould be ignorant of the uſe of the cochineal?

(*b*) Several authors have reckoned that more than 2,500 bags of cochineal are ſent every year from Mizteca to Spain. The trade in that article carried on by the city of Oaxaca, brings in 200,000 crowns a-year. Bomare ſays, there is a kind of cochineal called *Moſtecan*, becauſe it is got in Meteque, in the province of Honduras: but this is a miſtake, for it comes from Miſteca, a province farther from Honduras than Rome is from Paris.

naturaliſt.

naturaliſt. The males are not ſo numerous, and one ſerves for three hundred females: they are likewiſe ſmaller and thinner than the females, but more briſk and active. Upon the heads of this inſect are two articulated antennæ, in each articulation of which are four ſmall briſtles regularly diſpoſed. It has ſix feet, each conſiſting of three parts. From the hinder part of the body grow out two hairs, which are two or three times as large as the whole inſect. The male has two large wings, which are wanting in the female. Theſe wings are ſtrengthened by two muſcles; one external, extending along the circumference of the wing; the other internal, which runs parallel to the former. The internal colour of this inſect is a deep red, but darker in the female; and the external colour a pale red. In the wild cochineal the internal colour is ſtill darker, and the external whitiſh or aſh-coloured. The cochineal is reared upon a ſpecies of Noſal, or Opuntia, or Indian fig, which grows to the height of about eight feet, and bears a fruit like the figs of other Opuntias, but not eatable. It feeds upon the leaves of that tree, by ſucking the juice with a trunk ſituated in the thorax betwixt the two fore feet: there it paſſes through all the ſtages of its growth, and at length produces a numerous offſpring. The manner of multiplying peculiar to theſe valuable inſects, the management of the Indians in rearing them, together with the means employed to defend them from rain, which is ſo hurtful to them, and from many enemies which perſecute them, ſhall be explained when we come to ſpeak of the agriculture of the Mexicans *(i)*.

Among the water inſects, the *Atetepitz* is a marſh beetle reſembling in ſhape and ſize the beetles that fly. It has four feet, and is covered with a hard ſhell. The *Atopinan* is a marſh graſhopper, of a dark colour, about ſix inches long and two broad. The *Ahuihuitla* is a worm of the Mexican lake, four inches long, and of the thickneſs

(i) D. Ant. Ulloa ſays, that the *Nopal*, upon which the cochineal is reared, has no prickles, but in Miſteca, where I was for five years, I always ſaw it upon prickly nopals. Mr. de Raynal inſinuates, that the colour of the cochineal is to be aſcribed to the red fig upon which it lives; but that author has been miſinformed; for neither does the cochineal feed upon the fruit, but only upon the leaf, which is perfectly green; nor does that nopal bear red but white figs. It is true, it may be reared upon the ſpecies with a red fig, but that is not the proper plant of the cochineal.

of a goose-quill; of a tawny colour upon the upper part of the body, and white upon the under part. It stings with its tail, which is hard and poisonous. The *Oculiztac* is a black marsh-worm, which becomes white on being roasted. All these insects were eaten by the ancient Mexicans.

Lastly, to omit other insects the very names of which would fill an immense catalogue, I shall conclude this account with a kind of zoophytes, or animal plants, which I saw in the year 1751, in a house in the country, about ten miles from Angelopoli, towards the south-east. These were three or four inches long, and had four very slender feet, and two antennæ; but their body was nothing more than the fibres of the leaves, of the same shape, size, and colour with those of the other leaves of the trees upon which these insects were found. Hernandez mentions them by the name of Quauhmecatl; and Gemelli describes another somewhat similar which was found in the neighbourhood of Manila *(k)*.

The slight account we have already given of the natural history of Anahuac, may serve to shew the differences that take place in the hot, the cold, and the temperate countries, of which that vast kingdom is composed. Nature in the hot countries is more profuse, and in the cold and temperate, more mild. In the former, the hills abound more in minerals and springs, the valleys are more delightful, and the woods are thicker. There we meet with plants more useful for the support of life *(l)*. Trees of larger growth, more valuable woods, more beautiful flowers, more delicious fruits, and more aromatic gums. There too the animals are more numerous and of greater variety, and the individuals of the different species of greater beauty and size; the birds have a finer plumage and a sweeter song: but all these advan-

(*k*) I am aware that modern naturalists seldom apply the name of *zoophytes*, unless to certain marine bodies, which, with the appearance of vegetables, are really of the nature of animals; but I give it to those terrestrial insects, because it seems with as much, if not more propriety applicable to them than to the marine bodies. In my Natural Philosophy, I think I have given a very probable explanation of the operation of nature in the production of such insects.

(*l*) It is true, that generally neither corn grows there, nor many of the European fruits, such as apples, peaches, pears, &c. yet what signifies the want of a few of those vegetables, compared with the unspeakable profusion and variety of plants serving both for food and medicine, which are to be found in those countries?

tages

tages are counterbalanced by equal inconveniencies; for there the beaſts of prey are more terrible, the reptiles more poiſonous, and the inſects more pernicious. The earth there never feels the effects of winter, nor is the atmoſphere ſubjected to a hurtful viciſſitude of ſeaſons. A perpetual ſpring reigns upon the earth, and a perpetual ſummer in the air. The inhabitants are uſed to that exceſſive heat, but from the conſtant ſweating which it occaſions, together with the uſe of thoſe exquiſite fruits which the bountiful earth preſents to them in ſuch abundance, they are often affected with diſorders unknown in other climates. The cold countries are neither ſo fruitful nor ſo beautiful, but on the other hand they are more favourable to health, and the animals are leſs hurtful to man. In the temperate countries (at leaſt in many of them, and particularly in the vale of Mexico), are enjoyed the advantages of the cold, and many of the pleaſures of the hot climates without the inconveniencies of either. The moſt common diſeaſes of the hot countries are intermittent fevers, ſpaſms, and conſumptions; and in the port of Vera Cruz, within theſe few years, the black vomiting *(m)*: in other parts, catarrhs, fluxes, pleuriſies, and acute fevers; and in the capital, the diarrhœa. Beſides theſe more frequent diſeaſes, certain epidemical diſorders ariſe at times, which ſeem in ſome degree periodical, although not with much exactneſs or regularity, ſuch as thoſe which appeared in 1546, 1576, 1736, and 1762. The ſmall-pox brought thither by the Spaniſh conquerors, is not ſeen ſo frequently in that country as in Europe; but generally appears after an interval of a certain number of years, and then attacking all thoſe who had not been affected by it before, it makes as much havoc at one time as it does ſucceſſively in Europe.

SECT. XV. Character of the Mexicans and other nations of America.

The nations which poſſeſſed thoſe countries before the Spaniards, although differing in language, and partly alſo in manners, were yet nearly of the ſame character. The moral and phyſical qualities of the Mexicans, their tempers and diſpoſitions were the ſame with thoſe of the Acolhuicans, the Tepanecans, the Tlaſcallans, and other nations, with no other difference than what aroſe from their different mode of education; ſo that what we ſhall ſay of the one, we would with to

(*m*) Ulloa, and other hiſtorians of America, diſtinguiſh the ſpecies and the cauſes of these diſeaſes. The latter diſeaſe was not known in that country before the year 1729.

BOOK I.

be underſtood as equally applicable to the reſt. Several authors, ancient as well as modern, have undertaken a deſcription of theſe people, but I have not met with any one which is, in every reſpect, faithful and correct. The paſſions and prejudices of ſome, and the imperfect information, or the weak underſtandings of others, have prevented their repreſenting them in their genuine colours. What we ſhall ſay upon the ſubject, is derived from a ſerious and long ſtudy of the hiſtory of theſe nations, from a familiar intercourſe for many years with the natives, and from the moſt minute obſervations with reſpect to their preſent ſtate, made both by ourſelves and by other impartial perſons. I certainly have no bias upon my own mind which ſhould make me lean to one ſide more than to the other; as neither the feelings of a fellow-countryman can ſway my opinion in their favour, nor can I be intereſted to condemn them from a love of my nation, or zeal for the honour of my countrymen: ſo that I ſhall ſpeak frankly and plainly the good and the bad, which I have diſcovered in them.

The Mexicans are of a good ſtature, generally rather exceeding than falling ſhort of the middle ſize, and well proportioned in all their limbs: they have good complexions, narrow foreheads, black eyes, clean, firm, regular white teeth, thick, black, coarſe, gloſſy hair, thin beards, and generally no hair upon their legs, thighs, and arms. Their ſkin is of an olive colour.

There is ſcarcely a nation, perhaps, upon earth in which there are fewer perſons deformed, and it would be more difficult to find a ſingle hump-backed, lame, or ſquint-eyed man amongſt a thouſand Mexicans, than among any hundred of any other nation. The unpleaſantneſs of their colour, the ſmallneſs of their forehead, the thinneſs of their beard, and the coarſeneſs of their hair, are ſo far compenſated by the regularity and fine proportions of their limbs, that they can neither be called very beautiful, nor the contrary, but ſeem to hold a middle-place between the extremes. Their appearance neither engages nor diſguſts; but among the young women of Mexico, there are many very beautiful and fair; whoſe beauty is at the ſame time rendered more winning by the ſweetneſs of their manner of ſpeaking, and by the pleaſantneſs and natural modeſty of their whole behaviour.

Their ſenſes are very acute, eſpecially that of ſight, which they enjoy unimpaired to the greateſt age. Their conſtitutions are ſound, and their health robuſt. They are entirely free of many diſorders which are common among the Spaniards, but of the epidemical diſeaſes to which their country is occaſionally ſubject, they are the principal victims; with them theſe diſeaſes begin, and with them they end. One never perceives in a Mexican that ſtinking breath which is occaſioned in other people by the corruption of the humours or indigeſtion. Their conſtitutions are phlegmatic; but the pituitous evacuations from their heads are very ſcanty, and they ſeldom ſpit. They become grey-headed and bald earlier than the Spaniards, and although moſt of them die of acute diſeaſes, it is not very uncommon among them to attain the age of a hundred.

They are now, and have ever been very moderate in eating, but their paſſion for ſtrong liquors is carried to the greateſt exceſs. Formerly they were kept within bounds by the ſeverity of the laws; but now that theſe liquors are grown ſo common, and drunkenneſs is unpuniſhed, one half of the people ſeem to have loſt their ſenſes; and this, together with the poor manner in which they live, expoſed to all the baneful impreſſions of diſeaſe, and deſtitute of the means of correcting them, is undoubtedly the principal cauſe of the havoc which is made among them by epidemical diſorders.

Their minds are at bottom in every reſpect like thoſe of the other children of Adam, and endued with the ſame powers; nor did the Europeans ever do leſs credit to their own reaſon than when they doubted of the rationality of the Americans. The ſtate of civilization among the Mexicans, when they were firſt known to the Spaniards, which was much ſuperior to that of the Spaniards themſelves, when they were firſt known to the Phœnicians, that of the Gauls when firſt known to the Greeks, or that of the Germans and Britons when firſt known to the Romans (*n*), ſhould of itſelf have been fully ſufficient to

(*n*) D. Bernardo Aldrete, in his book upon the Origin of the Spaniſh Tongue, would have us to believe that the Spaniards were leſs rude at the arrival of the Phœnicians, than the Mexicans were at the time of the arrival of the Spaniards; but this paradox has been ſufficiently refuted by the learned authors of the Literary Hiſtory of Spain. It is true, that the Spaniards in theſe remote ages were not ſo barbarous as the Chichimecans, the Californians, and ſome other ſavage nations of America; but neither their government was ſo regular, nor their arts

BOOK I.

to correct ſuch an error of man's mind, if it had not been the intereſt of the inhuman avarice of ſome ruffians to encourage it (*o*). Their underſtandings are fitted for every kind of ſcience, as experience has actually ſhewn (*p*). Of the Mexicans who have had an opportunity of engaging in the purſuits of learning, which is but a ſmall number, as the greateſt part of the people are always employed in the public or private works, we have known ſome good mathematicians, excellent architects, and learned divines.

Many perſons allow the Mexicans to poſſeſs a great talent of imitation, but deny them the praiſe of invention: a vulgar error, which is contradicted by the ancient hiſtory of that people.

Their minds are affected by the ſame variety of paſſions with thoſe of other nations, but not to an equal degree. The Mexicans ſeldom exhibit thoſe tranſports of anger, or thoſe frenzies of love which are ſo common in other countries.

They are ſlow in their motions, and ſhew a wonderful tenacity and ſteadineſs in thoſe works which require time and long continued attention. They are moſt patient of injury and hardſhip; and where they ſuſpect no evil intention, are moſt grateful for any kindneſs ſhewn; but ſome Spaniards, who cannot diſtinguiſh patience from inſenſibility, nor diſtruſt from ingratitude, ſay proverbially, that the Indians are alike inſenſible to injuries and to benefits (*q*). That habitual diſtruſt which they entertain of all who are not of their own nation, prompts them often to lie and betray; ſo that good faith certainly has not been ſo much reſpected among them as it deſerves.

arts ſo much improved, nor, as far as we can judge, had they made ſo much progreſs in the knowledge of nature, as the Mexicans at the beginning of the ſixteenth century.

(*o*) Upon this ſubject I muſt refer the reader to the bitter complaints made by the biſhop Garcès, in his letter to pope Paul III. and by the biſhop of las Caſas, in his Memorials to the Catholic kings Charles V. and Philip II. but eſpecially to the very humane laws made by thoſe moſt Chriſtian monarchs, in favour of the Indians.

(*p*) We ſhall, in the Diſſertations, produce the opinions of D. Giulian Garcès, firſt biſhop of Tlaſcalla; of D. John di Zumarraga, firſt biſhop of Mexico, and of D. Bartholomew de las Caſas, firſt biſhop of Chiapa, with reſpect to the capacities, underſtandings, and other good qualities of the Mexicans. The teſtimony of thoſe virtuous and learned prelates, who had ſo much intercourſe with the Indians, weighs much more than that of any hiſtorian whatever.

(*q*) Experience has proved the grateful diſpoſitions of the Mexicans, wherever they were aſſured of the good-will and ſincerity of their benefactors. Their gratitude has been often manifeſted by open and loud demonſtrations of joy, which publicly declare the falſhood of the Spaniſh proverb.

They

They are by nature taciturn, ſerious, and auſtere, and ſhew more anxiety to puniſh crimes than to reward virtues.

Generoſity and perfect diſintereſtedneſs are the principal features of their character. Gold with the Mexicans has not that value which it enjoys elſewhere (*r*). They ſeem to give without reluctance what has coſt them the utmoſt labour to acquire. The neglect of ſelfiſh intereſts, together with the diſlike which they bear to their rulers, and conſequently their averſion to the taſks impoſed by them, ſeem to have been the only grounds of that much exaggerated indolence with which the Americans have been charged (*s*); and after all, there is no ſet of people in that country who labour more, nor whoſe labours are more uſeful or more neceſſary (*t*).

The reſpect paid by children to their parents, and by the young to the old, among thoſe people, ſeem to be feelings that are born with them. Parents are very fond of their children; but the affection which huſbands bear to their wives, is certainly leſs than that borne by the wives to their huſbands; and it is very common for the men to love their neighbours wives better than their own.

Courage and cowardice ſeem alternately ſo to affect their minds, that it is often difficult to determine whether the one or the other predominates. They meet dangers with intrepidity when they proceed from natural cauſes, but they are eaſily terrified by the ſtern look of a Spaniard. That ſtupid indifference about death and eternity, which many authors have thought inherent in the character of every American, is peculiar only to thoſe who are yet ſo rude and uninformed as to have no idea of a future ſtate.

Their ſingular attachment to the external ceremonies of religion is very apt to degenerate into ſuperſtition, as happens with the ignorant of all nations of the world; but their proneneſs to idolatry is nothing

(*r*) I do not ſpeak of thoſe Mexicans, who, by a conſtant intercourſe with covetous nations, have been infected by their avarice: although, at the ſame time, even thoſe appear to be leſs ſelfiſh than the generality of people in the old continent.

(*s*) What we obſerve upon the indolence of American indolence I do not mean to apply to the ſavage nations in other parts of the new world.

(*t*) In our Diſſertations we ſhall give an account of the works in which the Mexicans are employed. Many of Palafox's ideas for the Indians ſuſpect them, the Spaniards will find the Indians uſeful.

more than a chimera formed in the abſurd imaginations of miſinformed perſons. The inſtances of a few mountaineers are not ſufficient to juſtify a general aſperſion upon the whole people *(u)*.

To conclude, the character of the Mexicans, like that of every other nation, is a mixture of good and bad; but the bad is eaſy to be corrected by a proper education, as has been frequently demonſtrated by experience *(x)*. It would be difficult to find, any where, a youth more docile than the preſent, or a body of people more ready than their anceſtors were to receive the lights of religion.

I muſt add, that the modern Mexicans are not in all reſpects ſimilar to the ancient; as the Greeks of theſe days have little reſemblance of thoſe who lived in the times of Plato and of Pericles. The ancient Mexicans ſhewed more fire, and were more ſenſible to the impreſſions of honour. They were more intrepid, more nimble, more active, more induſtrious; but they were, at the ſame time, more ſuperſtitious and cruel.

(*u*) The few examples that are to be found of idolatry are not altogether inexcuſable, when we conſider how naturally rude and unenlightened men may confound the idolatrous worſhip of ſome unſhapely figure of ſtone or wood, with that which is due to the ſacred images alone. And our own prejudices againſt them have often been the cauſe of our treating as idols what were really the images, though rude ones, of the ſaints. In the year 1754, I ſaw ſome little images which had been found in a cave in a mountain, and were conſidered as idols, but which I had no doubt were actually images repreſenting the myſtery of the ſacred nativity.

(*x*) To be ſenſible of the influence of education upon the Mexicans, we need only to be made acquainted with the wonderful life led by the Mexican women of the Royal College of Guadaloupe in Mexico, and thoſe of the monaſteries of Capuchins in the ſame capital, and Valladolid in Michuacan.

BOOK II.

Of the Tolteeas, Chechemeeas, Acolhuas, Olmeeas, and other Nations that inhabited the Country of Anahuac before the Mexicans. The Expedition of the Aztecas, or Mexicans, from their Native Country of Aztlan. The Events of their Journey into the Country of Anahuac; and their Settlements in Chapoltepec and Colhuacan. The Foundation of Mexico and Tlaltelolco. Inhuman Sacrifice of a Colhuan Girl.

THE hiſtory of the firſt peopling of Anahuac is ſo involved in fable, like that of other nations, that it is not merely difficult but altogether impoſſible to diſcover the truth. It is certain, however, both from the teſtimony of the ſacred writings, and from the conſtant and univerſal tradition of thoſe nations, that the inhabitants of Anahuac are deſcended of thoſe few mortals whom the Divine Providence ſaved from the waters of the deluge, in order to preſerve the race of man, upon earth. At the ſame time there cannot be a doubt, that the men who firſt peopled that country, came originally from the more northern parts of America, where their anceſtors had been ſettled for many ages. All the hiſtorians, Tolteean, Chechemecan, Acolhuan, Mexican, and Tlaſcalan, are agreed upon theſe two points: but who thoſe firſt inhabitants were, the time of their emigration, the events of their journey, and their firſt eſtabliſhments, are entirely unknown. Several authors have endeavoured to pierce that chaos; but truſting to ſlight conjectures, fanciful combinations, and certain pictures of very ambiguous authenticity; and having recourſe in their difficulties, to puerile and romantic narrations, have utterly loſt themſelves in the thick darkneſs of antiquity.

There have been writers, who, building upon the tradition of the natives, and upon the diſcovery of bones, ſculls, and entire ſkeletons of prodigious ſize, which have been dug up, at different times,

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in many parts of New Spain (*a*), have imagined that the firſt inhabitants of that country were Giants. I, for my own part, have no doubt of their exiſtence there, as well as in other parts of the New World (*b*); but we can neither form any conjecture as to the time in which they lived, although we have reaſon to believe they muſt be very ancient; nor can we be perſuaded that there has ever been, as thoſe writers imagined, a whole nation of Giants, but only ſingle individuals of the nations which we now know, or of ſome others more ancient and unknown (*c*).

The Tolteeas are the oldeſt nation of which we have any knowledge, and that is very imperfect. Being baniſhed, as they tell us, from their own country *Huehuetapallan*, which we take to have been in the kingdom of *Tollan* (*d*), from which they derived their name, and ſituated to the north-weſt of Mexico, they began their journey in the year 1. *Tecpatl*, that is in the 596 of our era. In every place to which they came, they remained no longer than they liked

(*a*) The places where gigantic ſkeletons have been found, are *Atlacatepec*, a village in the province of Tlaſcala, *Tezcuco*, *Toluca*, *Quauhximalpan*; and in our days, upon a hill in California, not far from Kadi-Kaaman.

(*b*) I am well aware that many European philoſophers, who laugh at the belief of giants, will be ready to ridicule me, or at leaſt to pity my credulity; but I will not betray the truth to avoid cenſure. I know that among the civilized nations of America, it was a current tradition, that a race of men had exiſted, in former times, of extraordinary height and bulk; but I cannot remember an inſtance among any American nation, of there having ever been any elephants, hippopotamuſes, or other quadrupeds of uncommon ſize. I know from the teſtimony of innumerable writers, and particularly of two eye-witneſſes, of unqueſtionable credit, Hernandez, and D' Acoſta, who were men of learning, correctneſs, and veracity, that human ſkulls have been found, and even whole ſkeletons, of aſtoniſhing ſize; but I do not know, that in any of the vaſt number of openings which have been made in the earth in New Spain, any ſkeleton of a hippopotamus has been found, or even a ſingle tooth of an elephant. I know, laſtly, that ſome of the great bones above mentioned, have been found in tombs, which appear evidently to have been made on purpoſe; but I am yet to learn of tombs ever having been conſtructed for ſea-horſes and elephants. All this and more ought to be weighed, before we preſume to determine with ſome authors who have aſſerted it, without the leaſt heſitation, that all the large bones diſcovered in America, belonged to thoſe, or ſome other ſuch great animals.

(*c*) Many hiſtorians of Mexico ſay, that the giants were betrayed, and put to death by the Tlaſcalans; but this idea, which has no foundation but in ſome poems of the Tlaſcalans, is inconſiſtent with the chronology adopted by thoſe hiſtorians themſelves; making the giants much too ancient, and the Tlaſcalans too modern, in the country of Anahuac.

(*d*) *Tolteca*, in Mexican ſignifies a native of Tollan, as *Tlaxcaltecatl* does a native of Tlaſcala, &c.

it,

it, or were eaſily accommodated with proviſions. When they determined to make a longer ſtay, they erected houſes, and ſowed the land with corn, cotton, and other plants, the ſeeds of which they had carried along with them to ſupply their neceſſities. In this wandering manner did they travel, always ſouthward, for the ſpace of one hundred and four years, till they arrived at a place, to which they gave the name of *Tollantzinco*, about fifty miles to the eaſt of that ſpot where, ſome centuries after, was founded the famous city of Mexico. They were led and commanded, upon the whole journey, by certain captains or lords, who were reduced to ſeven, by the time they arrived at Tollantzinco *(e)*. They did not chuſe, however, to ſettle in that country, although the climate is mild, and the ſoil fruitful; but in leſs than twenty years after, they went about forty miles towards the weſt, where, along the banks of a river, they founded the city of Tollan or Tula, after the name of their native country. That city, the oldeſt, as far as we know, in Anahuac, is one of the moſt celebrated in the hiſtory of Mexico, and was the capital of the Toltecan kingdom, and the court of their kings. Their monarchy began in the year 8. *Acatl*, that is in the year 607 of the Chriſtian era, and laſted three hundred and eighty-four years. I have ſubjoined the ſeries of their kings with the year of the Chriſtian era in which they began to reign *(f)*.

Chalchiuhtlanetzin,	in the	667
Ixtlilcuechahuac,	in the	719
Huetzin,	in the	771
Totepeuh,	in the	823
Nacaxse,	in the	875
Mitl,	in the	927
Xiutzaltzin, Queen,	in the	979
Topiltzin,	in the	1031.

It might appear extraordinary that juſt eight monarchs ſhould reign in the courſe of four centuries, if it were not explained by a ſingular

(*e*) The ſeven Toltecan leaders were, *Zacatl*, *Ocelotzin*, *Ehecatzin*, *Cohuatzon*, *Icxicouatl*, *Metzotzin*, and *Tlapalmetzotzin*.

(*f*) We have pointed out the year in which the Toltecan monarchs began their reigns, by taking for granted the epoch of their leaving Huehuetlapallan, which however, is very uncertain.

law

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law of that people, according to which, no king was ſuffered to reign either longer or ſhorter than a Toltecan age; which, as we ſhall mention in another place, conſiſted of fifty-two years. If a king completed the age, upon the throne, he immediately reſigned the government, and another was put in his place: and if the king happened to die before the age was expired, the nobles aſſumed the adminiſtration, and, in the name of the deceaſed king, governed the kingdom for the remaining years of the age. This was the caſe with the Queen Xiutzaltzin, after whoſe death in the fifth year of her reign, the nobles held the government for the forty-eight years which ſucceeded.

SECT. II. The great civilization of the Toltecas.

The Toltecas were the moſt celebrated people of Anahuac, for their ſuperior civilization, and ſkill in the arts; whence, in after ages, it has been common to diſtinguiſh the moſt remarkable artiſts, in an honourable manner, by the appellation of Toltecas. They always lived in ſociety, collected into cities, under the government of kings, and regular laws. They were not very warlike, and leſs turned to the exerciſe of arms than to the cultivation of the arts. The nations that have ſucceeded them, have acknowledged themſelves indebted to the Toltecas for their knowledge of the culture of grain, cotton, pepper, and other moſt uſeful fruits. Nor did they only practiſe thoſe arts which are dictated by neceſſity, but thoſe alſo which miniſter to luxury. They had the art of caſting gold and ſilver, and melting them in whatever forms they pleaſed, and acquired the greateſt reputation from the cutting of all kinds of gems: but nothing, to us, raiſes their character ſo high as their having been the inventors, or at leaſt the reformers of that ſyſtem of the arrangement of time, which was adopted by all the civilized nations of Anahuac; and which, as we ſhall ſee afterwards, implies numerous obſervations, and a wonderfully correct aſtronomy.

Cav. Boturini *(g)*, upon the faith of the ancient hiſtories of the Toltecas, ſays, that obſerving in their own country of *Huehuetlapallan*, how the ſolar year exceeded the civil one by which they

(g) In a work of his, printed at Madrid, in 1746, under the title of, *Idea of a general Hiſtory of North America, from the ſcarce and great Number of Paintings, Symbols, Characters, Hieroglyphics, Figures, and Manuſcripts of Indian Authors, lately diſcovered.*

reckoned,

reckoned, about ſix hours, they regulated it by interpoſing the intercalary day once in the four years; which they did, more than one hundred years before the Chriſtian era. He ſays beſides, that in the year 660, under the reign of *Ixtlalcueclahuac*, in Tula, a celebrated aſtronomer called *Huematzin*, aſſembled, by the king's conſent, all the wiſe men of the nation; and with them painted that famous book called *Teoamoxtli* or Divine Book, in which were repreſented, in very plain figures, the origin of the Indians, their diſperſion after the confuſion of tongues at Babel, their journey in Aſia, their firſt ſettlements upon the Continent of America, the founding of the kingdom of Tula, and their progreſs till that time. There were deſcribed the heavens, the planets, the conſtellations, the Toltecan calendar with its cycles, the mythological transformations, in which were included their moral philoſophy, and the myſteries of their deities concealed by hieroglyphics from common underſtandings, together with all that appertained to their religion and manners. The above mentioned author adds, that that eclipſe of the ſun which happened at the death of our Saviour, was marked in their paintings, in the year 7. *Tecpatli* (*b*); and that ſome learned Spaniards, well acquainted with the hiſtory and the paintings of the Toltecas, having compared their chronology with ours, found that they reckoned from the creation of the world to the birth of Chriſt, five thouſand one hundred and ninety-nine years, which is exactly the computation of the Roman calendar.

Whatever may be in theſe things mentioned by Boturini, upon which I leave the prudent reader to form his own judgment, there cannot be a doubt, with thoſe who have ſtudied the hiſtory of that people, that the Toltecas had a clear and diſtinct knowledge of the univerſal deluge, of the confuſion of tongues, and of the diſperſion of the people; and even pretended to give the names of their firſt anceſtors who were divided from the reſt of the families upon that

(*b*) All thoſe who have ſtudied carefully the hiſtory of the nations of Anahuac, know very well that thoſe people were accuſtomed to mark eclipſes, comets, and other phænomena of the heavens, in their paintings. Upon reading Boturini I ſet about comparing the Toltecan years with ours, and I found the 34th year of Chriſt, or 30th of our era, to be the 7. *Tecpatli*: but I did this merely to ſatisfy my own curioſity, and I do not mean either to confirm or give credit to the things told us by that author.

univerſal

univsrſal diſperſion. It is equally certain, as we ſhall ſhew in another place, however incredible it may appear to the critics of Europe, who are accuſtomed to look upon the Americans as all equally barbarous, that the Mexicans and all the other civilized nations of Anahuac regulated their civil year according to the ſolar, by means of the intercalary days, in the ſame manner as the Romans did after the Julian arrangement; and that this accuracy was owing to the ſkill of the Toltecas. Their religion was idolatrous, and they appear by their hiſtory to have been the inventors of the greateſt part of the mythology of the Mexicans, but we do not know that they practiſed thoſe barbarous and bloody ſacrifices which became afterwards ſo common among the other nations.

The Tezcucan hiſtorians believed the Toltecas the authors of that famous idol, repreſenting the god of water, placed on mount *Tlaloc*, of which we ſhall ſpeak hereafter. It is certain that they built in honour of their beloved god *Quetzalcoatl*, the higheſt pyramid of Cholula, and probably alſo theſe famous ones of Teotihuacan in honour of the ſun and moon, which are ſtill in exiſtence, though much diſfigured (*i*). Boturini believed the Toltecas built the pyramid of Cholula, to counterfeit the tower of Babel; but the painting on which his error is ſupported (ſufficiently common with the vulgar of New Spain), is the work of a modern and ignorant Cholulan, the whole of it being a heap of abſurdities (*k*).

(*i*) Boturini and ſome others ſay theſe pyramids were built by the Mexicans; this is certainly falſe, and contrary to the opinion of all other authors, Americans as well as Spaniſh. Dr. Sigüenza appears to think they were the work of the Olmecas; but as we have no other remains of the architecture of that nation, by which we might judge; and beſides, theſe pyramids being made after the model of that of Cholula, we are therefore induced to think that the Toltecas were the authors of them all, as Torquemada and other authors relate.

(*k*) The painting alluded to by Boturini, repreſented the pyramid of Cholula, with this Mexican inſcription, *Tlacuiloa Cholollan ome altepetl*; which he thus interprets: *A painter, or painters of Cholula, [illegible] the tower of Babel*: but independent of the incorrectneſs of the writer, and the bad taſte in Chronology, whoever is in the leaſt inſtructed in the Mexican language, will immediately perceive there could be no ſuch ridiculous interpretation. At the foot of the picture, ſays Boturini, the author put a note, in which, addreſſing himſelf to his countrymen, he admoniſhed them as follows: Noble, and ancient men, behold your forefathers, the heroes of your antiquity, and the hiſtory of your anceſtors; who, moved by fear from the ſeeds, built this aſylum, for a ready refuge, in caſe of loſs, again created by ſuch a calamity. But to ſpeak the truth, the Cholulan muſt have been totally deprived of underſtanding, to form the idea of the

During the four centuries which the monarchy of the Toltecas laſted, they multiplied conſiderably, extending their population every way in numerous and large cities; but the direful calamities which happened to them in the firſt years of the reign of Topiltzin, gave a fatal ſhock to their proſperity and power. For ſeveral years heaven denied them the neceſſary ſhowers to their fields, and the earth the fruits which ſupported them. The air, infected with mortal contagion, filled daily the graves with the dead, and the minds of thoſe ſurviving with conſternation, at the deſtruction of their countrymen. A great part of the nation died by famine and ſickneſs. Topiltzin departed life in the ſecond year *Tecpatl*, the twentieth of his reign, which was probably the year 1052 of the vulgar era, and with him the Toltecan monarchy concluded. The wretched remains of the nation, willing to ſave themſelves from the common calamity, ſought timely relief to their misfortunes, in other countries. Some directed their courſe to Onohualco or Yucatan, ſome to Guatemala, while ſome families ſtopped in the kingdom of Tula, and ſcattered themſelves in the great vale where Mexico was afterwards founded; ſome in Cholula, Tlaximoloyan, and other places; and amongſt theſe were the two princes ſons of king Topiltzin, whoſe deſcendants, in courſe of time, intermarried with the royal families of Mexico, Tezcuco, and Colhuacan.

Theſe imperfect accounts of the Toltecas are all that we think proper to be told here, omitting many fabulous relations introduced

deluge they had undertaken, at ſo much expence and labour, the building of that ominous pyramid, while in the higheſt mountains, a little diſtant from Cholula, they had a much more ſecure aſylum from inundations, with leſs danger of periſhing by want. In the ſame work, Boturini ſays, was repreſented the baptiſm of Ilamateuctli, Queen of Cholula, conferred upon her by Deacon Aguilar, the 2d of Auguſt, 1521, together with the apparition of the Virgin to a certain religious Franciſcan, who was living at Rome, ordering him to depart for Mexico; where he was to place on a mountain built by art (that is, the pyramid of Cholula), her image. But this is no more than a ſtring of dreams and lies; for in Cholula there never were either kings, nor could ſuch baptiſm, of which no author ſays a word, have been celebrated on the 6th of Auguſt, 1521; as at that time Aguilar, with the other Spaniards, was in the heat of the ſiege of the capital, which was to render itſelf up, ſeven days after, to the conquerors. Of the pretended apparition of the mother of God, there is no memory among the Franciſcan hiſtorians, who never omitted any thing of this kind in their chronicles. We have demonſtrated the falſity of this relation, to caution thoſe, with regard to modern pictures, who may in future undertake the hiſtory of Mexico.

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by other hiſtorians *(l)*. We would require to have the *Divine Book*, cited by Boturini, and by Sig. D. Ferdinand d'Alba Ixtlilxohitl in his moſt valuable manuſcripts to throw greater light on the hiſtory of this celebrated nation.

After the deſtruction of the Toltecas, for the ſpace of one century, the land of Anahuac remained ſolitary, and almoſt entirely depopulated, until the arrival of the Chechemecas (*m*).

The Chechemecas, like the Toltecas who preceded them, and other nations which came after them, were originally from the northern countries, as we may call the North of America, like the North of Europe, the ſeminary of the human race. From both, in ſwarms, have iſſued numerous nations to people the countries in the South. their native country, of the ſituation of which we are ignorant, was called *Amaquemecan*, where, according to their account, different monarchs ruled their nation for many years (*n*). The character of the Chechemecas, as is ſhewn by their hiſtory, was very ſingular, as a certain degree of civilization was blended with many traits of barbariſm. They lived under the command of a ſovereign, and the chiefs and governors deputed by him, with as much ſubmiſſion as is uſual among the moſt cultivated nations. There were diſtinctions between the nobility and commonalty, and the plebeians were accuſtomed to reverence thoſe whoſe birth, merit, or favour with the

(l) Torquemada ſays, that at a certain feſtival-ball made by the Toltecas, the ſad-looking devil appeared to them in a gigantic ſize, with immenſe arms, and in the midſt of the entertainment he embraced and ſuffocated them; that then he appeared in the figure of a child with a putrid head, and brought the plague; and finally, at the perſuaſion of the ſame devil they abandoned the country of Tula. But this good author underſtood theſe ſymbolical figures literally; whereas they were meant only to repreſent the famine and peſtilence which had befallen them, at the time when they were in the height of their proſperity.

(m) In our ſecond diſſertation, we differ from Torquemada, who does not allow more than eleven years of interval between the deſtruction of the Toltecas and the arrival of the Chechemecas.

(n) Torquemada names theſe Chechemecan kings of Amaquemecan, and to the firſt he gives one hundred and eighty years of reign; to the ſecond, one hundred and fifty-ſix; and to the third, one hundred and thirty-three. See our ſecond diſſertation on the abſurd chronology of this author. He alſo confidently affirms, that Amaquemecan was ſix hundred miles diſtant from the ſpot where the city of Guadalaxara is at preſent, but in more than one thouſand two hundred miles of inhabited country beyond that city, there is not the leaſt trace or memory of the kingdom of Amaquemecan; from whence we believe it to be a country ſtill undiſcovered, and greatly farther to the northward than Torquemada imagined.

princ

prince raiſed them above the other ranks. They dwelt in communities together, in places compoſed, as we may imagine, of poor huts (*o*); but they neither practiſed agriculture, nor thoſe arts which accompany civil life. They lived only on game, and fruits, and roots which the earth ſpontaneouſly produced. Their clothing was the rough ſkins of the wild beaſts they took in prey, and their arms no other than the bow and arrow. Their religion was reduced to the ſimple worſhip of the ſun, to which pretended divinity they offered herbs and flowers which they found ſpringing in the fields. With reſpect to their cuſtoms, they were certainly leſs diſpleaſing and leſs rude than thoſe to which the genius of a nation of hunters gives birth.

SECT. IV. Xolotl, firſt king of the Chechemecas, in Anahuac.

Their motive for leaving their native country, is uncertain; as likewiſe the etymology of the word *Chechemecatl* (*o*). The laſt king whom they had in Amaquemecan, left his government divided between his two ſons Achcauhtli and Xolotl; the latter either not brooking, as frequently happens, the diviſion of regal authority, was willing to prove whether fortune deſtined him other territories, where he could govern without a rival; or perceiving that the mountains of his kingdom were not ſufficient to provide ſupport for the then probably increaſed number of inhabitants, determined to eaſe neceſſity by a timely departure. Having taken, therefore, ſuch reſolution from the one or other motive, and having firſt got intelligence, by his emiſſaries of a good ſituation in the ſouthern countries, he ſet out from his native land, with a large army of his ſubjects, who were diſpoſed, from affection or intereſt, to accompany him. In their travels they encountered with the ruins of the Toltecan ſettlements, and in particular of the great city of Tula, where they arrived at the end of eighteen months. From this they proceeded towards Chem-

(*o*) Torquemada ſays, that the Chechemecas had no houſes, but dwelt in the caverns of mountains; but in the ſame chapter where he ſays this, he affirms that *the capital city* of their kingdom was called Amaquemecan.

(*o*) Several authors have laboured to gueſs at the etymology of the word *Chechemecatl*. Torquemada ſays, that this name is derived from *Techichi*, which ſignifies *dog*, becauſe the Chechemecas ſucked the blood of the animals which they hunted. But this is a forced etymology, particularly among thoſe nations, who did not alter derivative names in ſuch a manner. Betancourt believed it to be derived from *Chichi*, that is, *dog's beans*. They were ſo called by other nations, in contempt; but had this been the caſe, they would not have boaſted, as they did, of the name Chechemecatl.

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The king being ſettled in Tenayuca, which he deſtined for the place of his court, and having given proper orders for the forming of other towns and villages, he commanded one of his captains, named Achitomatl, to go and trace the ſource of certain rivers which the prince had obſerved in his expedition. Achitomatl found in Chapoltepec, in Cojohuacan, and in other places, ſeveral Toltecan families, from whom he learned the cauſe and time of their deſolation. The Chechemecas, not only avoided to diſturb thoſe miſerable relics of that celebrated nation, but formed alliances with them, many of the nobles marrying with the women of Tolteca; and among others, prince Nopaltzin married Azcaxochitl, a virgin deſcended from Pochotl, one of the two princes of the royal family of Tolteca, who ſurvived the deſtruction of their nation. This humanity brought its recompence to the Chechemecas; for from their commerce with that

that induſtrious nation, they began to taſte corn, and other fruits of induſtry; were taught agriculture, the manner of digging metals, and the art of caſting them; alſo to cut ſtones, to ſpin and weave cotton, and other things, by which they improved their means of living, their clothing, their habitations, and manners.

Nor did the arrival of other civilized nations contribute leſs to the refinement of the Checehmecas. Eight years were ſcarcely elapſed from the time that Xolotl had eſtabliſhed himſelf in Tenayuca, when there arrived in that country ſix reſpectable perſons, with a conſiderable retinue of people. They were from a northern country, neighbouring to the kingdom of Amaquemecan, or a little diſtant from it, the name of which is not mentioned by hiſtorians; but we have reaſon to believe that it was the country of *Aztlan*, the native country of the Mexicans, and that theſe new colonies were the ſix famous tribes of Nahuatlachi, of which all the hiſtorians of Mexico make mention, and we ſhall ſhortly treat of. It is probable that Xolotl ſent advice to his native country, of the advantages of the ſituation where he was eſtabliſhed; and that ſuch information, ſpread among the adjoining nations, incited many families to follow his ſteps, and partake his good fortune. It is alſo to be imagined, that ſome famine or ſcarcity having happened to the northern countries, ſo many people were obliged to ſeek relief in lands to the ſouthward. However it was, the ſix perſons arrived in Tenayuca from the North, were graciouſly received by the Chechemecan king: and when he learned the purpoſe of their travel, and their deſire to ſtay in that country, he aſſigned them a diſtrict which they might inhabit with their people.

A few years after, there arrived three other princes, with a great army of the Acolhuan nation, natives of Teoacolhuacan, a country neighbouring to, and not far diſtant from the kingdom of Amaquemecan. Theſe princes were named *Acolhuatzin*, *Chiconquauhtli*, and *Tzontecomatl*, and were of the moſt noble houſe of *Citin*. It was the moſt cultivated and moſt civilized of all the nations which were in that country ſince the Toltecas. It may be eaſily ſuppoſed, how great a rumour was occaſioned by ſuch a novelty, in that kingdom, and what diſquiet ſo great a multitude of unknown people raiſed

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among the Chechemecas; nor does it ſeem probable, that they would have been permitted to enter the kingdom, without having previouſly given information of their condition, and the motives of their viſit. The king was at this time in Tezcuco, where he had removed his court, either being tired of Tenayuca, or allured by the advantageous ſituation of that new place. Here the three princes arrived, and being preſented to the king, after a profound bow, and that ceremony of reſpect ſo familiar to theſe nations of kiſſing the hand after having touched the earth with it, they addreſſed him in words to this purpoſe. "We are come, mighty king, from the kingdom of Teoacol-"huacan, a little diſtance only from your native country: we are all "three brothers, and ſons of a great lord; but being acquainted with "the happineſs which the Chechemecas enjoy under the rule of a "prince ſo humane, we have preferred to the advantages which we "had in our native country, the honour of becoming your ſubjects. "We pray you, therefore, to give us place in your happy land, where "we may live dependent on your authority and ſubject to your com-"mand." The Chechemecan ſovereign was pleaſed with the lordly air and courtly manners of theſe noble youths, but ſtill more with the flattering vanity of ſeeing humbled, in his preſence, three princes allured from ſuch diſtant countries by the fame of his clemency and his power. He replied with complaiſance to their addreſs, and offered to comply with their deſires; but while he was deliberating in what manner he ſhould do it, he ordered his ſon to lodge them, and take care of their entertainment.

The king had two daughters who were marriageable, whom, from the firſt he had thought of marrying with the two eldeſt princes; but he was unwilling to diſcover this intention, until he ſhould be acquainted with their diſpoſition, and ſhould be ſure of the conſent of his ſubjects. When he was ſatisfied in mind of both theſe points, he called the princes to him, who remained anxious about their fate, and opened his reſolution to them, not only to grant them eſtabliſhments in his kingdom, but alſo to marry two of them with his daughters, lamenting that he had no other, to avoid leaving any one excluded from the new alliance. The princes thanked him with warm expreſſions of gratitude, and proffered to ſerve him with the utmoſt fidelity.

When

When the day appointed for the nuptials arrived, ſuch a concourſe of people flocked to Tenayuca, the place deſtined for the ſolemnization, the city being unable to receive them, many remained in the country. Acolhuatzin married the eldeſt of the princeſſes, named Cuetlaxochitl, and Chiconquautli the other. The third prince had *Coatetl*, a virgin born in Chalco of moſt noble parents, in whom the Toltecan and Chechemecan blood were both mixed. The public rejoicings laſted ſixty days, and the entertainments conſiſted of wreſtling, running, and combats with wild beaſts, exerciſes which were agreeable to the genius of the Chechemecas, and in all of them the prince Nopaltzin diſtinguiſhed himſelf. After the example of theſe royal perſonages, the two nations continued to increaſe their alliance by inter-marriages until they became one, which taking its name from the moſt noble party, was called Acolhua, and the kingdom Acolhuacan; the name of Chechemecas being left to thoſe who, preferring the exerciſe of the chace to the toil of agriculture, or grown impatient of ſubordination, went off to the mountains, which are towards the north and the north-weſt of the vale of Mexico, where yielding themſelves up to the impulſe of their barbarous liberty, without a chief, without laws, without a fixed dwelling, or the other advantages of ſociety, they employed the day in purſuit of animals for prey, and when fatigued ſunk down to ſleep wherever night overtook them. Theſe barbarians mingled with the Otomies, a nation which was attached to the ſame courſe of life, occupied a tract of more than three hundred miles of country, and the Spaniards were harraſſed by their deſcendants for many years after the conqueſt of Mexico.

SECT. VII. Diviſion of the ſtates, and rebellions.

When the nuptial feſtivities were at an end, Xolotl divided his kingdom into ſeveral diſtinct ſtates, and aſſigned the poſſeſſion of them to his ſons in law, and the other nobles of each nation. He granted to prince Acolhuatzin the ſtate of Azcapozalco, eighteen miles to the weſt of Tezcuco, and from him deſcended the kings under whoſe government the Mexicans continued more than fifty years. On Chiconquauhtli he conferred the ſtate of Xaltocan; and on Tzontecomatl, that of Coatlichan.

The population daily encreaſed, and with it the civilization of the people; but at the ſame time ambition and other paſſions which had lain

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lain dormant from the want of ideas, in times of a ſavage life, began to awaken in their minds. Xolotl, who, during the greateſt period of his reign, had exerciſed great clemency in his government, had found himſelf, in the laſt years of his life, conſtrained to uſe ſevere meaſures to check the reſtleſs diſpoſition of ſome rebels, occaſionally depriving them of their offices, or puniſhing the moſt criminal with death. Theſe juſt chaſtiſements, inſtead of intimidating, exaſperated them ſo much, that they formed the atrocious deſign of taking the king's life, for the execution of which an occaſion ſpeedily preſented itſelf. A little time previous to this the king had expreſſed a wiſh to increaſe the waters of his gardens where he was accuſtomed to take recreation, and frequently alſo relieved his burden of years with ſleep, to which he was invited by the coolneſs and charms of the place. Being acquainted with this, the rebels dammed up the little river which croſſed the city, and opened a ditch to conduct the waters to the gardens; waited the time at which the king was accuſtomed to go to ſleep, then raiſing the dam let all the water at once into the gardens, and ſuddenly overflowed them. They flattered themſelves that their vicious aim would never be detected; as the diſaſter of the king might be imputed to an accident, or to ill conducted meaſures by his ſubjects, who ſincerely deſired to ſerve their ſovereign: but they deceived themſelves, and their attempt proved abortive; as the king had ſecret intelligence of their conſpiracy; but diſſembling his knowledge of it, he retired at his uſual time into the garden, and went to ſleep on an elevated ſpot, where he was expoſed to no danger. When he afterwards ſaw the water enter, although the treaſon was now apparent, he continued his diſſimulation to ridicule his enemies: "I," he then ſaid, "was perſuaded that my ſubjects loved me, but now I ſee they love "me ſtill more than I believed. I was deſirous of increaſing the water "of my garden, and behold my ſubjects have done it without any "expence: it is proper therefore to rejoice at my happineſs." He then ordered there ſhould be rejoicings in the court, and when they were concluded, he departed full of anguiſh and diſdain for Tenayuca, reſolved to inflict exemplary puniſhment on the conſpirators; but there he was ſeized with a mortal diſtemper which moderated his paſſion.

Being

SECT. VIII. Death and funeral of Xolotl.

Being now ſenſible of an approaching death, he called prince Nopaltzin to him, his daughters, and Acolhuatzin his ſon-in-law, the other princes being now dead, and recommended to them concord among themſelves, the care of the people committed to their charge, the protection of the nobility, and clemency to all their ſubjects; after which, a few hours, in the midſt of the tears and plaints of his children, he ended his life in a very advanced age, having reigned in that country, as appears, more than forty years. He was a robuſt and courageous man, but of a moſt affectionate heart to his children, and mild to his people. His reign would have been more happy had its duration been more ſhort *(q)*.

The news of the death of the king immediately ſpread over the whole kingdom, and ſpeedy advice of it was given to the principal lords, that they might attend at the funeral. They adorned the royal corpſe with various little figures of gold and ſilver, which the Chechemecas, having been inſtructed by the Toltecas, had begun now to work, and placed it in a chair made of gum copal and other aromatic ſubſtances; and thus it remained five days, while the lords ſummoned to the funeral arrived. After they were all aſſembled, the corpſe was burnt, according to the cuſtom of the Chechemecas, and the aſhes gathered in an urn of the hardeſt ſtone. This urn was kept expoſed for forty days in a hall of the royal manſion, where daily the nobility thronged to pay their homage of tears to their deceaſed ſovereign, and the urn was afterwards carried to a cave in the neighbourhood of the city with ſimilar demonſtrations of grief.

SECT. IX. Nopaltzin II. king of the Chechemecas.

As ſoon as the funeral of Xolotl was concluded, they celebrated the aſcenſion of prince Nopaltzin to the throne with acclamations and rejoicings for other forty days. When the lords took leave of their new king to return to their reſpective ſtates, one of them made this ſhort harangue: "Great king and lord, as your ſubjects and ſervants, "we go in obedience to your commands, to govern the people you "have committed to our charge, bearing in our hearts the pleaſure of "having ſeen you on the throne, not leſs due to your virtue than your "birth. We acknowlege the good fortune unequalled which we

(q) Torquemada gives Xolotl one hundred and thirteen years of reign, and more than two hundred years of life. On this ſee our Diſſertation.

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" have in ſerving ſo illuſtrious and powerful a lord; and we requeſt " you to regard us with the eyes of a real father, and to protect us " with your might, that we may reſt ſecure under your ſhade. You " are as well the water which reſtores, as the fire which deſtroys, and " in your hands hold equally our life and our death."

The lords having taken leave, the king remained in Tenayuca, with his ſiſter the widow of the prince Chiconquauhtli. He was then, as far as we can conjecture, about ſixty years of age, and had ſons and grandſons. His lawful children by the Toltecan queen were Tlotzin, Quauhtequihua, and Apopozoc. On Tlotzin, who was the firſt born, he conferred the government of Tezcuco, that he might begin to learn the difficult art of governing men; and the other two were placed over the ſtates of Zacatlan and Tenamitic *(r)*.

The king paſſed one year in the court of Tenayuca, arranging the affairs of the ſtate, which were not ſo ſettled as they had been at firſt. From thence he went to Tezcuco, to treat with his ſon about the moſt convenient meaſures to be taken to reſtore the former tranquillity of his kingdom. While he was there he went one day into the royal gardens with his ſon, and ſome other lords of the court, and as they were in converſation, he burſt ſuddenly into a flood of tears; being requeſted to explain the cauſe, " Two cauſes," ſaid he, " produce " my tears, the one the memory of my late father, which is revived " by the ſight of this place where he uſed to take recreation; the " other is the compariſon which I make of theſe happy days with the " preſent bitter moments. When my father planted theſe gardens, " he had quiet ſubjects, who ſerved him with ſincerity, and received " the offices which he conferred upon them, with humility and " gratitude; but at preſent ambition and diſcord are every where pre- " vailing. It troubles me to be obliged to uſe the ſubjects as ene- " mies, whom I once in this place treated as friends and brothers. " Do you, my ſon," addreſſing Tlotzin, " keep conſtantly in your

(r) If we are to adopt the chronology of Torquemada, we muſt give Nopaltzin when he mounted the throne one hundred and thirty years of age; as when he arrived with his father in the country of Anahuac, he was at leaſt eighteen or twenty years, which added to the one hundred and thirteen years, which, according to Torquemada, Xolotl reigned in that country, make one hundred and thirty-one, or one hundred and thirty-three. On this ſee our Second Diſſertation.

" eyes

" eyes the image of your grandfather, and ſtrive to imitate the exam-
" ples of prudence and juſtice which he left us. Strengthen your
" heart with every virtue which you will have occaſion for, to govern
" your ſubjects." After condoling ſome time with his ſon, the king departed for his court of Tenayuca.

The prince Acolhuatzin, who was ſtill living, thinking the boundaries of his ſtate of Azcapozalco too narrow, reſolved to take poſſeſſion of Tepotzotlan, and in fact took it by force, in ſpite of the reſiſtance made by Chalchiuhcua, lord of that ſtate. It is to be believed, that Acolhuatzin would not have done ſo violent an act without the expreſs conſent of the king, who was, probably, willing to revenge himſelf in that manner of ſome offence he had received from Chalchiuhcua.

The conteſt was a good deal more bloody which aroſe a little after from intereſts of a very different nature. Huetzin, lord of Coatlichan, ſon of the late prince Tzontecomatl (*s*), was deſirous of marrying Atotoztli, a noble and beautiful virgin, and grand-daughter of the queen. Jacazozolotl, lord of Tepetlaoztoc, made ſimilar pretenſions; but either being more ſtrongly enamoured, or more violent in temper, not content with having demanded her of her father, he was willing to render himſelf maſter of his beauty by arms; and for this purpoſe collected a ſmall army of his ſubjects, which was joined by Tochinteuctli, who had been lord of Quahuacan, but was diſpoſſeſſed on account of his miſdeeds, and baniſhed to Tepetlaoztoc. Huetzin, apprized of this intent, went to meet him with a greater number of troops, and gave him battle in the neighbourhood of Tezcuco, in which ſome of Jacazozolotl's people were ſlain along with himſelf, and the reſt of the army routed. Tochinteuctli ſaved himſelf by flight, ſheltering himſelf in the city of Huexotzinco, on the other ſide of the mountains. Huetzin, having got rid of his rival, with the con-

(*s*) Torquemada makes Huetzin, ſon of Itzmitl, and him ſon of Tzontecomatl in the thirteenth chapter of book the firſt; but in chapter 40, he ſays, that Itzmitl was one of thoſe who came with Xolotl from Amaquemican, ſo that he makes him born before his father Tzontecomatl, as he was a young man only when he came to Anahuac; and he did not come before the 47th year of the reign of Xolotl, as the ſame author affirms. Beſides in one place, he makes Itzmitl a pure Chichemecan; and in another place the ſon of an Acolhuan. But who is capable of marking all the contradictions and anachroniſms of Torquemada?

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ſent of the king took poſſeſſion of the maid and the ſtate of Tepetlaoztoc.

After theſe ſmall wars of the feudatory princes, one more conſiderable aroſe between the crown and the province of Tollantzinco, which was in rebellion. The king himſelf took the field in perſon with a large army; but as the rebels were numerous in force and well diſciplined, the royal army was worſted during nineteen days which the war laſted, until being reinforced by new troops, under the command of Tlotzin, he defeated the rebels, and puniſhed the heads of the rebellion in the moſt rigorous manner. Their evil example, when imitated by other lords, met with the ſame fate.

Nopaltzin had juſt reſtored tranquillity to his kingdom, when the famous prince Acolhuatzin, firſt lord of Azcapozalco, died, leaving the ſtate to his ſon Tezozomoc. His funeral was celebrated with great magnificence, the king and the nobility of both the nations of Acolhua and Chechemeca attending.

SECT. X. Tlotzin III. king of the Chechemecas.

The king himſelf did not long ſurvive, having reigned thirty-two years, and declared Tlotzin, his firſt born, ſucceſſor to his crown. The funeral rites were performed at the ſame court, and with the ſame form and ceremonies as that of Xolotl, to whom he was ſimilar not leſs in diſpoſition than in robuſtneſs and courage.

Among the lords who were preſent at the acceſſion of the new king to the throne, were his two brothers Quauhtiquehua and Apopozoc, whom he entertained for one year in his palace. Tlotzin was of ſo benevolent and affectionate a diſpoſition, he was the whole delight of his vaſſals. All the nobles ſought pretences to viſit him, and enjoy the pleaſure and charms of his converſation. Notwithſtanding his natural diſpoſition to peace, he took great care of the affairs of war, making his ſubjects frequently exerciſe in arms, and he himſelf was fond of the chace; but we know no particular acts or events of his reign, during thirty-ſix years which he occupied the throne of Acolhuacan. He died afflicted with the moſt ſevere pains in Tenayuca. His aſhes were depoſited in an urn of coſtly ſtone, which was for forty days expoſed to the ſight of the people under a pavilion.

SECT. XI. Quinaltzin IV. king of

Tlotzin was ſucceeded in the kingdom by his ſon Quinatzin, had by Quauhcihuatzin, daughter of the lord of Huexotla. His exaltation

to

to the throne was celebrated with greater ſolemnity than that of his predeceſſors; not at Tenayuca, but at Tezcuco, where he eſtabliſhed his court, and from that time until the conqueſt of the Spaniards, that city continued the capital of the kingdom of Acolhuacan. In his paſſage from the new to the old court, he made himſelf be tranſported in a portable chair or open litter, borne on the ſhoulders of four principal lords, and under an umbrella which was carried by four others. Until that time all the ſovereigns had uſed to walk on foot. This king was the firſt to whom vanity ſuggeſted ſuch a kind of pomp, and his example was imitated by all the kings and nobles of that country, who ſtrove to ſurpaſs each other in oſtentatious grandeur. An emulation not leſs pernicious to ſtates than to princes themſelves.

the Chechemecas.

The commencement of his government was very tranquil; but the ſtates of Meztitlan and Tototepec, which are ſituated in the mountains lying to the north of that capital, ſoon roſe in rebellion. The moment the king received the advice, he marched with a great army, and ſent to tell the heads of the rebellion, that if their courage was equal to their perfidy, they ſhould deſcend within two days to the plain of Tlaximalco, where their fate would be decided by battle; if not, he was reſolved to put flames to their city, without pardon to women or children. The rebels, as they were already well prepared, came down before the time appointed to the plain, to ſhew their courage. The ſignal for battle being given, the attack became furious and obſtinate on both ſides until night ſeparated the armies, leaving the victory undecided. They continued for forty days frequently engaging, the rebels being no way diſcouraged by the advantages which the royal troops daily gained; but perceiving at length, by the ſlaughter and diminution of their forces, that their ruin was inevitable, they ſurrendered to their ſovereign, who, after rigorous puniſhment of the ringleaders of the rebellion, pardoned the crime of the people. The ſame conduct was obſerved with Tepepolco, which had alſo rebelled.

This ſpirit of rebellion ſpread like contagion over all the kingdom; and Tepepolco was ſcarcely ſubdued when Huchuitoca, Mizquic, Totolapa, and four other cities, declared a revolt. The king choſe to go in perſon with a ſtrong body of troops againſt Totolapa, and ſent againſt the other ſix cities as many detachments under command of brave and faithful generals; his ſucceſs was ſuch, that in a very ſhort ſpace of

of time, and without any conſiderable loſs, he brought all the ſeven cities again under his obedience. Theſe victories were celebrated with great rejoicings during eight days in the court, and rewards given to the officers and ſoldiers who had diſtinguiſhed themſelves. As the evil example of ſome ſtates had excited others to rebellion, ſo did the unſucceſsful iſſue ſerve in future as a caution not to form new conſpiracies againſt the loyalty due to their ſovereign; from whence, during the reſt of his government, which, according to hiſtorians, laſted ſixty years, Quinatzin enjoyed the utmoſt tranquillity.

When he died they obſerved ceremonies to him which had never been practiſed with his anceſtors; they opened his body, took out his bowels, and prepared it with different aromatic ſubſtances, to keep it ſome time free from corruption. They afterwards placed it in a great chair, clothed in royal habits, and armed with a bow and arrow, and put at his feet a wooden eagle, and behind him a tyger, to ſignify his bravery and intrepidity. In this ſtate it was expoſed for forty days; and after the uſual mourning, burnt, and the aſhes buried in a cave of the mountains neighbouring to Tezcuco.

Quinatzin was ſucceeded on the throne by his ſon Techotlalla; but the events of this and the following Chechemecan kings reigns being connected with thoſe of the Mexicans, who had at this period (in the fourteenth century of the vulgar era), founded their famous capital, we reſerve the relation of them to another place, judging it ſufficient at preſent to lay before the reader the ſeries of all the kings, annexing, as far as is known, the year of the vulgar era in which they began their reigns, that we may afterwards make ſome mention of the nations which arrived before the Mexicans in that country.

Chechemecan Kings.

Xolotl,	began to reign	in the 12th century.
Nopaltzin,		in the 13th century.
Tlotzin,		in the 14th century.
Quinatzin,		in the 14th century.
Techotlalla,		in the 14th century.
Ixtlilxochitl (t),		in the 1406.

Be-

(t) We do not reckon Ixtlilxochitl among the Chechemecan kings, becauſe he was only created governor of Tezcuco by the Spaniards. It is therefore to be doubted, if Cuicuilzcatzin

Between this and the following kings reign, the tyrants Tezozomoc and Maxtla occupied the throne of Acolhuacan.

Nezahualcoyotl,	in the year 1426.
Nezahualpilli,	in the year 1470.
Cacamatzin,	in the year 1516.
Cuicuitzcatzin,	in the year 1520.
Coanacotzin,	in the year 1520.

We cannot fix the year in which the five firſt kings began to reign, becauſe we do not know how long Xolotl and Techotlalla reigned; we, however, think it probable, that the Chechemecan monarchy had a beginning in Anahuac about the end of the twelfth century, and laſted 330 years, until about 1521, at which time it ceaſed with the kingdom of Mexico. At leaſt eleven lawful kings, and two tyrants occupied the throne.

The Acolhui arrived in the country of Anahuac after the beginning of the 13th century. With regard to other nations, there is an incredible difference of opinion and confuſion in hiſtorians reſpecting their origin, their number, and the time in which they ſettled in Anahuac. The great ſtudy which I have made to trace truth has ſerved only to increaſe my uncertainty, and to make me deſpair of ever knowing hereafter what is hitherto unknown. Leaving aſide, therefore, all fables, we ſhall adhere to what is certain, or at leaſt probable.

SECT. XII. The Olmecas and the Otomies.

The Olmecas and the Xicallancas, whether one nation, or two diſtinct nations, but conſtantly allied and connected together, were ſo ancient in the country of Anahuac, that many authors account them prior to the Toltecas *(u)*. Of their origin we know nothing, nor do the ancient pictures tell us more than that they inhabited the country circumjacent to the great mountain Matlalcueje, and that being driven

catzin is to be numbered among theſe kings; as in ſpite of, and contrary to the right of Coanacotzin, he was intruded on the kingdom of Acolhuacan by Montezuma, through the intrigues of Cortes.

(*u*) Some authors, and among them the celebrated D. Siguenza, have wrote that the Olmecas paſſed from the Atlantic iſles, and that they alone came to Anahuac from the quarter of the Eaſt, all the other nations having come from the region of the North: but we know no foundation for this opinion.

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from thence by the Teochechemecas, or Tlaſcalans, they tranſported themſelves to the coaſt of the gulf of Mexico (*x*).

The Otomies, who formed one of the moſt numerous nations, were probably one of the moſt ancient in that country; but they continued for many ages in barbariſm, living ſcattered in the caverns of the mountains, and ſupporting themſelves by the chace, in which they were moſt dextrous. They occupied a tract of more than three hundred miles of land, from the mountains of Izmiquilpan towards the north-weſt, bordering in the eaſt and weſt on other nations equally ſavage. In the fifteenth century, either being compelled by force, or ſtimulated by the example of other nations, they began to live in ſociety, under ſubjection to the crown of Acolhuacan. In the country of Anahuac, and likewiſe in the vale of Mexico, they ſettled an infinite number of places; the greater, and eſpecially the moſt conſiderable of them, ſuch as thoſe of Xilotepec and Huitzapan, were in the vicinage of the country which they occupied before; the others were ſcattered among the Matlatzincas and Tlaſcalans, and in other provinces of the kingdom, preſerving even down to our times, their primitive language in the inſular colonies, though ſurrounded by other nations. We are not, however, to conclude, that the whole nation was then brought to a ſtate of civil life, as a great part, and poſſibly the moſt numerous, were ſtill left together with the Chechemecas in the condition of ſavages. The barbarians of both nations, which were confounded together by the Spaniards, under the name of Chechemecas, made themſelves famous by their invaſions, and were not finally ſubdued by the Spaniards until the ſeventeenth century. The Otomies have always been reputed the moſt rude nation of Anahuac, not more from the difficulty every body finds in underſtanding their language than their ſervile ſtate of life; as even in the time of the Mexican kings they were treated as ſlaves. Their language is very difficult and full of aſpirations, which they make partly in the throat, partly in the noſe; but otherwiſe it is ſufficiently copious and expreſſive. Anciently they were renowned for their dexterity in the chace; at preſent they traffick in coarſe cloths for the dreſs of the other Indians.

(*x*) Boturini conjectures, that the Olmecas, when driven from their country, went to the Antilles, or Caribbee Islands, and South America. This is no more than conjecture.

The

SECT. XIII. The Tarascas.

The nation of the Tarascas occupied the vast, rich, and pleasant country of Michuacan, where they multiplied considerably, and settled many cities and an infinite number of villages. Their kings were rivals of the Mexicans, and had frequent wars with them. Their artists excelled, or vied with those of other nations; at least after the conquest of Mexico: the best Mosaic works were made in Michuacan, and there only this valuable art was preserved unto our time. The Tarascas were idolatrous, but not so cruel as the Mexicans in their worship. Their language is copious, sweet, and sonorous. They make frequent use of the soft R; their syllables, for the most part, consist of a single consonant, and a single vowel. Besides the natural advantage of their country, the Tarascas had the good fortune to have D. Vasca di Quiroga for their first bishop, one of the most distinguished prelates Spain has produced, worthy of being compared with the ancient fathers of the church, and whose memory was preserved fresh unto our time, and will last perpetually among these people. The country of Michuacan, which is one of the finest of the New World, was annexed to the crown of Spain by the free and spontaneous act of its lawful sovereign, without costing the Spaniards a drop of blood, although it is probable that the recent example of the ruin of the Mexican empire, intimidated and impelled that monarch to such a concession *(y)*.

SECT. XIV. The Mazahuas, Matlatzincas, and other nations.

The Mazahuas were once a part of the nation of the Otomies, as the languages of both nations are but different dialects of the same tongue; but this diversity between two nations so jealous of preserving their idioms uncorrupted, is a clear argument of the great anti-

(*y*) Beturini says, that the Mexicans finding themselves besieged by the Spaniards, sent an embassy to the king of Michuacan, to procure his alliance; that he assembled an hundred thousand Tarascas, and as many Teochechemecas, in the province of Avalos; but that, being intimidated by certain visions which his sister had, who was once dead but returned to life again, he discharged the army, and abandoned the undertaking of succouring the Mexicans, as he had intended. But all this account is a string of fables. As far as we know, no author of that age makes mention of such an event. Whence came these hundred thousand Teochechemecas, who were so quickly assembled? Why was the army collected in the province most distant from Mexico? Who has ever seen the king of France order his troops to be assembled in Flanders, to succour some city of Spain? The reconciliation of the princess is a fable founded on the memorable occurrence, respecting the first of Montezuma, of which we shall speak hereafter.

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quity of their ſeparation. The principal places which they inhabited were on the weſtern mountains of the vale of Mexico, and formed the province of Mazahuacan, belonging to the crown of Tacuba.

The Matlatzincas made a conſiderable ſtate in the fertile vale of Toluca; and, however great, anciently, their reputation was for bravery, they were, notwithſtanding, ſubjected to the crown of Mexico, by king Axayacatl.

The Miztecas and Zapotecas peopled the vaſt countries of their name, to the ſouth-eaſt of Tezcuco. The numerous ſtates into which theſe two countries were divided, continued a long time under ſeveral lords or rulers of the ſame nations, until they were ſubdued by the Mexicans. Thoſe nations were civilized and induſtrious; they had their laws, exerciſed the arts of the Mexicans, and made uſe of the ſame method to compute time, and the ſame paintings to perpetuate the memory of events, in which they repreſented the creation of the world, the univerſal deluge, the confuſion of tongues; although the whole was intermixed with various fables (z). Since the conqueſt, the Miztecas and Zapotecas have been the moſt induſtrious people of New Spain. While the commerce of ſilk laſted, they were the feeders of the worms; and to their labours is owing all the cochineal, which for many years, until the preſent time, has been imported from Mexico into Europe.

The Chiapaneſe have been the firſt peoplers of the New World, if we give credit to their traditions. They ſay that Votan, the grandſon of that reſpectable old man who built the great ark to ſave himſelf and family from the deluge, and one of thoſe who undertook the building of that lofty edifice which was to reach heaven, went, by expreſs command of the Lord, to people that land. They ſay alſo that the firſt peoplers came from the quarter of the North, and that when they arrived at Soconuſco, they ſeparated, ſome going to inhabit the country of Nicaragua, and others remaining in Chiapan. This country, as hiſtorians ſay, was not governed by a king, but by two military chiefs, elected by prieſts. Thus they remained until they were ſubjected by

(z) See the work of Fra Gregorio Garzia Dominicano, entitled, the *Origin of the Indians*, in book v. chap. 4. concerning the mythology of the Miztecas.

the

the laſt kings of Mexico to that crown. They made the ſame uſe of paintings as the Mexicans, and had the ſame method of computing time; but the figures with which they repreſented days, years, and months, were totally different.

Of the Cohuixcas, the Cuitlatecas, the Jopas, the Mazatecas, the Popolocas, the Chinantecas, and the Totonacas, we know nothing of the origin, nor the time when they arrived in Anahuac. We ſhall ſay ſomething of their particular cuſtoms when ever it will illuſtrate the hiſtory of the Mexicans.

SECT. XV. The Nahuatlacas.

But of all the nations which peopled the region of Anahuac, the moſt renowned and the moſt ſignalized in the hiſtory of Mexico, were theſe vulgarly called the Nahuatlacas. This name, the etymology of which we have explained, in the beginning of this hiſtory, was principally given to thoſe ſeven nations, or rather thoſe ſeven tribes of the ſame nation, who arrived in that country after the Chechemecas, and peopled the little iſlands, banks, and boundaries of the Mexican lakes. Theſe tribes were the Sochimilcas, the Chalcheſe, the Tapanecas, the Colhuas, the Tlahuicas, the Tlaſcalans, and the Mexicans. The origin of all theſe tribes was the province of Aztlan, from whence came the Mexicans, or from ſome other contiguous to it, and peopled with the ſame nation. All hiſtorians repreſent them as originally of one and the ſame country: all of them ſpoke the ſame language. The different names by which they have been known, were taken from the places which they ſettled, or from thoſe in which they eſtabliſhed themſelves.

The Sochimilcas derived their name from the great city *Xochimilco* which they founded on the ſouthern ſhore of the lake of ſweet water or Chalco; the Chalcheſe, from the city of Chalco, upon the eaſtern ſhore of the ſame lake; the Colhuas, from Colhuacan; the Mexicans, from Mexico; the Tlaſcalans, from Tlaſcala; and the Tlahuicas, from the land where they eſtabliſhed themſelves; which, from its abounding in cinnabar, was called *Tlahuican (a)*. The Tepanecas poſſibly had

(a) *Tlaxcal*, is the Mexican name of cinnabar: and *Tlahuican* means the place or country of Cinnabar. Some authors call them *Tlalhuicas*, and derive the name from a place of that land called *Tlalhuica*; but beſides that we never heard of ſuch a place, the name does not appear conſenting with the language.

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their name from a place called Tepan *(b)*, where they had been before they ſettled their famous city Azcapozalco.

It is beyond a doubt that theſe tribes did not arive together in that country, but at different times, and in the order we have mentioned; but there is a great difference among hiſtorians reſpecting the preciſe time of their arrival in Anahuac. We are perſuaded, for the reaſons ſet forth in our diſſertations, that the firſt ſix tribes arrived under conduct of the ſix lords who made their appearance immediately after the Chechemecas, and there was not ſo great an interval as Acoſta ſuppoſes, between their arrival and that of the Mexicans.

The Colhuas, whom in general the Spaniſh hiſtorians confound with the Acolhuas, from the affinity of their names, founded the ſmall monarchy of Colhuacan, which was annexed afterwards to the crown of Mexico, by the marriage of a princeſs, heireſs of that ſtate, with a king of Mexico.

The Tepanecas had alſo their petty kings, among whom the firſt was prince Acolhuatzin, after having married the daughter of Xolotl. His deſcendants uſurped, as we ſhall relate, the kingdom of Acolhuacan, and governed all that country, until the arms of the Mexicans, joined with thoſe of the true heir of Acolhuacan, deſtroyed both the tyrant and monarchy of Tepaneca.

SECT. XVI. The Tlaſcalans.

The Tlaſcalans, whom Torquemada and other authors call Teochechemecas, and conſider as a tribe of the *(n)* Chechemecan nation, eſtabliſhed

(e) Several authors call them *Tecpanecas*; both are Mexican. *Tecpanecatl* means *the inhabitant of the palace*; *Tepanecatl*, *inhabitant of a ſtony place*. Others give it a very violent etymology.

(f) Torquemada, not only ſays that the Tlaſcalans were Teochechemecas, but likewiſe affirms, in lib. iii. cap. 10. that theſe *Teochechemecas, were Otomies*. If the Tlaſcalans were Otomies, why did they not ſpeak the language of the Otomies? And if they ever did ſpeak it, why did they give it up for the Mexican! Where is there an inſtance of a free nation abandoning its own native language, to adopt that of its enemies? Nor is it leſs incredible that the Chechemecas were Otomies, as the above author ſuppoſes, although in lib. i. cap. 2. he affirms the contrary. Who forced the Chechemecas to give up their primitive language? He only who was unacquainted with the character of theſe nations, and knew not how conſtant they were in retaining their national language, could be capable of perſuading us that the Chechemecas, by their communication and alliance with the Acolhuas, abandoned the language of the Otomies for the Mexican. If the true Otomies have not, during ſo many ages, altered their idiom, neither under the dominion of the Mexicans, nor under that of the Spaniards, how is it credible that the Chechemecas ſhould entirely change their

eſtabliſhed themſelves, originally, in *Poyauhtlan*, a place ſituated on the eaſtern ſhore of the lake of Tezcuco, between the court and the village of Chemalhuacan. There they lived for ſome time in great miſery, ſupporting themſelves ſolely by the chace, on account of the want of arable ſoil; but being multiplied in their numbers, and deſirous of extending the boundaries of their territory, they drew upon themſelves the hatred of the ſurrounding nations. The Sochimilcas, the Colhuas, the Tepanecas, and probably alſo the Chalcheſe, who, by being borderers on them, were moſt expoſed to injury, made a league together, and equipped a conſiderable army to drive ſuch dangerous ſettlers from the vale of Mexico. The Tlaſcalans, whom the conſciouſneſs of their uſurpations, kept always vigilant, came well arrayed for an encounter. The battle was one of the moſt bloody and memorable which appears in the hiſtory of Mexico. The Tlaſcalans, though inferior in number, made ſuch a ſlaughter of the enemy, that they left the field covered with carcaſes, and a part of the lake on the border of which they had engaged, tinged with blood. Notwithſtanding they came off ſo glorioufly in this battle, they determined to abandon that quarter, being well perſuaded that while they remained there they would be daily harraſſed by their neighbours; for which reaſon having reviewed the whole country by means of their emiſſaries, and finding no ſituation where they could jointly eſtabliſh themſelves, they agreed to ſeparate, one part of them going towards the South, the other to the North. The latter, after a ſhort journey, ſettled themſelves, with the permiſſion of the Chechemecan king, in Tollantzinco, and in Quauh-

their language, being maſters of that country, and occupying the throne of Acolhuacan from the time of Xolotl the founder of that kingdom, until the conqueſt of Mexico. I do not doubt, however, that the proper language of the ancient Chechemecas was the ſame with that of the Acolhuas and Nahuatlacas, that is, the Mexican. I am of the ſame opinion reſpecting the Toltecas, whatever other authors may ſay; nor can I, after the moſt diligent ſtudy of hiſtory, alter my ſentiments. We know that the names of the places from whence the Toltecas and Chechemecas came, and of thoſe which they ſettled in Anahuac, of the perſons of both nations, and of the years which they uſed, were Mexican. We know that the Toltecas and Chechemecas, the Chechemecas and Acolhuas, from the firſt had communication with each other, and underſtood each other reciprocally without an interpreter. The Mexican language having ſpread as far as Nicaragua, is not to be aſcribed to any thing elſe than the emigration of the Toltecas who ſpoke it; and it is known that the Nahuatlacas never went beyond Chiapan. In ſhort, we find nothing to ſupport this contrary opinion, although it is ſo common among our hiſtorians.

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chinanco. The former travelling round the great volcano Popocatepec, through Tetella and Tochimilco, founded the city of Quauhquechollan, in the neighbourhood of Atrifco; and ſome, proceeding ſtill farther, founded Amaliuhcan, and other villages; and thus extended themſelves as far as *Poyauhtecatl* or the mountain Orizaba, to which they probably gave ſuch a name in memory of the place in the vale of Mexico which they had quitted.

But the moſt numerous and reſpectable part of the tribe, directed their way by Cholula to the borders of the great mountain Matlalcueye, from whence they drove the Olmecas and Xicallancas, the ancient inhabitants of that country, and ſlew their king Colopechtli. Here they eſtabliſhed themſelves under a chief, named *Colhuatateuctli*, contriving to fortify themſelves alſo, to be the more able to reſiſt the neighbouring people if they ſhould incline to attack them. In fact it was not long before the Huexozincas and other people, who knew of the bravery and number of their new neighbours, fearing they would, in time, become troubleſome, levied a great army to expel them wholly from the country. The attack was ſo ſudden, that the Tlaſcalans were forced to retreat to the top of that great mountain: finding themſelves there in the greateſt perplexity, they ſent ambaſſadors to implore the protection of the Chechemecan king, and obtained from him a large body of troops. The Huexozincas not having forces ſufficient to contend with the royal army, applied for aſſiſtance to the Tepanecas, who they believed would not let paſs ſo fair an opportunity of revenging themſelves; but the tragic event of Poſauhtlan was ſtill in their memories, and although they ſent troops, theſe were enjoined not to do hurt to the Tlaſcalans; and the Tlaſcalans themſelves were adviſed not to eſteem them as enemies, but to reſt confident that that nation was not ſent for any other purpoſe than to deceive the Huexozincas, and not to diſturb the harmony which ſubſiſted between them and the Tepanecas. By the aid of the Tezcucans, and the perfidious inaction of the Tepanecas, the Huexozincas were defeated, and obliged to return to their ſtate in diſgrace. The Tlaſcalans being freed from ſo great a danger, and having made peace with their neighbours, returned to their firſt eſtabliſhment, to continue their ſettlement and population.

Such

Such was the origin of the famous city and republic of Tlaſcala, the perpetual rival of the Mexicans, and occaſion of their ruin. At firſt they all obeyed one chief; but afterwards when their population was conſiderably advanced, the city was parted into four diviſions, called *Tepeticpac*, *Ocotelolco*, *Quiahuiztlan*, and *Tizatlan*. Every diviſion had its lord, to whom all the places dependent on ſuch diviſion were likewiſe ſubject; ſo that the whole ſtate was compoſed of four ſmall monarchies; but theſe four lords, together with other nobles of the firſt rank, formed a kind of ariſtocracy for the general ſtate. This diet or ſenate was the umpire of war and peace. It preſcribed the number of troops which were to be raiſed, and the generals who were to command them. In the ſtate, although it was circumſcribed, there were many cities and large villages, in which, in 1520, there were more than one hundred and fifty thouſand houſes, and more than five hundred thouſand inhabitants. The diſtrict of the republic was fortified on the weſtern quarter with ditches and entrenchments, and on the eaſt with a wall ſix miles in length; towards the ſouth it was, by nature, defended by the mountain Matlalcueye, and by other mountains, on the north.

The Tlaſcalans were warlike, courageous, and jealous of their honour and their liberty. They preſerved, for a long time, the ſplendor of their republic, in ſpite of the oppoſition they ſuffered from their enemies; until at length, being in confederacy with the Spaniards againſt their ancient rivals the Mexicans, they were involved in the common ruin. They were idolatrous, and as ſuperſtitious and cruel in their form of worſhip as the Mexicans. Their favourite deity was *Camaxtle*, the ſame which was worſhipped by the Mexicans, under the name of *Huitzilopochtli*. Their arts were the ſame as thoſe of other neighbouring nations. Their commerce conſiſted principally in maize and cochineal. From the abundance of maize the name of *Tlaſcallan* was given to the capital, which means the place of bread. Their cochineal was eſteemed above any other, and, after the conqueſt, brought yearly to the capital a revenue of two hundred thouſand crowns; but they entirely abandoned this commerce, for reaſons we ſhall mention elſewhere.

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SECT. XVII. Migration of the Mexicans to the country of Anahuac.

The Aztecas or Mexicans, who were the laſt people who ſettled in Anahuac, and are the chief ſubject of our hiſtory, lived until about the year 1160 of the vulgar era, in Aztlan, a country ſituated to the north of the gulf of California, according to what appears from the route they purſued in their migration, and the concluſions made by the Spaniards in their travels towards theſe countries *(d)*. The cauſe of abandoning their native country may have been the ſame which other nations had. But whatever it was, it will not be altogether uſeleſs to leave to the free judgment of the reader that which the Mexican hiſtorians themſelves relate of the birth of ſuch a reſolution.

There was, ſay they, among the Aztecas, a perſon of great authority called *Huitziton*, to whoſe opinion all paid great deference. This perſon exerted himſelf, though it is not known for what reaſon, to perſuade his countrymen to change their country, and while he was meditating on his purpoſe, he heard once, by accident, a little bird ſinging on the branches of a tree, whoſe notes imitated the Mexican word *Tihui*, which means, *let us go*. This appeared a favourable opportunity to obtain his wiſh of his countrymen. Taking, therefore, another reſpectable perſon with him, he conducted him to that tree where the little bird uſed to ſing, and thus addreſſed him: "Do you "not attend, my friend Tecpaltzin, to what this little bird ſays, "Tihui Tihui, which it repeats every moment to us; what can it "mean, but that we muſt leave this country and find ourſelves an- "other? Without doubt, it is the warning of ſome ſecret divinity who "watches over our welfare: let us obey, therefore, his voice, and "not draw his anger upon us by a refuſal." Tecpaltzin gave full aſſent to this interpretation, either from his opinion of the wiſdom of Huitziton, or becauſe he was likewiſe prepoſſeſſed with the ſame de-

(d) In our diſſertations we ſpeak of theſe travels from New Mexico towards the North. Betancourt makes mention of them in part ii. tratt. 1. cap. 10. of his *Teatro Meſſicano*. This author makes Aztlan two thouſand ſeven hundred miles diſtant from Mexico. Boturini ſays, Aztlan was a province of Aſia. But I do not know what reaſons he had for ſo ſingular an opinion. In ſeveral charts, publiſhed in the ſixteenth century, this province appears ſituated to the north of the gulf of California, and I do not doubt that it is to be found in that quarter, though at a diſtance from the gulf, as the diſtance mentioned by Betancourt ſeems very probable.

ſire.

fire. Two perſons, ſo reſpectable having agreed in ſentiment, they were not long in drawing the body of the nation over to their party.

Although we do not give credit to ſuch an account, it does not, however, appear altogether improbable; as it is not difficult for a perſon who is reputed wiſe, to perſuade an ignorant and a ſuperſtitious people, through motives of religion, to whatever he pleaſes. It would be a much harder talk to perſuade us of what the Spaniſh hiſtorians generally report, that the Mexicans ſet out on their migration, by expreſs command of the demon. The good hiſtorians of the ſixteenth century, and thoſe who have copied them, ſuppoſe it altogether unqueſtionable that the demon had continual and familiar commerce with all the idolatrous nations of the New World; and ſcarcely recount an event of hiſtory, of which they do not make him the author. *But however certain they may be, that the malignity of thoſe ſpirits impel them to do all the hurt they can to man, and that they have ſhewn themſelves ſometimes in viſible forms to ſeduce them, eſpecially to thoſe who have not, by regeneration, entered into the boſom of the church*; it is not, however, to be imagined that ſuch apparitions were ſo very frequent, or that their intercourſe was ſo familiar with the above mentioned nations as theſe hiſtorians believe; the Supreme Power who watches, with benign providence, over all his creatures, commits to any ſuch enemies of the human race no powers to hurt it. Our readers, therefore, who may have read of like events in other authors, ought not to wonder if they do not find us equally credulous. We are not diſpoſed to aſcribe any effect to the demon, on the bare teſtimony of ſome Mexican hiſtorians, as they may eaſily have fallen into errors, from the ſuperſtitious ideas with which their minds were darkened, or the impoſitions of prieſts that are common among idolatrous nations.

The migration of the Azteccas, however, which is certain, whatever might have been their motive for undertaking it, happened, as near as we can conjecture, about the year 1160 of the vulgar era. Torquemada ſays he has obſerved an arm of the ſea (e), or a great river, repreſented

(e) I believe this pretended arm of the ſea is no other than the repreſentation of the univerſal deluge, painted in the Mexican pictures before the beginning of their migration, as appears from the copy, published by Gemelli, of a picture given to him by the celebrated Dott.

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Siguenza. Boturini alleges this arm of the ſea to be the gulf of California, as he is perſuaded that the Mexicans paſſed from Aztlan to California, and from thence croſſing the gulf tranſported themſelves to Culiacan: but there being remains found of the buildings conſtructed by the Mexicans in their migration, on the river Gila, and in Pimeria, and not in California, there is no reaſon to believe that they croſſed the ſea, but came by land to Culiacan.

ſuch

ſuch as earthen pots, diſhes, and jars, and little looking-glaſſes of the ſtone Itztli *(f)*.

From hence, traverſing the ſteep mountains of Tarahumara, and directing their courſe towards the ſouth, they reached Huiecolhuacan, at preſent called Culiacan, a place ſituated on the gulf of California, in 24½ deg. of latitude, where they ſtopped three years *(g)*. Here it is probable, that they built houſes and cottages to dwell in, and ſowed ſuch ſeeds for their food as they carried with them, and uſually did in every place where they ſtayed any conſiderable time. There they formed a ſtatue of wood repreſenting Huitzilopochtli the tutelar deity of the nation, that he might accompany them in their travel, and made a chair of reeds and ruſhes to tranſport it which they called *Teoicpalli*, or chair of God. They choſe prieſts who were to carry him on their ſhoulders, four at a time, to whom they gave the name of *Teotlamacazque*, or ſervants of God, and the act itſelf of carrying him was called *Teomama*, that is to carry God on one's back.

From Huiecolhuacan journeying for many days towards the eaſt, they came to Chicomoztoc, where they ſtopped. Hitherto all the ſeven tribes had travelled in a body together: but here they ſeparated, and the Xochimilcas, the Tepanecas, the Chalcheſe, the Tlahuicas, and the Tlaſcalans proceeding onwards, left the Mexicans there with their idol. Thoſe nations ſay the ſeparation was made by expreſs command of their God. There is little doubt that ſome diſagreement among themſelves was the occaſion of it. The ſituation of Chicomoztoc, where the Mexicans ſojourned nine years, is not known; but it appears to be that place twenty miles diſtant from the city of Zacatecas towards the ſouth where there are ſtill ſome remains of an immenſe edifice, which, according to the tradition of the Zacatecas, the ancient inhabitants of that country, was the work of the Aztecas in their

(*f*) Theſe are the reports I received from two perſons who had ſeen the Caſe grandi. We ſtood with to have a plan of their form and dimenſions; but now it would be very difficult to be obtained, the whole of that country being depopulated by the furious incurſions of the Apaches and other barbarous nations.

(*g*) The ſtay of the Aztecas in Huicolhuacan, is agreeable to the teſtimony of all hiſtorians, as well as their ſeparation at Chicomoztoc. There is a tradition among the northern people of their paſſage through Tarahumara. Near to Naiarit there are trenches found which were made by the Cori, to defend themſelves from the Mexicans in their route from Huicolhuacan to Chicomoztoc.

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migration; and it certainly cannot be aſcribed to any other people; the Zapatecas themſelves being ſo barbarous as neither to live in houſes nor to know how to build them. Their being reduced to a ſmaller number by the diſmemberment of the other tribes, may probably have been the reaſon that the Mexicans undertook no other buildings of that kind in their peregrination. Proceeding from the country of the Zacatecas towards the ſouth, through Amica, Cocula, and Zayula, they deſcended into the maritime province of Colima, and from thence to Zacatula; where turning to the eaſtward, they aſcended to Malinalco, a place ſituated in the mountains which ſurround the valley of Toluca (*b*), and afterwards taking their courſe towards the north, in the year 1196 they arrived at the celebrated city of Tula (*i*).

In their journey from Chicomoztoc to Tula, they ſtopped a while in Coatlicomac, where the tribe was divided into two factions, which became perpetual rivals, and alternately perſecuted each other. This diſcord was occaſioned, as they ſay, by two bundles which miraculouſly appeared in the midſt of their camp. Some of them advancing to the firſt bundle to examine it, found in it a precious ſtone, on which a great conteſt aroſe, each claiming to poſſeſs it as a preſent from their god. Going afterwards to open the other bundle they found nothing but two pieces of wood. At firſt ſight they undervalued them as things which were uſeleſs, but being made acquainted, by the wiſe Huitziton, of the ſervice they could be of in producing fire, they prized them more than the precious ſtone. They who appropriated to themſelves the gem were thoſe, who, after the foundation of Mexico called themſelves Tlatelolcas, from the place which they ſettled near to that city; they who took the pieces of wood were thoſe who in future bore the name of Mexicans, or *Tenochcas*. This account however cannot be conſidered in any other light than as a moral fable, to

(*b*) It is evident from the manuſcripts of P. Giovanni Tobar, a Jeſuit exceedingly verſed in the antiquities of thoſe nations, that the Mexicans paſſed through Michuacan, and this could only be by Colima and Zacatula, which probably then belonged to the kingdom, as they now belong to the eccleſiaſtical dioceſs of Michuacan; becauſe if they had performed their journey any other way to Tula, they would not have touched at Malinalco.

(*i*) The epoch of the arrival of the Mexicans at Tula in 1196, is confirmed by a manuſcript hiſtory in Mexican, cited by Boturini, and in this point of chronology other authors agree.

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teach that in all things the uſeful is preferable to the beautiful. Notwithſtanding this diſſention both parties travelled always together for their imaginary intereſt in the protection of their god (*k*).

It ought not to excite wonder that the Aztecas made ſo great a circuit, and journeyed upwards of a thouſand miles more than was neceſſary, to reach Anahuac: as they had no limits preſcribed to their travel, and were in queſt of a country where they might enjoy all the conveniences of life: neither is it ſurpriſing that in ſome places they erected large fabrics, as it is probable, they conſidered every place where they ſtopped the boundary of their peregrination. Several ſituations appeared to them at firſt, proper for their eſtabliſhment, which they afterwards abandoned, from experience of inconveniences they had not foreſeen. Wherever they ſtopped they raiſed an altar to their God, and at their departure left all their ſick behind; and, probably, ſome others, who were to take care of them, and perhaps alſo, ſome who might be tired of ſuch long pilgrimages, and unwilling to encounter freſh fatigues.

In Tula they ſtopped nine years, and afterwards eleven years in other places not far diſtant, until, in 1216, they arrived at Zumpanco, a conſiderable city in the vale of Mexico. Tochpanecatl, lord of this city, received them with ſingular humanity, and not contenting himſelf with granting them commodious dwellings, and regaling them plentifully; but becoming attached to them from long and familiar intercourſe, he demanded from the chiefs of the nation, ſome noble virgin for a wife to his ſon Ilhuitcatl. The Mexicans obliged by ſuch proofs of regard preſented Tlacapantzin to him, who was ſoon after married to that illuſtrious youth; and from them, as will appear, the Mexican kings deſcended.

After remaining ſeven years in Zampanco, they went together with the youth Ilhuicatl to Tizayocan, a city a little diſtant from it, where Tlacapantzin bore a ſon, named after *Huitzilihuitl*, and at the ſame time they gave away another virgin to *Xochiatzin*, lord of Quauhtitlan. From Tizayocan they paſſed to Tolpetlac and Tepeyacac, where, at preſent,

(*k*) It is not to be doubted that the ſtory of the packets is merely a fable; as the Aztecas knew, ſome centuries before, how to produce fire from two pieces of wood, by friction.

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lies the village and renowned ſanctuary of the Holy Virgin of Guadaloupe, places all ſituated on the borders of the lake of Tezcuco, and near the ſite of Mexico, in which they continued for twenty-two years.

As ſoon as the Mexicans appeared in that country, they were reviewed by order of Xolotl then reigning; who, having nothing to fear, permitted them to eſtabliſh themſelves wherever they could: but thoſe in Tepeyacac finding themſelves harraſſed by *Tonancacaltzin*, a Chechemecan lord, they were forced, in 1245, to retire to Chapoltepec, a mountain ſituated on the weſtern border of the lake, hardly two miles diſtant from the ſite of Mexico, in the reign of Nopaltzin, and not of Quinatzin, as Torquemada and Boturini imagine (*l*).

The perſecutions which they ſuffered in this place from ſome lords, and particularly from the lord of Xaltocan, made them, at the end of ſeventeen years, abandon it, to ſeek a more ſecure aſylum in *Acocolco*, which conſiſts of a number of ſmall iſlands at the ſouthern extremity of the lake. There for the ſpace of fifty-two years they led the moſt miſerable life; they ſubſiſted on fiſh, and all ſorts of inſects, and the roots of the marſhes, and covered themſelves with the leaves of the amoxtli which grows plentifully in that lake, having wore out all their garments, and finding no means there of ſupplying themſelves with others. Their habitations were wretched huts, made of the reeds and ruſhes which the lake produced. It would be totally incredible that for ſo many years they were able to keep in exiſtence in a place ſo diſadvantageous, where they were ſo ſtinted in the neceſſaries of life, was it not verified by their hiſtorians and ſucceeding events.

SECT. XVIII. Slavery of the Mexicans in Colhuacan.

But in the midſt of their miſeries they were free, and liberty alleviated in ſome degree their diſtreſſes. In 1314, however, ſlavery was added to their other diſtreſſes. Hiſtorians differ in opinion concerning this event. Some ſay, that the petty king of Colhuacan, a city not far diſtant from Acocolco, not willing to ſuffer the Mexicans to maintain themſelves in his territories without paying him tribute, made open war upon them, and having ſubdued, enſlaved them.

(*l*) Quinatzin ſuppoſing to have been reigning at that time, the reign of him and his ſucceſſor muſt have comprehended a ſpace of an hundred and ſixty-one years and upwards; if the chronology of Torquemada is adopted, who ſuppoſes Quinatzin reigning until the time at which the Mexicans entered the vale of Mexico. See our Diſſertations.

Others

Others affirm, that this petty king ſent an embaſſy to the [illegible] form them that having compaſſion for the miſerable life which [illegible] in thoſe iſlands, he was willing to grant them a better place where they might live more comfortably; and that the Mexicans, who wiſhed for nothing more ardently, accepted inſtantly the favour, and gladly quitted their diſagreeable ſituation; but they had ſcarcely ſet out when they were attacked by the Colhuas and taken priſoners. Which ever way it was, it is certain, that the Mexicans were carried ſlaves to Tizapan, a place belonging to the ſtate of Colhuacan.

After ſome years ſlavery, a war aroſe between the Colhuas and Xochimilcas their neighbours, with ſuch diſadvantage to the former, that they were worſted in every engagement. The Colhuas, being afflicted with theſe repeated loſſes, were forced to employ their priſoners whom they ordered to prepare for war; but they did not provide them with the neceſſary arms, either becauſe theſe had been exhauſted in preceding battles, or becauſe they left them at liberty to accoutre themſelves as they choſe. The Mexicans being perſuaded that this was a favourable occaſion to win the favour of their lord, reſolved to exert every effort of their bravery. They armed themſelves with long ſtout ſtaves, the points of which they hardened in the fire, not only to be uſed againſt the enemy, but to aſſiſt them in leaping from one buſh to another if it ſhould prove neceſſary, as, in fact, they had to combat in the water. They made themſelves knives of itzli, and targets or ſhields of reeds wove together. It was agreed among them, that they were not to employ themſelves as it was uſual in making priſoners, but to content themſelves with cutting off an ear, and leaving the enemy without further hurt. With this diſpoſition they went out to battle, and while the Colhuas and Xochimilcas were engaged, either by land on the borders of the lake, or by water in their ſhips, the Mexicans ruſhed furiouſly on the enemy, aſſiſted by their ſtaves in the water; cut off the ears of thoſe whom they encountered, and put them in a baſket which they carried for that purpoſe; but when they could not effect this from the ſtruggles of the enemy, they killed them. By the aſſiſtance of the Mexicans, the Colhuas obtained ſo complete a victory that the Xochimilcas not only abandoned the field,

but

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but afraid even to remain in their city, they took refuge in the mountains.

This action having ended with ſo much glory, according to the cuſtom of thoſe nations, the ſoldiers of the Colhuas preſented themſelves with their priſoners before their general; as the bravery of the ſoldiers was not eſtimated by the number of enemies which were left dead on the field, but of thoſe who were made priſoners alive, and ſhewn to the general. It cannot be doubted, that this was a rational ſentiment, and a practice conformable to humanity. If the prince can vindicate his rights, and repel force without killing his enemies, humanity demands that life ſhould be preſerved. If we are to take utility into our conſideration, a ſlain enemy cannot hurt, neither can he ſerve us, but from a priſoner we may derive much advantage without receiving any harm. If we conſider glory, it requires a greater effort to deprive an enemy ſolely of his liberty, than to wreſt his life from him in the heat of conteſt. The Mexicans were likewiſe called upon to make the ſhew of their priſoners; but not having a ſingle one to preſent, as the only four which they had taken were kept concealed for a particular purpoſe; they were reproached as a cowardly race by the general and the ſoldiers of the Colhuas. Then the Mexicans holding out their baſkets full of ears, ſaid, "Behold from the number of ears which we preſent, you may judge of the number of priſoners we might have brought if we had inclined; but we were unwilling to loſe time in binding them that we might accelerate your victory." The Colhuas remained awed and abaſhed, and began to conceive apprehenſions from the prudence as well as from the courage of their ſlaves.

The Mexicans having returned to the place of their reſidence which, as appears, was at that time Huitzolopochco, they erected an altar to their tutelary god; but being deſirous at the dedication of it to make an offering of ſomething precious they demanded ſomething of their lord for that purpoſe. He ſent them in diſdain, in a dirty rag of coarſe cloth, a vile dead bird, with certain filth about it, which was carried by the prieſts of the Colhuas, who having laid it upon the altar without any ſalutation, retired. Whatever indignation the Mexicans felt from ſo unworthy an inſult, reſerving their revenge for another occaſion, inſtead of ſuch filth they placed

placed upon the altar a knife of itzli, and an odoriferous herb. The day of conſecration being arrived, the petty king of Colhua, and his nobility, failed not to be preſent, not to do honour to the feſtival, but to make a mockery of his ſlaves. The Mexicans began this function with a ſolemn dance, in which they appeared in their beſt garments, and while the byſtanders were moſt fixed in attention, they brought out the four Xochimilca priſoners, whom they had till then kept concealed, and after having made them dance a little, they ſacrificed them upon a ſtone, breaking their breaſt with the knife of itzli, and tearing out their heart, which, whilſt yet warm and beating, they offered to their god.

This human ſacrifice, the firſt of the kind which we know to have been made in that country, excited ſuch horror in the Colhuas, that having returned inſtantly to Colhuacan, they determined to diſmiſs ſlaves who were ſo cruel, and might in future become deſtructive to the ſtate; on which *Coxcox*, ſo was the petty king named, ſent orders to them to depart immediately out of that diſtrict, and go wherever they might be moſt inclined. The Mexicans willingly accepted their diſcharge from ſlavery, and directing their courſe towards the north, came to *Acatzitzintlan*, a place ſituated between two lakes, named afterwards *Mexicaltzinco*, which name is almoſt the ſame with that of *Mexico*, and was given to it without doubt from the ſame motive, as we ſhall ſee ſhortly, which made them give it to their capital; but not finding in that ſituation the conveniencies they deſired, or being inclined to remove farther from the Colhuas, they proceeded to *Iztacalco*, approaching ſtill nearer to the ſite of Mexico. In Iztacalco they made a little mountain of paper, by which they probably repreſented Colhuacan (*m*), and ſpent a whole night in dancing around it, ſinging their victory over the Xochimilcas, and returning thanks to their god for having freed them from the yoke of the Colhuas.

After having ſojourned two years in Iztacalco, they came at laſt to that ſituation on the lake where they were to found their city. There they found a nopal, or opuntia, growing in a ſtone, and over it

(*m*) The Mexicans repreſented Colhuacan in their pictures by the figure of a hunchbacked mountain, and the name has exactly that ſignification.

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the foot of an eagle. On this account, they gave to the place, and afterwards to their city, the name of Tenochtitlan (*n*). All, or at leaſt all the hiſtorians of Mexico, ſay, this was the preciſe mark given them by their oracle for the foundation of their city, and relate various events concerning it, which as they appear out of the courſe of nature, we have omitted as being fabulous, or at leaſt uncertain.

SECT. XIX. Foundation of Mexico.

As ſoon as the Mexicans took poſſeſſion of that place, they erected a temple for their god Huitzilopochtli. The conſecration of that ſanctuary, although miſerable, was not made without the effuſion of human blood; for a daring Mexican having gone out in queſt of ſome animal for a ſacrifice, he encountered with a Colhuan named Xomimitl; after a few words, the feelings of national enmity, excited them to blows; the Mexican was victor, and having bound his enemy carried him to his countrymen, who ſacrificed him immediately, and with great jubilee preſented his heart torn from his breaſt on the altar, exerciſing ſuch cruelty not more for the bloody worſhip of that falſe divinity, than the gratification of their revenge upon the Colhuas. Around the ſanctuary they began to build their wretched huts of reeds and ruſhes, being deſtitute at that time of other materials. Such was the beginning of the city of Tenochtitlan, which in future times was to become the court of a great empire, and the largeſt and moſt beautiful city of the new world. It was likewiſe called Mexico, the name that afterwards prevailed, which denomination being taken from the name of its tutelar god, ſignifies place of *Mexitli*, or *Huitzilopochtli*, as he had both theſe names (*o*).

The

(*n*) Several authors, both Spaniſh and of other nations, from ignorance of the Mexican language have altered this name; and in their books it is read Tenoxtitlan, Temiſtitan, Temihtitlan, &c.

(*o*) There is a great difference of opinion among authors reſpecting the etymology of the word Mexico. Some derive it from *Metzli*, *Moon*; becauſe they ſaw the moon repreſented in that lake as the oracle had predicted. Other ſay, that *Mexico* means *upon the fountain*, from having found one of good water in that ſpot; but theſe two etymologies are too violent, and the firſt beſides is ridiculous. I was once of opinion, that the name was *Mexicco*, which means *in the center* of *Maguei*, or trees of the Mexican aloe; but from the ſtudy of the hiſtory I have been undeceived, and am now poſitive that *Mexico* ſignifies the place of Mexitli, or Huitzilopochtli, that is, the Mars of the Mexicans, on account of the ſanctuary there erected to him; ſo that *Mexico* with the Mexicans is entirely equivalent to *Fanum Martis* of the Romans; the Mexicans take away the final ſyllable *tli*, in the compounding of words of this kind. The *co* added

The foundation of Mexico happened in the year 2. *Calli*, corresponding with the year 1325 of the vulgar era, when Quinatzin, the Chechemeca, was reigning in that country: but by changing their ſituation, the Mexicans did not ſuddenly better their fortune; for being inſulated in the middle of a lake, without lands to cultivate, or garments to cover them, and living in conſtant diſtruſt of their neighbours, they led a life as miſerable as it was in other places, where they had ſupported themſelves ſolely on the animal and vegetable produce of the lake. But when urged by neceſſity, of what is not human induſtry capable? The greateſt want which the Mexicans experienced was that of ground for their habitations, as the little iſland of Tenochtitlan was not ſufficient for all its inhabitants. This they remedied a little by making paliſades in thoſe places where the water was ſhalloweſt, which they terraced with ſtones and turf, uniting to their principal iſland ſeveral other ſmaller ones at a little diſtance. To procure to themſelves afterwards ſtone, wood, bread, and every thing neceſſary for their habitations, their clothing, and food, they applied themſelves with the utmoſt aſſiduity to fiſhing, not only of white fiſh, of which we have already ſpoken, but alſo of other little fiſh and inſects of the marſhes which they made eatable, and to the catching of innumerable kinds of birds which flocked there to feed in the water. By inſtituting a traffick with this game in the other places ſituated on the borders of the lake, they obtained all they wanted.

But the gardens floating on the water which they made of the buſhes and mud of the lake, the ſtructure and form of which we ſhall elſewhere explain, diſcovered the greateſt exertion of their induſtry; on theſe they ſowed maize, pepper, chia, French beans, and gourds.

Thus the Mexicans paſſed the firſt thirteen years, giving as much order and form to their ſettlement as poſſible, and relieving their diſtreſſes by dint of induſtry: until this period, the whole tribe had continued united, notwithſtanding the diſagreement of the two factions which had formed themſelves during their migration. This diſcord, which was tranſmitted from father to ſon, at laſt burſt violently out in

added to it is the preposition *in*. The word *Mexicatl* means the place of the houſe or temple of the god *Mexitli*; ſo that Huitzilopochco, *Mexicatzinco*, *Mexicalcingo*, the names of the three places ſucceſſively inhabited by the Mexicans, mean the ſame thing in ſubſtance.

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A little before, or a little after this event, the Mexicans divided their miſerable city into four quarters, aſſigning to each its tutelar god, beſides the protecting god of the whole nation. This diviſion ſubſiſts at preſent under the names of St. Paul, St. Sebaſtian, St. John, and St. Mary (*q*). In the centre of theſe quarters was the ſanctuary of Huitzilopochtli, to whom they daily performed acts of adoration.

SECT. XXI. Another human ſacrifice.

In honour of that falſe divinity at this period they made an abominable ſacrifice which is not to be thought of without horror. They ſent an embaſſy to the petty king of Colhuacan, requeſting him to give them one of his daughters, that ſhe might be conſecrated mother of their protecting god, ſignifying that it was an expreſs command of a god to exalt her to ſo high a dignity. The petty king enticed and infatuated by the glory which he would receive from the deification of his daughter, or intimidated by the diſaſters which might await him, if he refuſed the demand of a god, granted quickly all that was requeſted, eſpecially as he could not well ſuſpect what was to happen. The Mexicans conducted the noble damſel with great triumph to their city; but were ſcarcely arrived, as hiſtorians relate, when the demon commanded that ſhe ſhould be made a ſacrifice, and after her death to be flayed; and that one of the braveſt youths of the nation

(*p*) The ancients repreſented Tlatelolco in their pictures by the figure of a heap of ſand. If this had been known by thoſe who undertook the interpretation of the Mexican pictures, which were publiſhed with the letters of Cortes at Mexico, in 1770, they would not have called this place *Tlatilolco*, which name they have interpreted *oven*.

(*q*) The quarter of St. Paul was called by the Mexicans *Teopan* and *Xochimilca*; that of Sebaſtian, Atzacualco; that of St. John, Moyotla; and that of St. Mary, *Cuepopan* and *Tlaquichiuchcan*.

ſhould

ſhould be cloathed with her ſkin. Whether it was an order of the demon, or, what is more probable, a cruel pretence of the barbarous prieſts, all was punctually executed. The petty king, invited by the Mexicans to be preſent at the apotheoſis of his daughter, went to be a ſpectator of that ſolemnity, and one of the worſhippers of the new divinity. He was led into the ſanctuary, where the youth ſtood upright by the ſide of the idol, clothed in the bloody ſkin of the victim; but the obſcurity of the place did not permit him to diſcern what was before him. They gave him a cenſer in his hand, and a little copal to begin his worſhip; but having diſcovered, by the light of the flame which the copal made, the horrible ſpectacle, his anguiſh affected his whole frame, and being tranſported with the violent effects of it, he ran out crying with diſtraction, and ordered his people to take revenge of ſo barbarous a deed; but they dared not to undertake it, as they muſt inſtantly have been oppreſſed by the multitude; upon which the father returned inconſolable to his reſidence to bewail his diſaſter the remainder of his life. His unfortunate daughter was created goddeſs and honorary mother, not only of Huitzilopochtli, but of all their gods; which is the exact meaning of *Teteoinan*, by which name ſhe was afterwards known and worſhipped. Such were the ſpecimens in this new city of that barbarous ſyſtem of religion, which we ſhall hereafter explain.

BOOK III.

Foundation of the Mexican Monarchy: Events of the Mexicans under their four firſt Kings, until the Defeat of the Tepanecas and the Conqueſt of Azcapozalco. The Bravery and illuſtrious Actions of Montezuma Ilhuicamina. The Government and Death of Techotlalla, the fifth Chechemecan King. Revolutions in the Kingdom of Acolhuacan. Death of King Ixtlilxochitl, and the Tyrants Tezozomoc and Maxtlaton.

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SECT. I. Acamapitzin, firſt king of Mexico.

UNTIL the year 1352, the Mexican government was ariſtocratical, the whole nation paying obedience to a certain body, compoſed of perſons the moſt reſpectable for their nobility and wiſdom. The number of thoſe who governed at the foundation of Mexico was twenty *(r)*; among whom the chief in authority was *Tenoch*, as appears from their paintings. The very humble ſtate in which they felt themſelves, the inconveniencies they ſuffered from their neighbours, and the example of the Chechemecas, the Tepanecas, and the Colhuas, incited them to erect their little ſtate into a monarchy, not doubing, that the royal authority would throw ſome ſplendor on the whole body of the nation; and flattering themſelves that in their new chief they would have a father who would watch over the ſtate, and a good general who would defend them from the inſults of their enemies. The election fell, by common conſent, on *Acamapitzin*, either from the acclamations of the people, or the votes of ſome electors, to whoſe judgment all were ſubmiſſive; as was their mode afterwards.

Acamapitzin was one of the moſt famous and prudent perſons then living amongſt them. He was the ſon of *Opochtli*, a very noble Az-

(*r*) The twenty lords who then governed the nation were named *Tenoch*, *Atzin*, *Acacitli*, *Ahuexotl* or *Ahuexiotl*, *Ocelopan*, *Xo[illegible]tl*, *Xiuhcac*, *Axolohua*, *Nauacatzin*, *Quentzin*, *Tlalala*, *Izcuitlyayauh*, *Cozcatl*, *Tezcatl Tlacpac*, *Mixtli*, *Tetepan*, *Temacatl*, *Acolnatl*, and *Atlacomecatl*.

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teca (*s*), and Atozoztli, a princeſs of the royal family of Colhuacan (*t*). On the father's ſide, he took his deſcent from Tochpanecatl, that lord of Zumpanco, who ſo kindly received the Mexicans when they arrived at that city. He was yet unmarried; on which account they ſoon determined to demand a virgin of one of the firſt families of Anahuac, and for that purpoſe ſent ſucceſſive embaſſies to the lord of Tacuba, and the king of Azcapozalco; but by both their pretenſions were rejected with diſdain. Without deſpairing from ſo diſgraceful a refuſal, they made the ſame demand from *Acolmiztli*, lord of *Coatlichan*, and a deſcendant of one of the three Acolhuan princes, requeſting him to give them one of his daughters for their queen. Acolmiztli complied with their requeſt, and gave them his daughter Ilancueitl, whom the Mexicans conducted triumphantly away and celebrated the nuptials with the utmoſt rejoicings.

SECT. II. Quaquauhpitzahuac I. king of Tlatelolco.

The Tlatelolcos who, from being neighbours and rivals, were conſtantly obſerving what was done in Tenochtitlan, that they might vie with it in glory, and prevent their being in future oppreſſed by that power, alſo created themſelves a king: but not eſteeming it advantageous that he ſhould be one of their own nation, they demanded of Azcapozalco, king of the Tepaneca nation, to which lord the ſite of Tlatelolco, as well as Mexico was ſubject, one of his ſons, that he might rule over them as their monarch, and that they might obey him as vaſſals. The king gave them his ſon *Quaquauhpitzahuac*, who was immediately crowned firſt king of Tlatelolco in 1353.

It is to be ſuſpected that the Tlatelolcos, when they made ſuch a demand from that king, had, with a view to flatter and incenſe him againſt their rivals, exaggerated the inſolence of the Mexicans in creating a king without his permiſſion; as in a few days after Azcapozalco aſſem-

(*s*) Some hiſtorians report, that Acamapitzin whom they ſuppoſe to have been born while in ſlavery at Colhuacan, was the ſon of old Huitzilihuitl; but this is not probable, as Huitzilihuitl, born while the Mexicans were in Tizayuca, was not leſs than ninety years of age when the Mexicans were made ſlaves; wherefore, Huitzilihuitl was not father, but certainly grandfather of Acamapitzin. Torquemada makes this king ſon of Cohuatzontli; but we adhere to the opinion of Siguenza, who has inveſtigated the genealogy of the Mexican kings with more criticiſm and diligence than Torquemada.

(*t*) It is much to be wondered at that Opochtli ſhould marry a virgin ſo illuſtrious, at a time when his nation was ſo reduced and degraded by ſlavery; but this marriage is aſcertained by the pictures of the Mexicans and Colhuas, ſeen by the learned Siguenza.

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bled his counſellors, and ſpoke to them in the following words: "What is your judgment, nobles of Tepaneca, of this act of the "Mexicans? They have introduced themſelves into our dominions, "and continue to increaſe very conſiderably their city and their com- "merce, and what is worſe have had the audacity to create one of their "own nation a king, without waiting for our conſent. If they pro- "ceed thus in the beginning of their eſtabliſhment, what is to be ima- "gined they will do hereafter when they have increaſed their numbers "and added to their ſtrength? Is it not to be apprehended that in fu- "ture, inſtead of paying us the tribute which we have impoſed on "them, they will pretend that we ſhould pay it to them, and that the "petty king of the Mexicans will aim alſo at being monarch of the "Tepanecas? I therefore conſider it neceſſary to multiply their bur- "dens ſo much, that in labouring to diſcharge them they may be "worn out, or on failure of paying us, that we harraſs them with other "evils, and at laſt conſtrain them to abandon their ſtate."

SECT. III. Taxes impoſed on the Mexicans.

All applauded the reſolution; nor was it otherwiſe to be expected; as the prince who in council diſcovers his wiſh, rather looks for panegyriſts to ſecond his inclination, than counſellors to enlighten his underſtanding: the king then ſent to inform the Mexicans, that the tribute which they had paid hitherto being too ſmall, it was his pleaſure that they ſhould double it in future; that they were beſides to carry ſo many thouſands of willow and fir-plants to be ſet in the roads and gardens of Azcapozalco, and to tranſport to the court a great kitchen garden, where all the vegetables known in Anahuac were ſown and growing.

The Mexicans, who, until that time had paid no other tribute than a certain quantity of fiſh, and a certain number of water-birds, were greatly diſtreſſed with theſe new grievances, fearing that they might conſtantly be increaſing: but they performed all that was enjoined them, carrying at the appointed time along with their fiſh and fowl, the willows and floating garden. Whoever has not ſeen theſe moſt beautiful gardens, which in our time were cultivated in the middle of the water, and tranſported with eaſe wherever they deſired, will not without difficulty be perſuaded of the truth of ſuch an event: but whoever has ſeen them as we have, and all who have ſailed upon that lake, where

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the ſenſes receive the moſt delightful recreation, will have no reaſon to doubt of the authenticity of this hiſtory. Having obtained this tribute from them, the king ordered them to bring him the next year another garden, with a duck and a ſwan in it, both ſitting on their eggs; but ſo, as that on their arrival at Azcapozalco, the brood might be ready to hatch. The Mexicans obeyed, and took their meaſures ſo well, that the fooliſh prince had the pleaſure of ſeeing the chickens come out of the eggs. They were ordered the ſucceeding year to bring, beſides a garden of this kind, a live ſtag: this new order was the more difficult to execute, as it was neceſſary to go to the mountains on the continent to hunt the ſtag, where they were in danger of engaging with their enemies; it was, however, accompliſhed, that they might eſcape from wrongs more oppreſſive. This hard ſubjection of the Mexicans laſted not leſs than fifty years. The hiſtorians of Mexico affirm, that the Mexicans in all their afflictions implored the protection of their god, who rendered the execution of ſuch orders eaſy to them: but we are of a different opinion.

The poor king Acamapitzin, in addition to theſe diſguſts, experienced the ſterility of his queen Ilancueitl, and therefore married *Tezcatlamiahuatl*, daughter of the lord of Tetepanci, by whom he had ſeveral ſons, and among others Huitzilihuitl and Chimalpopoca, ſucceſſors to him in the crown. He took this ſecond wife without abandoning the firſt; they both lived in ſuch harmony together that Ilancueitl charged herſelf with the education of Huitzilihuitl. He had other wives, although not honoured with the rank of queens; and among the reſt, a ſlave, who bore *Itzcoatl*, one of the beſt and moſt renowned among the kings of Anahuac. Acamapitzin governed his city in peace, for thirty-ſeven years; his city, at that time, comprehending the whole of his kingdom. In his time population increaſed, buildings of ſtone were erected, and thoſe canals which ſerved as well for the ornament of the city as for the convenience of the citizens, were begun. The interpreter of Mendoza's collection aſcribes to this king, the conqueſt of Mizquic, Cintlahuac, Quauhnahuac, and Xochimilco: but is it poſſible to believe that the Mexicans would undertake the conqueſt of four ſuch great cities, at a time when they had difficulty to preſerve their own territory. The picture, therefore, in that collection,

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repreſenting thoſe four cities ſubdued by the Mexicans, muſt be underſtood to apply to the Mexicans, only as they were auxiliaries to other ſtates, in the ſame manner, as a ſhort time afterwards they ſerved the king of Tezcuco againſt the Xaltocaneſe.

A little before his death, Acamapitzin called together the great men of the city; when after exhorting them to maintain their zeal for the public good, recommending to them the care of his wives and children; and declaring the pain it gave him at his death, to think of leaving his people tributary to the Tepanecas, he ſaid, that, having received the crown from their hands, he put it into their hands again, in order that they might beſtow it upon him who they thought would do the ſtate moſt ſervice. His death, which happened in the year 1389, was greatly lamented by the Mexicans, and his funeral was celebrated with as much magnificence as the poverty of the nation would admit.

From the death of Acamapitzin, until the election of a new king, as we are informed by Siguenza, an interregnum took place, of four months; a circumſtance which never happened again, as from that time forward the new king was always choſen a very few days after the death of the preceding. Perhaps the election, at this time, might be retarded, by the nobles being employed in regulating the number of the electors, and in ſettling the ceremony of the coronation which was then beginning to be obſerved.

The electors then, choſen by the nobles, being aſſembled together, the oldeſt man among them addreſſed them in this manner. "My age "emboldens me to ſpeak firſt. The misfortune, O Mexican nobles, "which we have ſuffered by the death of our king, is very great; and "none ought to feel it more than we who were the feathers of his "wings, and the eye-lids of his eyes. Such a misfortune is ſtill in-"creaſed, by the unhappy condition of dependence upon the power of "the Tepanecas, under which we live, to the reproach of the Mexi-"can name. Do you, then, whom it ſo much concerns to find a re-"medy for our preſent diſtreſſes, do you reſolve to chooſe a king who "ſhall be zealous for the honour of our mighty god Huitzilopochtli, "who ſhall avenge, with his arm, the injuries done to our nation; "and who ſhall take the aged, the widow, and the orphan under the

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" ſhade of his clemency." At the concluſion of this ſpeech the electors gave their votes, and their choice fell upon Huitzilihuitl, ſon of the deceaſed king Acamapitzin. Then they proceeded, in regular order, to the houſe of the elected perſon, whom they placed in the middle of them, and conducted to the *Thtocaicpalli*, that is the royal ſeat or throne; upon which they ſeated him; and after anointing him in the manner we ſhall deſcribe in another place, they then placed upon his head the *Copilli* or crown, and made him their ſubmiſſions one by one. Then one of the moſt conſiderable perſons raiſed his voice, and thus addreſſed the king. " Be not diſcouraged, excellent youth, at receiv-
" ing that new employment, to which you are called, of reigning over
" a nation which is incloſed among the reeds and ruſhes of this lake.
" It is, indeed, unfortunate to poſſeſs ſo ſmall a kingdom within an-
" other's territory, and to be the chief of a people, who, originally free,
" have now become tributary to the Tepanecas; but be comforted,
" and remember that we are under the protection of the great god
" Huitzilopochtli, whoſe image you are, and whoſe place you fill.
" The dignity to which you have been raiſed by him, ſhould ſerve,
" not as an excuſe for indolence and effeminacy, but as a ſpur to exer-
" tion. Have ever before your eyes the illuſtrious example of your
" great father, who ſpared no labour in the ſervice of the public. We
" ſhould wiſh, ſir, to make you preſents worthy of your ſtation; but
" ſince our ſituation will not admit of it, be pleaſed to accept our pro-
" miſes of the moſt inviolable attachment and fidelity."

Huitzilihuitl was not yet married when he aſcended the throne: but it was thought proper that he ſhould take a wife, and the nobles wiſhed for a daughter of the king of Azcapozalco. To avoid, however, ſo ignominious a denial as they met with in the time of Acamapitzin, they reſolved to make the requeſt, upon this occaſion, with the greateſt demonſtrations of humility and reſpect. Some of the nobles, therefore, went to Azcapozalco, and falling on their knees, when they were preſented to the king, they declared their wiſhes, in the following words, " Behold, great lord, the poor Mexicans at your feet, humbly
" expecting from your goodneſs, a favour which is greatly beyond
" their merit; but to whom ought we to have recourſe, except to you,
" who are our father and our lord. Behold us hanging upon your

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" lips, and waiting only your ſignals to obey. We beſeech you, with " the moſt profound reſpect, to take compaſſion upon our maſter and " your ſervant Haitzilihuitl, confined among the thick ruſhes of the " lake. He is without a wife, and we without a queen. Vouchſafe, " ſir, to part with one of your jewels, or moſt precious feathers. " Give us one of your daughters, who may come to reign over us in " a country which belongs to you."

Theſe expreſſions, which are peculiarly elegant in the Mexican language, ſo ſoftened the mind of *Tezozomoc* (for that was the king's name), that he inſtantly granted his daughter *Ajauhcihuatl*, to the great joy of the Mexicans, who conducted her in triumph to Mexico, where the much wiſhed-for marriage was celebrated, with the uſual ceremony of tying together the ſkirts of the garments of the huſband and wife. By this princeſs the king had a ſon the firſt year, who was named *Acolhuahuacatl*; but being deſirous to ſtrengthen his kingdom by new alliances, he fought and obtained from the prince of Quauhnahuac, one of his daughters called *Miahuaxochitl*, by whom he had Motezuma *Ilhuicamina*, the moſt celebrated of the Mexican kings.

SECT. V. Techotlala, king of Acolhuacan.

At that time, in Acolhuacan, reigned *Techotlala*, ſon of king Quimatzin. The firſt thirty years of his reign were peaceful; but afterwards *Tzompan*, prince of Xaltocan, revolted, and finding his own force inſufficient to oppoſe his ſovereign, he called to his aſſiſtance the ſtates of Otompan, Meztitlan, Quahuacan, Tecomic, Quauhtitlan, and Tepozotlan. The king promiſed him pardon, provided he would lay down his arms and ſubmit; which clemency probably proceeded from reſpect to the noble extraction of the rebel, who was the laſt deſcendant of Chiconquauhtli, one of the three Acolhuan princes. But Tzompan confiding in the number of his troops, rejected the offer with contempt; when the king ſent an army againſt him, which was joined by the Mexicans and Tepanecas, whoſe ſervice he had demanded. The war was obſtinate, and laſted for two months: but at length, victory declaring for the king, Tzompan, with all the chiefs of the revolted cities, was put to death, and in him was extinguiſhed the illuſtrious race of Chiconquauhtli. This war, in which the Mexicans ſerved as auxiliaries to the king of Acolhuacan againſt Xaltocan and the other confederated ſtates, is repreſented in the third picture of Mendoza's collec-

tion: but the interpreter of thoſe pictures was miſtaken when he imagined that thoſe cities were ſubjected to the Mexican crown.

After the end of the war the Mexicans returned to their city with glory; and Techotlala, in order to prevent other rebellions in future, divided his kingdom into ſeventy-five ſtates, giving each a chief to govern them in ſubordination to the crown. In each of them he likewiſe placed a certain number of the inhabitants of ſome other ſtate; expecting that the natives would be more eaſily kept in ſubjection by means of ſtrangers who depended upon a foreign power; a policy which might, indeed, be uſeful in preventing rebellion, but which was very oppreſſive to the innocent ſubjects, and created much trouble to the chiefs who were entruſted with the government. At the ſame time, he conferred honourable offices upon many of the nobles. He made *Tzilacatzin* general of his armies, *Tlilpotonqui* entertainer and introducer of ambaſſadors, *Tlacaelel* major-domo of the royal palace, *Amaquemecatzin* overſeer of the cleaning of the royal houſes, and *Cihuacoatl* director of the gold workers of Ocoloco. No perſon worked in gold or ſilver, for the uſe of the king, except the directors own children, who had learnt the art for that purpoſe. The entertainer of ambaſſadors had many Colhuan officers under him; the major-domo had a certain number of Chechemecas; and the ſuperintendant of the cleaning of the houſes, an equal number of Tepanecas. By ſuch regulations he increaſed the ſplendor of his court, and ſtrengthened the throne of Acolhuacan; although he could not hinder thoſe revolutions which we ſhall ſoon have occaſion to mention. Theſe and other ſuch inſtances of wiſe policy, which will appear in the ſequel of this hiſtory, evidently ſhew the injuſtice done to the Americans by thoſe who have conſidered them as animals of a different ſpecies, or as incapable of civilization or improvement.

The new alliance formed by the king of Mexico with the king of Azcapozalco, and the glory acquired by his ſubjects in the war of Xaltocan, ſerved both to ſtrengthen their little ſtate and to make themſelves more reſpectable in the eyes of their neighbours. Being enabled, therefore, to extend their trade and carry it on with greater freedom, they began, now, to wear cloaths made of cotton, which they had been entirely without, in their former ſtate of indigence, when they had nothing but coarſe ſtuffs made of the threads of the wild palm. But they

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they had ſcarcely time to breathe, when a new enemy and bloody perſecutor ſtarted up, in the ſame royal family of Azcapazalco.

SECT. VI. Enmity of Maxtlaton to the Mexicans.

Maxtlaton prince of Coyoacan, and ſon of the king of Azcapozalco, a cruel, turbulent, ambitious man, and who was feared even by his father upon that account, had been diſpleaſed at the marriage of his ſiſter Ayauhcihuatl with the king of Mexico. He concealed his diſpleaſure, for ſome time, out of reſpect to his father; but in the tenth year of the reign of Huitzilihuitl, he went to Azcapozalco, and aſſembled the nobility, in order to lay before them his complaints againſt the Mexicans and their king. He repreſented the increaſe of the population of Mexico; enlarged upon the pride and arrogance of that people, and upon the fatal effects which were to be feared from their preſent diſpoſitions; and eſpecially complained of the great affront done to him by the Mexican king, in depriving him of his wife. It is neceſſary to obſerve, that Maxtlaton and Ayauhcihuatl, although both children of Tezozomoc, were yet born of different mothers; and perhaps ſuch marriages were in thoſe times, permitted among the Tepanecas. Whether he ever actually intended to marry his ſiſter, or only made that a pretext to cover his cruel deſigns, is uncertain; but, in the aſſembly of the nobles, it was determined to ſummon Huitzilihuitl, to anſwer to the pretended charge. The Mexican king went to Azcapozalco; nor will this appear extraordinary, when we conſider that it was no uncommon thing, at that time, for princes to viſit one another; and that, beſides, it was the duty of Huitzilihuitl, as a feudatory of that crown; for, although from the birth of Acolnahuacatl, the queen of Mexico had prevailed upon her father Tezozomac to relieve the Mexicans from the oppreſſions to which they had been ſubjected for ſo many years before, yet Mexico ſtill continued in the nature of a fief of Azcapozalco, and the Mexicans owed the Tepanecan king an annual preſent of a couple of ducks by way of acknowledgement of his ſuperiority.

Maxtlaton received Huitzilihuitl in a hall of the palace, and after having dined with him in the preſence of the courtiers who flattered all his ſchemes, he charged Huitzilihuitl in the ſevereſt terms, with the pretended outrage done to him by the marriage of Ayauhcihuatl. The Mexican king with the greateſt reſpect aſſerted his innocence, and ſaid, that he certainly would never have ſolicited the princeſs, nor her father

father have given her away to him, if ſhe had been bethrothed to another. But in ſpite of the truth of his juſtification and the weight of his reaſons, Maxtlaton angrily replied, "I might now, without hearing more, put you to inſtant death, and ſo puniſh your boldneſs and avenge my own honour; but I would not have it ſaid that a Tepanecan prince killed his enemy in a treacherous manner. Depart in peace; and time will give me an opportunity of taking a more honourable revenge."

The Mexican went from him, filled with rage and vexation, and was not long without feeling the effects of his cruel kinſman's diſpleaſure. The true cauſe of Maxtlaton's enmity aroſe from his fear of the crown of the Tepanecas one day coming to his nephew Acolnahuacatl, by which event his nation would become ſubject to the Mexicans. To remove the cauſe of his fear, he formed the barbarous reſolution of putting his nephew to death, who was accordingly murdered a ſhort time after by ſome perſons who hoped, by that act of cruelty, to gain the favour of their maſter; no prince ever wanting, about him, mercenary men, who are ready to ſerve his paſſions (*s*). Tezozomoc gave no conſent to the perpetration of this crime, but we do not know that he ſhewed any diſapprobation of it. In the ſequel of this hiſtory we ſhall ſee that the haughtineſs, the ambition, and the cruelty of Maxtlaton rather encouraged than connived at by his indulgent father, brought ruin upon himſelf and his kingdom. Huitzilihuitl could ill brook ſuch a barbarous injury; but he yet wanted ſufficient power to take revenge.

SECT. VII. Tlacateotl, ſecond king of Tlatelolco.

In the ſame year with this tragical event (1399) died at Tlatelolco, the firſt king, Quaquauhpitzahuac, leaving his ſubjects much more civilized, and the city greatly enlarged by handſome buildings and gardens. He was ſucceeded by *Tlacateotl*, of whoſe origin hiſtorians differ widely in their relations; ſome imagining he was a Tepanecan as well as his predeceſſor, while others take him to have been an Acol-

(*s*) There is no author who gives any account of the circumſtances of this murder; and it is hardly to be conceived how the Tepanecas ſhould be able to execute ſuch a deed in Mexico; but we cannot doubt of the fact, as it is confirmed by all the national hiſtorians; but father Acoſta has committed a miſtake in confounding the murder of this young prince Acolnahuacatl, with the death of Chimalpopoca the third king of Mexico.

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huan, appointed by the king of Acolhuacan. The rivalſhip which ſubſiſted between the Mexicans and Tlatelolcas contributed greatly to the aggrandizement of their reſpective cities. The Mexicans had formed ſo many alliances, by marriage, with the neighbouring nations; had ſo greatly improved their agriculture, and increaſed the number of their floating gardens upon the lake; and had built ſo many more veſſels to ſupply their extended commerce and fiſhing, that they were enabled to celebrate their ſecular year 1. *Tochtli*, which anſwers to the year 1402 of our era, with greater magnificence than any of the four which had elapſed ſince their firſt leaving of the country of Aztlan.

At this time Techotlala, far advanced in years, ſtill reigned in Acolhuacan; who perceiving his end approach, called to him his ſon and ſucceſſor Ixtlilxochitl, and, among many inſtructions, particularly recommended to him the conciliating of the minds of his feudatory lords; leſt the crafty and ambitious Tezozomoc, who, till that time, had only been reſtrained by the uncertainty of ſucceſs, ſhould attempt any thing againſt the empire. Nor were the fears of Techotlala without foundation, as will appear from the ſequel. He died, at laſt, in the year 1406, after a very long reign, though not quite ſo long as ſome authors have imagined (*r*).

SECT. VIII. Ixtlilxochitl, king of Acolhuacan.

After the funeral rites were performed with the uſual ſolemnity, and the attendance of the princes and lords, the feudatories of the crown, they proceeded to celebrate the acceſſion of Ixtlilxochitl. Among the princes was the king of Azcapozalco; who, by his conduct, ſoon juſtified the ſuſpicions entertained of him by the deceaſed Techotlala; as, without making the uſual ſubmiſſions to the new king, he ſet out for his own ſtate with an intention to ſtir up the other feudatories to rebellion againſt the empire. He called together the kings of Mexico and Tlatelolco, and told them, that Techotlala, who had ſo long tyrannized over that country, being dead, his purpoſe was to procure freedom to the princes, ſo that each might rule his own ſtate with entire independence upon the king of Acolhuacan: but in order to ob-

(*r*) Torquemada and Betancourt give one hundred and four years to the reign of Techotlala; and although it is not impoſſible that a prince ſhould reign ſo long, yet it is extremely improbable, and would require the ſtrongeſt evidence to authenticate it; eſpecially if we conſider the general abſurdity of their chronology. But ſee our Diſſertations.

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tain ſo glorious an object, he needed their aſſiſtance; and, upon their ſpirit, ſo well known among all the nations, he relied for their taking part with him in the great enterpriſe. He added, that in order to ſtrike their blow with the greater ſecurity, he would undertake to unite in their confederacy ſome other princes whom he knew to be animated with the ſame deſigns. The two kings, either through fear of the great power of Tezozomoc, or to increaſe the reputation of their arms, engaged to aſſiſt him with their troops, as did alſo the other chiefs whom he ſolicited.

In the mean time Ixtlixochitl was employed in putting the affairs of his court into order, and in gaining the minds of his ſubjects; but he ſoon diſcovered, to his great diſappointment, that already many had withdrawn themſelves from their obedience to him, in order to place themſelves under the command of the perfidious Tezozomoc. To oppoſe the progreſs of the enemy, he commanded the princes of Coatlichan, Huexotla, and ſome other neighbouring ſtates, to arm all the troops they could without delay. The king himſelf wiſhed to lead his army in perſon, but he was diſſuaded from it by ſome of his courtiers, who repreſented the neceſſity of his preſence at the court, leſt in the diſtraction of affairs, ſome concealed enemy, or friend of wavering fidelity ſhould be tempted, by the opportunity of his abſence, to make himſelf maſter of the capital, and drive the king from his throne. *Tochinteuctli*, ſon of the prince of Coatlichan, was made general of the army, and in caſe of his death, or any other accident, *Quauhxilotl*, prince of Iztapallocan was appointed to ſucceed him. The plain of Quauhtitlan, fifteen miles north of Azcapozalco, was choſen for the theatre of the war. The troops of the rebels were more numerous, but thoſe of the king better diſciplined. The royal army, before it ſet out for Quauhtitlan, ravaged ſix of the revolted ſtates, in order both to weaken the enemy, and to leave behind them none who ſhould be able to do them much injury. The war was ſupported with great obſtinacy; the ſuperior diſcipline of the Tezcucans being counteracted by the ſuperiority of numbers on the ſide of the Tepanecas, who would certainly have been quickly overcome if they had not been conſtantly ſupplied with freſh troops. The allies of the rebels frequently ſent out large bodies to make incurſions in the loyal ſtates, where they met with little

BOOK III.

reſiſtance as the greateſt part of the Tezcucan force was collected at Quauhtitlan. Among the various diſaſters which they occaſioned, the lord of Iztapallocan Quauhxilotl was ſlain, who died with glory in defence of his city after his return from the field of Quauhtitlan. The king of Acolhuacan ſaw himſelf obliged, now, to divide his forces, and appointed a conſiderable part of the people, who came from many diſtant places to his aſſiſtance, for the garriſon of the cities. Tezozomoc perceiving in place of the advantages which he had promiſed himſelf, that his troops daily diminiſhed, and that his people were become impatient of the fatigues and dangers of war after three years of continued action, demanded peace, deſigning to finiſh, by ſecret treachery, what he had begun by open violence. The king of Acolhuacan, although he could not rely on the faith of the Tepanecan prince, nevertheleſs, conſented without inſiſting on any conditions which might give him ſecurity for the future, as his troops were as much broken with fatigue as thoſe of his enemy.

SECT. IX. Chimalpopoca third king of Mexico.

Juſt as the war was concluded, or a little before its termination, after a reign of twenty years, in 1409, Huitzilihuitl died, having publiſhed ſome laws uſeful to the ſtate, and leaving the nobility in poſſeſſion of their right to chuſe a ſucceſſor. Chimalpopoca, who was his brother, was accordingly choſen, and by what appears, from thence it became the eſtabliſhed law to make the election of one of the brothers of the deceaſed king, and on failure of brothers, of one of his grandſons. This law was conſtantly obſerved until the fall of the Mexican empire.

While Chimalpopoca found means to fix himſelf ſecurely on the throne of Mexico, Ixtlixochitl begun to totter on that of Acolhuacan. The peace which Tezozomoc had demanded was a mere artifice to lull ſuſpicion while he was more effectually purſuing his negociations. The number of his party was daily obſerved to increaſe, while that of the Tezcucan diminiſhed. This unfortunate king found himſelf reduced to ſuch extremity, that thinking himſelf inſecure in his own court, he went wandering through the neighbouring mountains eſcorted by a ſmall army, and accompanied by the lords of Huexotla and Coatlichan, who were always faithful to him. The Tepanecas, that they might diſtreſs him to the utmoſt, intercepted the proviſions which were carrying to his camp; by which his neceſſities became ſo great that he was compelled

compelled at laſt to beg proviſions of his enemies. So eaſy is it to fall from the height of human felicity to the loweſt ſtate of miſery. BOOK III.

He ſent one of his grandſons named *Cehuacuecuenotzin*, to Otompan, one of the rebel ſtates, to requeſt the citizens of it to ſupply their king with the proviſions he ſtood in need of, and to admoniſh them to abandon the party of the rebels, and to call to their minds the loyalty they had ſworn. Cehuacuecuenotzin, well knew the danger of the undertaking; but fear being overcome by the generoſity of his ſentiments, his fortitude of mind, and fidelity to his ſovereign, he ſhewed himſelf ready to obey: "I go my lord," he ſaid, "to execute your "commands, and to ſacrifice my life to the obedience which I owe "you. You cannot be inſenſible how much the Otompaneſe are alien-"ated from you by eſpouſing the part of your enemy. The whole "country is occupied by the Tepanecas, and every where dangerous; "my return is uncertain. But ſhould I periſh in your ſervice, and if "the ſacrifice which I make you of my life is worthy of any recom-"pence, I pray you to protect the two young children I leave behind." Theſe words, which were accompanied with ſtrong marks of feeling, touched the king's heart, who, in taking leave of him, ſaid, "May "our God accompany and return you ſafe. Alas! perhaps at your re-"turn, you may find what you fear for yourſelf, will have happened to "me, the enemies being ſo numerous who conſpire againſt my life." Cihuacuecuenotzin proceeded without delay to Otompan, but before he entered he knew that there were, at that time, Tepanecas in the city, who were ſent by Tezozomoc, to publiſh a proclamation; he was not, however, diſcouraged, but went intrepidly to the public place where the Tepanecas had aſſembled the people to hear the proclamation, and after having ſaluted them all graciouſly, he freely communicated his embaſſy.

The Otompaneſe made a jeſt of him and his demand, but none of them dared to proceed farther, until a mean perſon among them threw a ſtone at him, exciting others at the ſame time to put him to death. The Tepanecas, who continued ſtill and ſilent, to obſerve what reſolution the Otompaneſe would take, perceiving now that they openly declared againſt the king of Acolhuacan, and his ambaſſador, cried out, Kill, kill, the traitor! accompanying their cries with throwing of ſtones.

BOOK III.

Cihuacuecuenotzin, at firſt, faced his enemies, but ſeeing himſelf overpowered by numbers, and endeavouring to ſave himſelf by flight, was killed by a ſhower of ſtones. A character intitled to a better fate! an example of fidelity moſt worthy to be recorded, which had the hero been Grecian or Roman, in place of American, would have been the ſubject of praiſe of both hiſtorians and poets.

The Tepanecas became vain-glorious, of an act equally contrary to humanity and the rights of nations; and proteſted to the multitude the great pleaſure they would have in being able to inform their chief, from being eye-witneſſes, of the inviolable fidelity of the Otompaneſe. They alſo declared, they had been ſent expreſsly to intimate an order not to give aſſiſtance to the king of Tezcuco, under pain of proſcription, and to exhort them to take arms againſt that king, and in defence of their liberty. The lord of Otompan, and the heads of the nobility replied, they would willingly obey the order of the king of Azcapozalco, and offered to do every thing in their power to ſecond his intentions.

They gave ſpeedy intelligence of this event to the lord of Acolman, who was the ſon of Tezozomoc, and communicated it to his father: he believing it now time to put his deſigns in execution, ſent for the lords of Otompan and Chalco, on whoſe fidelity he chiefly relied, and whoſe ſtates were moſt conveniently ſituated for his purpoſe, and charged them to levy, with all poſſible ſecrecy, a ſufficient army, and lay themſelves in ambuſcade in a mountain near to the camp of the Teſcucan king; that from thence they ſhould ſend two of the moſt brave and able captains to the royal camp, who, under pretence of imparting ſome very important ſecret to the king, ſhould artfully lead him to as great a diſtance as poſſible from his people, and then without delay or heſitation to murder him. Every thing happened as the wicked prince had deſigned. The king then chanced to be in the neighbourhood of Tlaſcala, and entertaining no ſuſpicion of the two captains who came to him, fell unwarily into the ſnare. The deed was done at ſome little diſtance, but yet in ſight of the royal army. They ran up immediately to chaſtiſe the temerity of thoſe two deſperate captains, but the army of the conſpirators advancing, which was more numerous, they were quickly defeated. The royal corpſe was with difficulty ſaved, to pay

SECT. XI. Tragical death of Ixtlilxochitl.

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it funeral honours, and the heir of the crown, who was a witneſs of the tragic end of his father, was obliged to hide himſelf in the buſhes to eſcape the fury of his enemies. Thus did the unfortunate king Ixtlilxochitl end his life in 1410, after a reign of ſeven years.

He left ſeveral ſons, and among them *Nezahualcojotl*, heir to the throne, whom he had by *Matlalcihuatzin*, daughter of Acamapitzin, king of Mexico *(t)*. This prince was endued with a great genius, and an unparalleled magnanimity, and pre-eminently deſerving of the throne of Acolhuacan; but he was not able from the ſuperiority of Tezozomoc, to put himſelf in poſſeſſion of the throne which was due to him by ſo many titles, until many years had elapſed, and many dangers and obſtacles to it were ſurmounted.

The perfidious Tezozomoc had prepared great bodies of troops, that when the premeditated blow on the perſon of the king ſhould ſucceed, they might pour down upon the cities of Tezcuco, Huexotla, Coatlichan, Coatepec, and Iztapallocan, which had been the moſt faithful to their lord, and reduce them to aſhes. The inhabitants of thoſe cities who were able to ſave themſelves by flight, took ſhelter on the other ſide of the mountains, among the Huexotzincas and Tlaſcalans; all the reſt died in defence of their country; but they ſold their lives dearly, as the infinite blood ſpilt on both ſides atteſted. If we ſhould be diſpoſed to trace the ſource of ſo many calamities, we ſhould diſcover no other than the ambition of a prince. Heaven grant the ſacrifices to the paſſions were more infrequent in the world and leſs violent! How calamitous is it that the avarice or ambition of a prince or his miniſter is ſufficient to cover the plains with human blood, to deſtroy cities, to overturn kingdoms, and ſpread confuſion over this globe!

The cruelty of the tyrant being appeaſed by the oppreſſion of his enemies, the king of Acolhuacan was made to take an oath in the city of Tezcuco, to grant to all thoſe who had taken up arms againſt him, general pardon, and liberty to return to their habitations. The city of

(*t*) Torquimada makes Matlalcihuatzia, daughter of Huitzilihuitl; but how? He ſays, that this king when he mounted the throne, was only ſeventeen years of age, nor yet married: and that he reigned twenty-two, or at moſt twenty-five years. On the other hand, he ſuppoſes Nezahualcojotl, at the death of his grandfather, of an age able to go to war and make negotiations to ſecure him the crown: from whence he would make out that Huitzilihuitl, before he was twenty-ſix years married, and grandſons at leaſt twenty years old.

BOOK III. Tezcuco was given in fief to Chimalpopoca, king of Mexico, and that of Huexotla to Tlacatcotl, king of Tlatelolco, as a reward for the ſervices which they had rendered during the war. He placed faithful governors in other places, and proclaimed Azcapozalco the royal reſidence and capital of all the kingdom of Acolhuacan.

At this ſolemnity were preſent, though in diſguiſe, ſeveral perſons of diſtinction, enemies of the tyrant, and amongſt theſe the prince Nezahualcojotl. The grief and rage which filled him aided by the ardour of youth, was like to have urged him to a raſh action againſt his enemies, if a confidential friend, who accompanied him, had not withheld him, by repreſenting the fatal conſequences of ſuch temerity, and making him ſenſible how much more prudent it would be to wait till time preſented him a fitter opportunity for the recovery of his crown, and revenge of his enemies; that the tyrant was already worn out with age, and that his death, which could not be very diſtant, would entirely change the ſtate of affairs; that the people themſelves would come willingly to ſubmit themſelves to their lawful ſovereign, from a ſenſe of the injuſtice and cruelty of the uſurper. Upon this ſame occaſion, a Mexican officer of reſpect, (probably Itzcoatl, the brother of the king, and general of the Mexican forces), either of his own accord, or by order of the king Chimalpopoca, aſcended the temple, which the Toltecas had at that court, and addreſſed the multitude around him, "Hear, Chechemecas, hear Acolhuas, and all ye who are "preſent. Let no one dare to offer any hurt to our ſon Nezahuacojotl, nor permit others to hurt him, if he is not willing to ſubject himſelf to ſevere chaſtiſement." This proclamation contributed much to the prince's ſecurity, no body wiſhing to draw upon himſelf the anger of a nation which began now to make itſelf reſpected.

A little time after, many of thoſe nobles who had taken refuge in Huexotzinco and Tlaſcala, to avoid the fury of the Tepanecan troops, aſſembled at *Papalotla*, a place near to Tezcuco, to deliberate on the conduct they ſhould purſue in the preſent circumſtances; and they all agreed to ſubmit themſelves to the new lords whom the uſurper had appointed to their cities, that they might be free from farther hoſtilities, and attend in peace to the care of their families and habitations.

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After having ſatisfied his ambition with the uſurpation of the kingdom of Acolhuacan, and his cruelty with the ſlaughter he had committed, the tyrant was deſirous of gratifying his avarice by laying new taxes on his ſubjects. Beſides the tribute which they had hitherto paid their king of proviſions, and a robe to array him, he enjoined them to pay him another tribute of gold and precious ſtones, without adverting how much ſuch burdens would tend to exaſperate the minds of his ſubjects, which he ſhould rather have endeavoured to gain by moderation and lenity, to give himſelf more ſecurity in the poſſeſſion of a throne founded on cruelty and injuſtice. The Toltecan and Chechemecan nobles anſwered the proclamation by deſiring to preſent themſelves in perſon before the king, to be heard on the ſubject. The arrogance of the tyrant appeared to them unbounded, and his conduct widely different from the moderation of the ancient kings of whom he was deſcended. They agreed to ſend to him two eloquent deputies the moſt learned among them, one a Tolteca, the other a Chechemeca, that each in the name of his nation might remonſtrate with energy and force. They both went to Azcapozalco, when being admitted to an audience of the tyrant, the Toltecan orator in reſpect to the greater antiquity of his nation in that country began firſt, and repreſented to him the humble beginning of the Toltecas, the neceſſities they endured before they roſe to that ſplendour and glory which they had for ſome time enjoyed, and the miſery to which they were reduced ſince their revolution; he deſcribed the deplorable diſperſion in which they were found by Xolotl, when he firſt arrived in that country, and taking a review of the two laſt centuries, he made a pathetic enumeration of the hardſhips they had ſuffered, to move the tyrant to compaſſion, and get his nation exempted from the new grievances.

The Tolteca had hardly finiſhed his harangue when the Chechemeca began his: "I, my lord, may ſpeak to you with greater confidence "and liberty; as I am a Chechemeca, and addreſs myſelf to a prince "of my own nation, who is a deſcendant of the great kings Xolotl, "Nopaltzin, and Tlotzin. You are not ignorant that thoſe divine "Chechemecas, your anceſtors, ſet no value on gold or precious ſtones. "They wore no other crown on their heads than a garland of herbs "and flowers of the field, nor adorned themſelves with any other brace-

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BOOK III. "lets than the ſtiff leather againſt which beat the ſtring of their bow "in ſhooting. Their food at firſt was confined to raw fleſh, and plain "herbs, and their dreſs was the ſkin of the ſtags and wild beaſts which "they themſelves hunted. When they were taught agriculture by the "Toltecas, their kings themſelves cultivated the land to encourage by "their example their ſubjects to fatigue. The wealth and glory to "which fortune afterwards raiſed them, did not make them more "proud. As kings they certainly made uſe of their ſubjects, but as "fathers they loved them, and were contented to be requited by them "with the ſimple gifts of the earth. I do not call to your memory "theſe illuſtrious examples of your anceſtors, for any other reaſon than "that I may moſt humbly entreat you not to demand more from us "now than they did from our predeceſſors." The tyrant liſtened to each harangue, and although the compariſon drawn between him and the ancient kings was odious, he diſſembled his diſguſt, and contented himſelf with giving licence to the orators to confirm the order publiſhed reſpecting the new tax.

In the mean time, Nezahualcojotl went anxiouſly through many cities, to gain their affection, that he might replace himſelf on the throne. But although his ſubjects loved him, and were deſirous of ſeeing him in poſſeſſion of the kingdom, they durſt not openly favour his party from their fear of the tyrant. Among the ſubjects who were the neareſt related to him, and had abandoned him, were the lord of *Chimalpan* his uncle, and *Tecpanecatl* the brother of his ſecond wife *Nezahualxochitl*, of the royal line of Mexico. Perſevering in ſuch negotiations, he arrived one evening at a village of the province of Chalco, belonging to a lady and widow named *Tziltomiauh*. He obſerved that there was a plantation of aloes, from which the widow extracted wine, not only for the uſe of her family, but alſo for ſale, which was ſtrictly forbid by the Chechemecan code. He was ſo fired with zeal for the laws of his fathers, that he felt no reſtraint from the adverſity of his fortune, nor any other conſideration, but with his own hand put the delinquent to death. An action moſt inconſiderate and reprehenſible, in which prudence had a far leſs ſhare than the intemperate ardour of youth. This deed raiſed a great rumour in that province, and the lord of Chalco, who was his enemy, and had been an accomplice in the death

death of his father, uſed the utmoſt diligence to have him in his power; but the prince, who foreſaw the conſequences of his act, had already placed himſelf in ſecurity.

SECT. VIII. Death of the tyrant Tezozomoc.

Eight years were now elapſed, during which Tezozomoc had poſſeſſed in peace the kingdom of Acolhuacan, claimed in vain by Nezahualcojotl, when fatal dreams threw the tyrant into extreme perturbation. He dreamed that Nezahualcojotl transformed into an eagle, opened his breaſt and eat his heart; and at another time, changed into a lion, licked his body, and ſucked his blood. He was ſo intimidated with theſe ominous viſions, which were formed by the conſciouſneſs of his own injuſtice and tyranny, that he called together his three ſons *Tajatzin*, *Teuchzintli*, and *Maxlaton*, imparted to them his dreams, and charged them to put Nezahualcojotl to death as ſpeedily as poſſible, provided they could do it ſo ſecretly that no perſon ſhould ſuſpect the author of it. He hardly ſurvived his dreams a year. He was now become ſo old, he was no more able to keep himſelf in neceſſary warmth, nor erect in a chair, but was obliged to be wholly covered up in cotton, in a great baſket made of willows in the form of a cradle; but from this cradle, or rather ſepulchre, he tyranniſed over the kingdom of Acolhuacan, and delivered oracles of injuſtice. A little before his death, he declared his ſon Tajatzin his ſucceſſor in the kingdom, and repeated his command reſpecting the death of Nezahualcojotl, preſerving to his expiring moments his malicious deſigns. In 1422, this monſter of ambition, treachery, and injuſtice, ended his life, after having tyranniſed over the kingdom of Acolhuacan for nine years, and poſſeſſed for a conſiderable period the ſtate of Azcapozalco *(x)*.

Although the giving proper orders for the funeral of his father belonged to Tajatzin, as ſucceſſor to the crown, nevertheleſs his brother

(x) Torquemada makes Tezozomoc an immediate deſcendant of the firſt Acolhuan prince, by which he makes his reign one hundred and forty, or one hundred and eighty years: but from the harangue made by the Chechemecan orator, it is evident, that Tezozomoc was deſcended of Xolotl Nopaltzin and Tlotzin. The ſiſter of Nopaltzin married the prince Acolhuatzin, whence their children were couſins of Tlotzin, the ſon of Nopaltzin. In all this Torquemada agrees with us. Whoever then could be called the deſcendant of his couſin? Whoever reads the genealogy of the Chechemecan kings in the works of Torquemada, will inſtantly perceive the miſtake made by this author. There may have been two or three lords of Azcapozalco named *Tezozomoc*, but the tyrant of Acolhuacan was at moſt great-grandſon of prince Acolhuatzin.

BOOK III. Maxtlaton, being more forward and active, arrogated the right to himſelf, and began to command with as much authority as if he had been already in poſſeſſion of the kingdom at which he aſpired, imagining it would be eaſy to oppreſs his brother, who was a man of no abilities, and unſkilled in the art of government. He ſent information to the kings of Mexico and Tlatelolco, and other lords, that they might honour with their preſence and their tears the funeral of their common lord. Nezahuacojotl, though not ſummoned, was willing to be preſent, as may eaſily be imagined, to obſerve with his own eyes the diſpoſition of the court. He was accompanied by a confidential friend and a ſmall retinue; having entered the hall of the royal palace where the corpſe lay expoſed, he found the kings of Mexico and Tlatelolco, the three princes, ſons of the late tyrant, and ſome other lords. He ſaluted them all one after another, according to the order in which they ſat, beginning with the king of Mexico, and preſented them bunches of flowers, according to the cuſtom of that country. Having paid his compliments he ſat down by the ſide of king Chimalpopoca, his brother-in-law, to accompany him in condolence. Teuctzintli, one of the ſons of Tezozomoc, who inherited his cruelty, conceiving this a good occaſion to execute the iniquitous charge of his father on Nezahualcojotl, propoſed it to his brother Maxtlaton. He, however, though of no leſs inhuman a heart, had more underſtanding and judgment. "Baniſh," he replied, "baniſh from your mind ſuch a thought. "What would men ſay of us if they ſhould ſee us plotting againſt the "life of another while we ought to be employed in mourning for our "father? They would ſay, that the grief was not deep which gave "way to ambition and revenge. Time will preſent us with an occa- "ſion more favourable for the accompliſhment of our father's purpoſe, "without incurring the odium of our ſubjects. Nezahualcojotl is not "inviſible; unleſs he hides himſelf in fire, in water, or in the bowels "of the earth, he will inevitably fall into our hands." This happened on the fourth day after the death of the tyrant, when the corpſe was burnt, and his aſhes buried with unuſual pomp and ſolemnity.

The next day the kings of Mexico and Tlatelolco returned to their cities, and Maxtlaton began ſoon by leſs diſſimulation to diſcover his ambi-

ambitious deſign of making himſelf maſter of the kingdom, ſhewing by his arrogance and daring temper, that where his arts would not be ſufficient, he would employ force. Tajatzin had not courage to oppoſe him, knowing the bold and violent diſpoſition of his brother, and the advantage he had in having ſubjects accuſtomed to obey him. On ſo difficult a point, he took therefore the reſolution of reſorting to Mexico to conſult with king Chimalpopoca, to whom he had been chiefly recommended by his father. This king received him with particular marks of eſteem, and, after the uſual compliments, Chimalpopoca addreſſed him. "What are you doing, prince. Is not the kingdom "yours? Did not your father leave it to you? Why do you not exert "yourſelf to recover it, if you are unjuſtly robbed of it?" "Becauſe "my rights avail but little, if my ſubjects do not aſſiſt me. My bro- "ther has made himſelf maſter of the kingdom, and no perſon ſeems "to give him oppoſition: it would be raſhneſs to oppoſe him with no "other power or forces than my deſires, and the juſtice of my cauſe." "What is not to be done by force may be ſupplied by induſtry," replied Chimalpopoca, "I will point out to you a method to get rid of "your brother, and reſtore yourſelf without danger to the poſſeſſion "of the throne. Excuſe yourſelf for not inhabiting the palace of your "deceaſed father, under pretence that your grief is revived by the re- "membrance of his actions, and the love which he bore you, and "that therefore you are willing to build yourſelf another palace for your "reſidence. When it is finiſhed, make a ſplendid entertainment, and "invite your brother to it, and there, in the midſt of the rejoicings, it "will be eaſy to free your kingdom of a tyrant, and yourſelf of a rival "ſo dangerous and unjuſt; and that you may more certainly ſucceed, "I ſhall attend to aſſiſt you in perſon, with all the forces of my na- "tion." To ſuch counſel Tajatzin made no reply, but looks of dark melancholy, occaſioned by the love he had to blood, or the baſeneſs of the act ſuggeſted to him.

To all this diſcourſe a ſervant of Tajatzin was privy, who had concealed himſelf where he could eaſily overhear them, and hoping to make his fortune by betraying them, he departed ſecretly at night for Azcapozalco, went directly to the palace, where having obtained an audience, he revealed to Maxtlaton all he had heard. His mind was ſud-

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SECT. XIV. Maxtlaton, tyrant of Acolhuacan.

The morning of the enſuing day he aſſembled the people of Azcapozalco, and told them, that having no right to remain any longer in his father's palace, as it belonged to prince Tajatzin, and having beſides occaſion for a houſe at that court where he might be lodged when ever any buſineſs required him to come from his ſtate of Cojohuacan, he deſired they would ſhew the love they bore him by the moſt ſpeedy conſtruction of ſuch a reſidence. Such was the diligence of the Azcapozalcheſe, and ſo great the multitude of workmen who were collected, that Tajatzin, who only continued three days in Mexico, found on his return the edifice already begun. He was ſtruck with wonder at this novelty, and enquiring the cauſe at Maxtlaton, was anſwered by him, that finding it his duty to leave the royal manſion, in juſtice to Tajatzin's rights, he was erecting another where he might reſide when he ſhould come to court. The good Tajatzin remained ſatisfied with this anſwer, and eaſily perſuaded himſelf that Maxtlaton thought no more of uſurping the crown. A little time after the building being finiſhed, Maxtlaton invited his brothers the kings of Mexico and Tlatelolco, and other lords to an entertainment. Tajatzin being totally ignorant of the treachery of his ſervant, did not ſuſpect the ſnare which was laid for him: but Chimalpopoca, who was more diſcerning and cautious, certainly was ſuſpicious of ſome treachery, and politely excuſed himſelf from attendance. The day appointed for the feſtival being arrived, the gueſts reſorted to the new manſion, and at the time they were moſt engaged in jollity and mirth, and probably alſo heated with wine, which is the moſt favourable time for deeds of this nature, ſuddenly people in arms entered, and poured with ſuch violence on the unfortunate Tajatzin, that he had ſcarcely lifted his eyes to behold his murderers, when they were cloſed in death. So unexpected

pected a tragedy diſturbed, and ſhocked the whole meeting; but Maxtlaton quieted them by explaining the treaſon which was deſigned againſt him; and proteſting, that what he had done, was only to prevent the blow which threatened himſelf. By theſe and ſimilar diſcourſes, he ſo far altered their minds, that in place of revenging the death of their lawful lord, they proclaimed the treacherous tyrant, king; but, although injuſtice raiſed him to the throne, it was only to precipitate him from a greater height.

His indignation againſt the king of Mexico was ſtill greater; but it did not appear prudent to make any attempt againſt his life until he ſhould feel himſelf firmly ſeated on the throne. In the mean while he vented his rage by doing injuries to his perſon, and offering outrages to his dignity. A little time after his intruſion on the kingdom, the preſent which it was uſual to make, as a mark of acknowledgement of the high power of the king of Azcapozalco, was ſent to him by the king of Mexico. This preſent, which conſiſted of three baſkets of white-fiſh, craw-fiſh, frogs, and ſome pulſe, was carried by reſpectable perſons from the court of Chimalpopoca, with a polite addreſs, and particular expreſſions of ſubmiſſion and reſpect. Maxtlaton ſhewed himſelf pleaſed; but as it was proper, according to the cuſtom of thoſe nations, to return ſome gift, and being deſirous, at the ſame time, of gratifying his pique, after conſulting with his confidents, he cauſed to be delivered to the Mexican ambaſſadors for their king a *Cueitl*, that is a woman's gown, and a *Huepilli*, which is a woman's ſhift, intimating by theſe that he eſteemed their king an effeminate coward: an inſult the moſt groſs to thoſe nations, as nothing was ſo much in eſtimation with them as the boaſt of being courageous. Chimalpopoca felt ſufficiently on the occaſion, and would have revenged the outrage; but he was unable.

SECT. XV. Maxtlaton, tyrant of Acolhuacan.

This diſdainful act was ſoon ſucceeded by a moſt heinous offence to his honour. The tyrant knew that among the wives of the king of Mexico, there was one ſingularly beautiful: being inflamed by this occaſion with wicked deſires, he determined to ſacrifice both honour and juſtice to his paſſion. To obtain his purpoſe he employed ſome ladies of Tepaneca, and enjoined them when they viſited, as they were accuſtomed to do, that Mexican lady, to invite her to ſpend ſome days

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of pleaſure with them at Azcapozalco. Such viſits being frequent among perſons of the firſt rank, of different nations, it was not difficult for the abandoned prince to gain the opportunity he ſo much longed for, to ſatisfy his criminal paſſion; neither the tears nor efforts made by that virtuous Mexican in defence of her honour, were ſufficient to reſtrain him: ſhe returned to Mexico with ignominy, and pierced with the moſt affecting anguiſh to mourn with her huſband. The unfortunate king, either that he might not ſurvive his diſhonour, or that he might not die in the hands of the tyrant, reſolved to put an end to his wretched life, by dying a ſacrifice in honour of his God, Huitzilopochtli, as many pretended heroes of his nation had done, believing ſuch a death would cancel his diſhonour, at leaſt ſave him from ſome ignominious exit, which he dreaded from his enemy. He communicated this reſolution to his courtiers, who applauded it, from the extravagant ideas they entertained in matters of religion, and ſome of them even were willing to partake of the glory of ſo barbarous a ſacrifice.

SECT. XVI. Impriſonment and death of king Chimalpopoca.

The day appointed for this religious tragic ſcene being come, the king appeared dreſſed in the manner they uſually repreſented their God Huitzilopochtli, and all thoſe who were to accompany him were dreſſed alſo in their beſt habits. This religious ceremony began with a ſolemn ball; and while it laſted the prieſts ſacrificed the unhappy victims one after another, reſerving the king to the laſt. It was hardly poſſible ſuch a tranſaction could remain unknown to the tyrant; he knew it by anticipation, and that he might prevent his enemy eſcaping from his revenge by voluntary death, he ſent a body of troops to take him before he was ſacrificed. They arrived when there hardly remained two victims, after whom the king himſelf was to follow. This unhappy prince was ſeized by the Tepanecas, and conducted inſtantly to Azcapozalco, where he was put into a ſtrong cage of wood, which was the priſon uſed by theſe nations, as we ſhall mention hereafter, under cuſtody of ſtrong guards. In this event many circumſtances appear difficult to be credited: but we relate it as we find it told by the hiſtorians of Mexico. It is certainly much to be wondered at, that the Tepanecas ſhould have dared to enter into that city and attempt ſo dangerous an act; and that the Mexicans ſhould not have armed themſelves

ſelves in defence of their king; but the power of the tyrant may have, of itſelf, been ſufficient to encourage the Tepanecas and intimidate the Mexicans.

The taking of Chimalpopoca priſoner, excited freſh deſire in the mind of Maxtlaton to get the prince Nezahualcojotl alſo into his power; to effect this more eaſily he ſent for him under pretence of being willing to come to an agreement with him, reſpecting the crown of Acolhuacan. The diſcerning prince immediately penetrated the malevolent intention of the tyrant; but the ardour of youth, the courage and confidence of his ſoul, made him preſent himſelf intrepidly before the ſterneſt dangers. In paſſing through Tlatelolco, he payed a viſit to one of his confidents, named *Chichincatl*, by whom he was informed, that the tyrant was not only plotting againſt his life and the king of Tlatelolco, but, were it poſſible, deſired to annihilate the whole Acolhuan nation. Notwithſtanding this, in the evening the prince ſet out fearleſs for Azcapozalco, and went directly to the houſe of one of his friends. Early in the morning he waited on *Chachaton*, a great favourite of the tyrant, and by whom the prince himſelf was beloved, and recommended to him to diſſuade Maxtlaton from any deſign againſt his perſon. They went together to the palace; when Chachaton preceded to acquaint his lord of the arrival of the prince, and to ſpeak in his favour. The prince entered after, and when he had paid his obeiſance, thus ſpoke: "I know, my lord, that you have impriſoned the king of "Mexico, but I am ignorant whether you have made him ſuffer death, "or if he ſtill lives in priſon. I have heard, alſo, that it is your wiſh "to take away my life. If this is true, behold me before you; kill me "with your own hands, and gratify the malice which you bear to a "prince not leſs innocent than unfortunate." While he ſpoke theſe words, the memory of his misfortunes forced tears from his eyes. "What is your opinion?" ſaid Maxtlaton, then to his favourite, "Is it "not ſtrange that a youth, who has hardly begun to enjoy life, ſhould "ſeek death ſo daringly?" Turning to the prince, he aſſured him, that he was forming no deſign againſt his life, that the king of Mexico was not dead, nor would be put to death by him; and endeavoured to juſtify the impriſonment of that unfortunate king. He then gave orders that the prince ſhould be properly entertained.

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Chimalpopoca being acquainted of the arrival of the prince who was his couſin, at court, ſent to requeſt a viſit from him in priſon. The prince having firſt obtained the permiſſion of Maxtlaton, went to him, and upon his entering the priſon, embraced him, and both of them ſhewed much tenderneſs in their looks and expreſſions. Chimalpopoca related to him the ſeries of inſults and wrongs which he had ſuffered, and convinced him of the malevolent deſigns of the tyrant againſt them both, and entreated him not to return again to the court; as their cruel enemy would infallibly contrive his death, and the Acolhuan nation would be utterly abandoned. At laſt he ſaid, "As my death is inevitable, I beſeech you moſt earneſtly take care of my poor Mexicans, be "to them a true friend and father. In token of the love which I bear "you, accept of this pendant which I had from my brother Huitzilihuitl;" upon which he took a pendant of gold from his lip, and preſented it with ear-rings and ſome other jewels which he had preſerved in priſon; and to a ſervant of the prince he gave a few other things. They then affectionately took leave of each other, that they might not excite ſuſpicion by a longer conference. Nezahualcojotl, uſing the advice which was given him, left the court without delay, and never after preſented himſelf before the tyrant. He went to Tlatelolco, where he took a veſſel with good rowers, and got ſpeedily to Tezcuco.

Chimalpopoca remained in comfortleſs ſolitude brooding over his misfortunes. Impriſonment became daily more inſupportable to him; he had not the ſmalleſt hope of recovering his liberty, nor of being of any ſervice to his nation during the little time he had to live. "If at "laſt," he ſaid, "I am to die here, will it not be preferable, and more "glorious to die by my own than by the hands of a cruel and perfidious "tyrant? If I can have no other revenge, I ſhall at leaſt deprive him of "the pleaſure which he would take in appointing the time and mode "of death which muſt finiſh my unhappy days. I ſhall be the diſpoſer "of my own life, chuſe the time and manner of my death, as it will "be attended with ſo much the leſs ignominy, the leſs the will of my "enemy ſhall influence and direct it (x)." In this reſolution, which was entirely conformable to the ideas of thoſe nations, he hanged him-

(x) Theſe laſt words of Chimalpopoca, handed down by the hiſtorians of Mexico, were known from the depoſitions of the guards who ſurrounded the cage or priſon.

ſelf

ſelf upon a ſmall beam of the cage or priſon, making uſe, moſt probably, of his girdle for that purpoſe.

Thus tragic an end had the unfortunate life of the third king of Mexico. We have no more particular accounts of his character, or the progreſs the nation made during his reign, which laſted about thirteen years, being concluded in 1423, about a year after the death of Tezozomoc. We know only that in the eleventh year of his reign, he ordered a great ſtone to be brought to Mexico, to ſerve as an altar for the ordinary ſacrifice of priſoners, and a larger round one, for gladiatorian ſacrifices, of which we ſhall ſpeak hereafter. In the fourth painting of Mendoza's collection, are repreſented the different victories which the Mexicans obtained during the reign of Chimalpopoca, the cities of Chalco, and Tequizquiac, and the naval engagement which they had with the Chalcheſe, with the loſs of their people, and the veſſels overſet by the enemy. The interpreter of that collection adds, that Chimalpopoca left many children whom he had by his concubines.

SECT. XVI. Impriſonment and death of Chimalpopoca.

As ſoon as Maxtlaton knew of the death of his noble priſoner, he roſe in wrath at the diſappointment of his projects; and leſt that Nezahualcojotl might alſo elude his revenge, he determined to anticipate death to him by whatever means he could, which he would have done before, could he have accompliſhed it in the manner enjoined by his father, or had he not been intimidated, as ſome hiſtorians affirm, by certain auguries of the prieſts; but his paſſion now ſurmounted all reſtraints of religion; he ordered four of his moſt able captains to go in queſt of the prince, and take his life, without remiſſion, wherever they ſhould find him. The Tepanecan captains ſet out with a ſmall party only, that rumour might not prevent their coming up with their ſpoil, and proceeded directly to Tezcuco, where, as they arrived, Nezahualcojotl was diverting himſelf at foot-ball with one of his familiars, named Ocelotl. Wherever the prince went to gain adherents to his party, he ſpent great part of his time at balls, games, and other amuſements, that the governors of thoſe places, who watched his conduct by order of the tyrant, and obſerved all his ſteps, ſeeing him taken up with paſtimes, might be perſuaded that he had dropt all thoughts of the crown, and gradually neglect to attend to him. By theſe means he carried on his negociations without creating the ſlighteſt ſuſpicion. On

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this occaſion, before the captains entered his houſe, he knew that they were Tepanecas, and that they came armed: this made him apprehend what they might intend, upon which he left off play, and retired to his innermoſt apartment. Being informed, afterwards, by his porter, that the Tepanecas enquired for him, he ordered Ocelotl to receive them, and to acquaint them that he would attend them as ſoon as they had repoſed and refreſhed themſelves. The Tepanecas did not imagine that by delaying they would loſe the opportunity of ſtriking their blow, and poſſibly alſo durſt not execute their commiſſion, as they were uncertain whether there were not attendants in the houſe ſufficient to oppoſe them; after ſome repoſe, therefore, they ſat down to table, and while they were refreſhing, the prince fled by a ſecret door, and travelled ſomething more than a mile to Coatitlan, a ſmall ſettlement of weavers, the people of which were all faithful and affectionate to him, and there concealed himſelf *(y)*. The Tepanecas having waited a conſiderable time without the prince or his domeſtic making their appearance, they ſearched over the whole houſe, but no perſon could give any account of him. At length being perſuaded of his flight, they ſet out inſtantly in ſearch of him, and being informed by a countryman, in the road to Coatitlan, that he had taken refuge in that place, they entered there with their arms in their hands, threatening the inhabitants with death if they did not diſcover the fugitive prince; but no perſon was found who would make this diſcovery; and ſo uncommon was their example of fidelity, ſome were put to death for the refuſal. Amongſt thoſe who made ſacrifices of their lives to preſerve their prince, were *Tochmantzin* the ſuperintendant of all the looms of Coatitlan, and *Matlalintzin*, a woman of noble rank. The Tepanecas not being able, notwithſtanding the utmoſt diligence in their ſearch, and the cruelty they exerciſed againſt the inhabitants, to find out the prince, went in queſt of him through the country. Nezahualcojotl ſet out alſo another way, and took a directly contrary route to his adverſaries; but as they ſought

(*y*) Torquemada ſays the prince went out of his houſe by a kind of labyrinth, through which no perſon unacquainted with it could find his way. The prince and ſome of his moſt particular confidants only knew the ſecret of it. It is not at all incredible that he ſhould have deſigned ſuch a maze, as his genius was ſuperior and himſelf diſtinguiſhed above all his countrymen, in talents and penetration.

for

for him every where, he was in great hazard of falling into their hands, had he not been hid by ſome countrymen, under a heap of the herb chia, which was lying upon a threſhing floor.

The prince finding himſelf ſafe from this danger, went to paſs the night at Tezcotzinco, a pleaſant villa formed by his anceſtors for recreation. There he was waited for by ſix lords, who had left their ſtates, and were traverſing through the different cities of the kingdom. There they held a ſecret counſel that night, and reſolved to ſolicit the aſſiſtance of the Chalcheſe, although they had been accomplices in the death of king Ixtlilixochitl. The next morning early, he proceeded to Matlallan and other places, intimating to thoſe of his party to be prepared with arms by the time of his return. Two days were employed in theſe negociations, and on the evening of the ſecond he was met at Apan by the ambaſſadors of the Cholulans, who offered to aſſiſt him in war againſt the tyrant. Here he was joined alſo by two lords of his party, who communicated to him the unfortunate intelligence of the death of his favourite Huitzilihuitl, who was put to the torture by the tyrant, that he might reveal ſome ſecrets; but being too loyal to his maſter to diſcover them, he died a martyr to his fidelity. Full of this diſguſt he paſſed from Apan to Huexotzinco, the lord of which was his relation, and received him with infinite affection and kindneſs, and promiſed to aſſiſt him alſo with all his forces. From thence he went to Tlaſcala, where he was moſt nobly treated, and in that city the time and place was agreed upon at which the troops of Cholula, Huexotzinco, and Tlaſcala were to be aſſembled. When he departed from this laſt city to go to Capollalpan, a place ſituated about half way between Tlaſcala and Tezcuco, ſo many nobles accompanied him, he appeared more like a king who was going to take pleaſure with his court, than a fugitive prince who was endeavouring to render himſelf maſter of the crown which was uſurped from him. In Capollalpan, he received the anſwer of the Chalcheſe, in which they declared themſelves ready to aſſiſt and ſerve their lawful lord againſt the iniquitous uſurper. It is probable the cruelty and inſolence of the tyrant alienated many from him; the Chalcheſe, beſides, were very inconſtant and apt to attach themſelves ſometimes to the one, and ſometimes to the other party; as will appear in the courſe of our hiſtory.

SECT. XVII. Negociations of Nezahual coyotl to obtain the crown.

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SECT. XVIII. Itzcoatl fourth king of Mexico.

While Nezahualcojotl continued rouſing the nations to war, the Mexicans finding themſelves without a king, and harraſſed by the Tepanecas, reſolved to appoint a chief to their nation, who would be capable of checking the inſolence of the tyrant, and revenging the many wrongs they had ſuffered. Having aſſembled, therefore, to elect a new king, a reſpectable veteran thus addreſſed the other electors. "By the death "of your laſt king, O noble Mexicans, the light of your eyes has failed "you; but you have ſtill thoſe of reaſon left to chuſe a fit ſucceſſor. "The nobility of Mexico is not extinct with Chimalpopoca; his bro- "thers are ſtill remaining, who are moſt excellent princes, among "whom you may chuſe a lord to govern you, and a father to protect "you. Imagine that for a little time the ſun is eclipſed, and that the "earth is darkened, but that light will return again with the new king. "It is of the greateſt importance that, without long conferences, we "elect a prince who may re-eſtabliſh the honour of our nation, may "vindicate the wrongs done to it, and reſtore to it its ancient liberty." They proceeded quickly to the election, and choſe by unanimous conſent prince Itzcoatl, brother, by the father's ſide, to the two preceding kings, and natural ſon of Acamapitzin by a ſlave. Whatever the low condition of his mother took from his claim, the nobility and reputation of his father, and, ſtill more, his own virtues, ſupplied; of theſe he gave many proofs in the poſt of general of the Mexican armies, which he had filled for more than thirty years. He was allowed to be the moſt prudent, juſt, and brave perſon of all the Mexican nation. Being placed on the *Tlatocaicpalli*, or royal ſeat, he was ſaluted as king by all the nobles, with loud acclamations. One of their orators then held a diſcourſe on the duties of a ſovereign, in which, among other things, he ſaid, "All, O great king and lord, all now feel themſelves dependent "on you. On your ſhoulders muſt the orphans, the widows, and the "aged be ſupported. Will you be capable of laying down and aban- "doning this burden? Will you permit the infants who are yet walking "on their four feet, to periſh by the hands of our enemies? Courage, "great lord, begin and ſpread your mantle that you may carry the poor "Mexicans on your back, who flatter themſelves they will live ſecure "under the freſh ſhade of your benignity." The ceremony being concluded, they celebrated the acceſſion of the new monarch, with balls and

and public diverſions. Nezahualcojotl and all his party did not give leſs applauſe, as no one doubted of the new king being the faithful ally of the prince his relation; and hoped to reap great advantages from his ſuperior military ſkill and bravery; but the election was not a little diſpleaſing to the Tepanecas and their allies, and eſpecially to the tyrant.

Itzcoatl, who was zealouſly bent on relieving the diſtreſſes which his nation ſuffered from the oppreſſive dominion of the Tepanecas, ſent an ambaſſador to the prince Nezahualcojotl, to acquaint him of his exaltation to the throne, and to give him aſſurances of his determination to unite all his forces with the prince againſt the tyrant Maxtlaton. This embaſſy, which was carried by a grandſon of the king, was received by Nezahualcojotl, after he had departed from Capollalpan; upon which he returned congratulations to his couſin, and gratefully accepted the aid which he promiſed.

The whole time which the prince remained in Capollalpan was employed in preparations for war. When it appeared to him to be time to put all his deſigns in execution, he ſet out with his people and the auxiliary troops of Tlaſcala and Huexotzinco, having reſolved to take the city of Tezcuco by aſſault, and puniſh its inhabitants for their infidelity to him during his adverſity. He made a halt with his whole army in ſight of the city, at a place called Oztopolco. There he paſſed the night ordering his troops, and making the neceſſary diſpoſitions for the attack, and in the morning marched towards the city; but before he reached it, the inhabitants, from apprehenſions of the ſevere chaſtiſement which threatened them, came ſubmiſſively to meet him; to ſoften his reſentment they preſented their aged ſick, their pregnant women, and mothers with infants in their arms, who, in the midſt of tears and other tokens of diſtreſs, thus addreſſed him: "Have pity, O moſt merciful prince, "on theſe your afflicted ſervants, who tremble for their fate. In what "have they offended, who are feeble with age, or theſe poor women "and theſe helpleſs children? Do not mix in ruin with the guilty "thoſe who had no part in the offences which you would revenge." The prince, who was moved at the ſight of ſo many objects of compaſſion, immediately granted a pardon to the city; but at the ſame time detached a party of troops, and commanded their officers to enter it and put the governor and other ſervants who had been eſtabliſhed there by

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by the tyrant, and every Tepaneca they ſhould meet with, to death. Whilſt this ſevere punithment was paſſing at Tezcuco, the troops of the Tlaſcalans and Huexotzincas, which had been detached from the main army, made a furious attack on the city of Acolman; they made a general ſlaughter of all whom they met, until they advanced to the houſe of the lord of that city, who was a brother of the tyrant; he having no forces ſufficient to defend himſelf, was ſlain among the reſt of their enemies. On the ſame day the Chalcheſe, who were alſo auxiliaries of the prince, fell upon the city of Coatlichan, took it without oppoſition, and put its governor to death, who had taken refuge in the greater temple; thus, in one ſingle day, the capital and two other conſiderable cities of the kingdom of Acolhuacan, were reduced under obedience to the prince.

SECT. XIX. Occurrences to Montezuma Ilhuicamina.

The king of Mexico being acquainted with the ſucceſſes of his couſin, ſent another embaſſy to congratulate him and confirm their alliance. He entruſted this embaſſy to one of his grandſons, a ſon of king Huitzilihuitl, called *Monteuczoma*, or *Montezuma*, a youth of great ſtrength of body and invincible courage, whoſe immortal actions obtained him the name of *Tlacaele*, or Man of great Heart, and that of *Ilhuicamina*, or Archer of Heaven; and to diſtinguiſh him in the ancient paintings, they repreſented over his head, the heavens pierced with an arrow, as appears in the ſeventh and eighth pictures of Mendoza's Collection, and as we ſhall ſhew among the figures of the kings of Mexico. This is the ſame hero of Mexico, whom Acoſta has ſo much celebrated under the name of *Tlacaellel*, or rather Tobar, from whom the other took his character, although miſtaken in many actions which he attributes to him (z). The king as well as his grandſon, ſaw the danger of the enterprize; as the tyrant, to obſtruct the progreſs of his rival, and his communication with the Mexicans, had made himſelf maſter of the roads; but the king for this neither delayed to ſend the embaſſy, nor did Montezuma diſcover the leaſt cowardly

(z) Acoſta, or Tobar rather, is not only miſtaken in many actions which he attributes to this hero, but alſo in regard to his identity; as he conſiders Tlacaelell to be a different perſon from Montezuma, who was called by two, and even three different names. He alſo makes Tlacaellel grandſon of Itzcoatl, and at the ſame time uncle of Montezuma; which is evidently abſurd; as it is known that Montezuma was ſon of Huitzilihuitl, brother of Itzcoatl; of courſe he could not be the grandſon of the grandſon of Itzcoatl.

appre-

apprehenſions; on the contrary, that he might execute the orders of his ſovereign more ſpeedily, when he left the king he avoided returning to his houſe to equip himſelf with neceſſaries for his journey, but ſet out immediately on his way, giving in charge to another noble, who was to accompany him, the carrying of ſuch cloaths as were neceſſary to preſent himſelf before the prince.

Having ſafely delivered his embaſſy, he took leave of the prince to return to Mexico, but in the way fell into an ambuſcade laid by his enemies, was taken priſoner with all his attendants, conducted to Chalco, and preſented to *Toteotzin*, lord of that city, and an inveterate enemy of the Mexicans. Here he was immediately ſhut up in a cloſe priſon, under the care of *Quateotzin*, a very reſpectable perſon, who was ordered to provide no ſuſtenance for the priſoners but what his lord preſcribed, until the mode of death was determined, by which their days were to be concluded. Quateotzin revolting at the inhumanity of ſuch orders, ſupplied them liberally at his own expence. But the cruel Toteotzin, thinking to pay a piece of flattering homage to the Huexotzincas, ſent his priſoners to them, that, if they judged proper, they might be ſacrificed in Huexotzinco with the aſſiſtance of the Chalcheſe, or in Chalco with the aſſiſtance of the Huexotzincas. The Huexotzincas, who were always more humane than the Chalcheſe, rejected the propoſal with diſdain. "Why ſhould we deprive men of their lives "who have committed no crime, unleſs that of acting as faithful meſ-"ſengers to their lord; and if they merited to die, we can derive no "honour from putting priſoners to death which do not belong to us. "Return in peace, and inform your lord that the nobility of Huexot-"zinco will not render themſelves infamous by acts ſo unworthy of "them."

The Chalcheſe returned with the priſoners and this anſwer to Toteotzin, who being determined to procure himſelf friends by means of his priſoners, gave information of them to Maxtlaton; leaving it to him to decide their fate, and truſting, by this reſpectful adulation, to calm the anger and indignation which his treachery and inconſtancy in abandoning the party of the Tepanecas, for the prince Nezahualcojotl, muſt have excited in the tyrant. While he waited the anſwer of Maxtlaton, he ordered the priſoners to be ſhut up again in the ſame priſon.

BOOK III. and under cuſtody of the ſame Quateotzin. He compaſſionating the deſtiny of a youth ſo illuſtrious and brave, in the evening preceding the day on which the anſwer from Azcapozalco was expected, called one of his ſervants to him, whoſe fidelity he could truſt, and ordered him to ſet the priſoners at liberty that evening, and to acquaint Montezuma from him, that he had come to the reſolution of ſaving his life, although at the viſible riſk of loſing his own; that if he ſhould die for it, which he had reaſon to fear would be his fate, Montezuma, he hoped, would not fail to ſhew his gratitude, by protecting the children whom he left behind him; laſtly, he adviſed him not to return by land to Mexico, otherwiſe he would again be taken by the guards which were poſted in the way, but to go through Iztapallocan to Chimalhuacan, and from thence to embark for his own city.

The faithful ſervant executed the order, and Montezuma followed the advice of Quateotzin. They went out of priſon that night, and cautiouſly took the road to Chimalhuacan, where they remained concealed all the next day, living on raw vegetables for want of other food; at night they embarked, and tranſported themſelves ſwiftly to Mexico, where, as it was ſuppoſed, they had already met with death from the enemy, they were received with ſingular welcome and joy.

As ſoon as the barbarous Toteotzin was informed that the priſoners were eſcaped, he was tranſported with paſſion, and as he did not in the leaſt doubt that Quateotzin had been the author of their liberty, he ordered inſtant death to him, and his body to be quartered; ſparing neither his wife nor even his children; only one ſon and one daughter were ſaved. She took ſhelter in Mexico, where ſhe was greatly reſpected on account of her father, who, by the generous forfeiture of his life, had rendered ſo important a ſervice to the Mexican nation.

Toteotzin experienced another galling diſappointment from the anſwer of Maxtlaton. He being enraged againſt the Chalcheſe for the aſſiſtance they gave to Nezahualcojotl, and the ſlaughter they committed in Coatlichan, ſent a ſevere reprimand to Toteotzin, calling him a double-minded traitor, and ordering him to ſet the priſoners at liberty without delay. Such returns muſt perfidious flatterers expect. Maxtlaton did not adopt this reſolution with intent to favour the Mexicans whom

whom he hated in the utmoſt degree, but ſolely to ſhew his contempt for the homage of Totcotzin, and to thwart his inclination. So far was he from a wiſh to favour the Mexican nation, that he was never ſo much bent on effecting their ruin as at this time, and had already collected troops to pour a deciſive blow on Mexico, that from thence he might proceed to regain all that Nezahualcojotl had taken from him. This prince knowing ſuch deſigns of Maxtlaton, went to Mexico to conſult with its prudent king on the conduct of the war, and the meaſures that ſhould be taken to baffle the intentions of the tyrant, and agreed to unite the Tezcucan troops, with thoſe of Mexico, in defence of that city, on the fortune of which the ſucceſs of the war ſeemed to depend.

The rumour of the approaching war ſpread infinite conſternation among the Mexican populace; conceiving themſelves incapable of reſiſting the power of the Tepanecas, whom they had till now acknowledged their ſuperiors, they went in crouds to the king, diſſuading him with tears and intreaties from undertaking ſo dangerous a war, which would infallibly occaſion the downfal of their city and nation. "What "can be done then," ſaid the king, "to free us from theſe impending "calamities." "Demand peace," replied the populace, "from the "king of Azcapozalco, and make offers of ſervice to him; and to "move him to clemency, let our god be borne on the ſhoulders of the "prieſts into his preſence." So great was their clamour, accompanied with threats, that the prudent king who feared a ſedition amongſt the people which might prove more fatal in its conſequences than the war with the enemy, was obliged, contrary to his wiſhes, to yield to their requeſt. Montezuma who was preſent, and could not bear that a nation, which boaſted ſo much of its honour, ſhould purſue ſo ignoble a courſe, ſpoke thus to the people. "O ye Mexicans, what "would ye do? Have ye loſt all judgment? How has ſuch cowardice "ſtole into your hearts? Have you forgot poſſibly that you are Mexicans, "and deſcendants of thoſe heroes who founded this city, and of thoſe "brave men who have protected it in ſpite of all our enemies? Change "your opinions then, or renounce the glory you inherit from your an-"ceſtors." Turning afterwards to the king; "How, ſir, will you per-"mit ſuch ignominy to ſtain the character of your people? Speak to

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" them again, and tell them, that there is another ſtep to be taken " before we ſo weakly and diſhonourably put ourſelves into the hands " of our enemies."

The king, who wiſhed for nothing more ardently, addreſſed the populace, recommending the counſel of Montezuma, which was at laſt favourably received. The king, then addreſſing the nobility, ſaid, " Which of ye, who are the flower of the nation, will be fearleſs " enough to carry an embaſſy to the lord of the Tepanecas?" They all looked at each other, but no one durſt offer to encounter the danger; until Montezuma, whom youthful intrepidity inſpired, preſented himſelf, ſaying, " I will carry the embaſſy; as death muſt one time " or other be met with, it is of little moment whether to-day or to- " morrow; no better opportunity can preſent itſelf of dying with ho- " nour than the ſacrificing my life for the welfare of my nation? Be- " hold me, ſir, ready to execute your commands: order, and I obey." The king, much pleaſed with his courage, ordered him to go and propoſe peace to the tyrant, but to accept of no diſhonourable conditions. The valiant youth ſet out inſtantly, and meeting with the Tepanecan guards, perſuaded them to let him paſs with an embaſſy of the utmoſt importance to their lord. Having preſented himſelf before the tyrant, in the name of his king and his nation, he demanded peace on honourable terms. The tyrant anſwered, that it was neceſſary to deliberate with his counſellors, but on the day following he would return a deciſive anſwer. Montezuma having aſked him for protection and ſecurity during his ſtay, could obtain no other than his own caution might procure him; upon which he went back immediately to Mexico, promiſing to return the day after. The little confidence he had in that court, and the ſhortneſs of the journey, which did not exceed four miles, muſt unqueſtionably have been his motive for not ſtaying for the final anſwer of the tyrant. He returned, therefore, to Azcapozalco the next day as he had promiſed, and having heard from the mouth of Maxtlaton his reſolution for war, he performed the ceremonies commonly practiſed by two lords who challenge each other, namely, preſenting certain defenſive arms to him, anointing his head, and fixing feathers upon it in the ſame manner as is done with dead perſons; and laſtly, proteſting in the name of his king, that as he would

would not accept the peace which was offered to him, he, and all the Tepanecas would inevitably be ruined. The tyrant, without manifeſting any diſpleaſure at ſuch ceremonies, or at the threats uſed to him, gave Montezuma alſo arms to preſent to the king of Mexico, and directed him, for the ſecurity of his perſon, to return in diſguiſe through a ſmall outlet from his palace. He would not have obſerved ſo ſtrictly at this time the rights of nations, if he could have foreſeen that this ambaſſador, of whoſe life he was ſo careful, was to prove the chief inſtrument of his downfal. Montezuma profited by his advice; but as ſoon as he ſaw himſelf out of danger he began to inſult the guards, reproaching them for their negligence, and threatening them with their ſpeedy deſtruction. The guards ruſhed violently upon him to kill him; but he ſo bravely defended himſelf, that he killed one or two of them, and on the approach of others he retreated precipitately to Mexico, bearing the news that war was declared, and that the chiefs of the two nations had challenged each other.

SECT. XXI. War againſt the tyrant.

With this intelligence the populace were again thrown into conſternation, and repaired to the king to requeſt his permiſſion to abandon their city; believing their ruin was certain. The king comforted and encouraged them with hopes of victory. "But if we are conquered," ſaid the populace, "what will become of us?" "If that happens," anſwered the king, "we are that moment bound to deliver ourſelves "into your hands to be made ſacrifices at your pleaſure." "So be it," replied the populace, "if we are conquered: but if we obtain the vic- "tory, we, and our deſcendants are bound to be tributary to you, to "cultivate your lands, and thoſe of the nobles, to build your houſes, "and to carry for you, when you go to war, your arms and your bag- "gage." This contract being made between the nobles and the people, and the command of the Mexican troops being given to the brave Montezuma, the king conveyed ſpeedy advice to Nezahualcojotl, to repair with his army immediately to Mexico, which he did a day before the battle.

It cannot be doubted, that the Mexicans had before this time conſtructed the roads which ſerved for a more eaſy communication to the city with the continent; as otherwiſe the movement and ſkirmiſhes of the two armies are not to be comprehended: we know from hiſtory,

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that ſuch roads were interſected by ditches, with drawbridges over them, but no hiſtorian mentions the time of their conſtruction *(a)*. It is not a little wonderful, that the Mexicans, during a life of ſo many hardſhips, ſhould have had the ſpirit to undertake and conſtancy to execute a work of ſuch magnitude and difficulty.

The following day, upon the arrival of the prince Nezahualcojotl at Mexico, the Tepanecan army appeared in the field in great numbers and brilliancy, being adorned with plates of gold, and wearing beautiful plumes of feathers on their heads, to add to the appearance of their ſtature. As they marched they made frequent ſhouts, in boaſtful anticipation of victory. Their army was commanded by a famous general called *Mazatl*. The tyrant Maxtlaton, although he had accepted the challenge, did not think proper to leave his palace, either becauſe he believed he would degrade himſelf by going to combat with the king of Mexico, or, which is more probable, becauſe he dreaded the event of the war. As ſoon as the Mexicans were informed of the motions of the Tepanecas, they went out well ordered to meet them, and the ſignal for engagement being given by king Itzcoatl, by the ſound of a little drum which he carried on his ſhoulder, the armies attacked each other with incredible fury, each being firmly perſuaded that the iſſue of the battle would determine their fate. During the greateſt part of the day it was not to be diſcerned to which ſide victory inclined, the Tepanecas loſing in one place what they gained in another. But a little before the ſetting ſun, the Mexican populace obſerving the enemy continually increaſed by new reinforcements, began to be diſmayed, and to complain of their chiefs, ſaying to each other, " What are " we about, O Mexicans, ſhall we do well in ſacrificing our lives to " the ambition of our king and our general ? How much more prudent " will it be to ſurrender ourſelves, humbly acknowledging our raſhneſs, " that we may obtain pardon and the favour of our lives ?"

The king, who heard theſe words with much vexation, and perceived his troops ſtill more diſcouraged by them, called a council of the prince and general, to take their advice what ſhould be done to diſſipate the

(a) I believe the Mexicans had before this time conſtructed the roads of Tacuba and Tepeyacac, but not that of Iztapallapan, which is larger than thoſe, and where the lake is deeper.

fears

fears of the people. "What?" anſwered Montezuma; "To fight till "death. If we die with our arms in our hands, defending our liberty, "we will do our duty. If we ſurvive our defeat, we will remain covered "with eternal confuſion. Let us go then, let us fight till we die." The cries of the Mexicans began already to prevail as if they had been conquered, ſome of them being even ſo mean-ſpirited as to call out to their enemies, "O ye brave Tepanecas, lords of the continent, calm your "indignation; for now we ſurrender. Here before your eyes we will ſa-"crifice our chiefs, to gain your pardon to our raſhneſs which their am-"bition has occaſioned." The king, the prince, the general, and nobles, were ſo enraged at theſe ſpeeches, that they would inſtantly have puniſhed the cowards with death, had not the fear of giving victory to the enemy reſtrained them. Diſſembling their diſpleaſure, they exclaimed with one voice, "Let us die with glory," and ruſhed with ſuch vigour upon the enemy, that they repulſed them from a ditch which they had gained, and made them retreat. Seeing this advantage, the king began to encourage his people, and the prince and general continued to perform ſignal acts of bravery. In the utmoſt heat of the engagement Montezuma encountered with the Tepanecan general, as he was advancing full of pride from the terror his troops ſtruck to the Mexicans, and gave him ſo furious a blow on the head, that he fell down lifeleſs at his feet. The report of the victory ſpread immediately through the whole field, and inſpired the Mexicans with freſh courage: but the Tepanecas were ſo diſconcerted by the death of their brave general Mazatl, that they ſoon went into confuſion. Night coming on prevented the Mexicans from purſuing their ſucceſs: upon which both the armies withdrew to their cities, the Mexicans full of courage, and impatient at not being able, from the darkneſs of the night, to complete their victory; the Tepanecas downcaſt and dejected, though not altogether void of hope to be revenged the following day.

Maxtlaton, afflicted at the death of his general, and the defeat of his troops, paſſed that night the laſt of his life, in encouraging his captains, and repreſenting to them on the one hand the glory of triumphing over their enemies, and on the other the misfortunes which muſt enſue if they were vanquiſhed; as the Mexicans, who had hitherto

been

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been tributary to the Tepanecas, if they remained victors, would compel the Tepanecas to pay a tribute to them (*b*).

SECT. XXII. Conqueſt of Azcapozalco, and death of the tyrant Maxtlaton.

The day at length arrived which was to decide the fate of three kings. Both armies took the field, and began battle with uncommon fury, which continued with much fierceneſs and heat till mid-day. The Mexicans being emboldened from the advantages obtained the preceding day, as well as from a firm belief which poſſeſſed them of coming off victorious, made ſuch havock of the enemy, that they ſtrewed the field with dead bodies, defeated them, put them to flight, and purſued them into the city of Azcapozalco, ſpreading death and terror in every quarter. The Tepanecas, perceiving that even in their houſes they could not eſcape from the fury of the victors, fled to the mountains, which lie from ten to twelve miles diſtance from Azcapozalco. The proud Maxtlaton, who, until that day, had looked with contempt upon his enemies, and conceived himſelf ſuperior to all ſtrokes of fortune, ſeeing the Mexicans had entered his court, and hearing the cries of the vanquiſhed, unable to make any reſiſtance, and fearing to be overtaken if he attempted to fly, hid himſelf in a *temazcalli*, or ciſtus; but as the conquerors ſought for him every where, they at laſt found him: no prayers nor tears with which he implored their mercy could prevail; they beat him to death with ſticks and ſtones, and threw his body out into the fields to feed the birds of prey. Such was the tragic end of Maxtlaton before he had completed three years of his tyranny. Thus did they put a ſtop to his injuſtice, his cruelty, his ambition, and treachery, and the heavy wrongs done by him to the lawful heir of the kingdom of Acolhuacan, to his brother Tajatzin, and to the kings of Mexico. His memory is odious and execrable among the annals of thoſe nations.

This memorable event which totally altered the ſyſtem of thoſe kingdoms, ſignalized the year 1425, of the vulgar era, preciſely one century after the foundation of Mexico.

(*b*) From theſe expreſſions of the tyrant it is to be inferred, that when he made himſelf maſter of the crown of Azcapozalco, by the aſſaſſination of his brother Tajatzin, he reſumed the impoſition of that tribute on the Mexicans, which had been remitted them by his father Tezozomoc.

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The next night the victors were employed in sacking the city, in destroying the houses, and burning the temples, leaving that once so celebrated court in a state of desolation not to be repaired in many years. While the Mexicans and Acolhuas were gathering the fruits of their victory, the detachment of Tlascalans and Huexotzencas took the ancient court of Tenajuca by assault, and the day after joined the army to take the city of *Cuetlachtepec*.

The fugitive Tepanecas, finding themselves reduced to the utmost distress in the mountains, and afraid of being persecuted even there by the victors, at last thought of surrendering themselves and imploring mercy; and that they might be more certain of obtaining it, sent off an illustrious personage, in company with other nobles of the Tepanecan nation, to the king of Mexico. This ambassador humbly demanded pardon of the king in the name of his countrymen, offered obedience to him, and promised that all the Tepanecas would acknowledge him as their lawful lord, and would serve him as vassals. He congratulated them on their good fortune in the midst of the terrible shock which their nation had suffered of being subjected to so amiable a prince, who was endued with so many excellent qualities, and at last concluded his address with an earnest prayer, that they might be granted the favour of life, and liberty to return to their habitations. Itzcoatl received them with the utmost complacency, granted them all they asked, professed himself ready to receive them, not only as his subjects but as his children, and to discharge all the offices of a true father to them; but at the same time threatened them with total extirpation if they violated the fidelity which they swore to him. Their demand being granted, the fugitives returned to rebuild their habitations and attend to their families; and from that time continued always subject to the king of Mexico, affording in their disaster another example of those changes and vicissitude common to all human affairs. But the whole of the Tepanecan nation was not reduced under obedience to the conqueror: Cojohuacan, a considerable state and city of that people, continued for some time refractory in their conduct as will afterwards appear.

The king Itzcoatl, after this famous conquest, ordered a ratification of the compact entered into between the nobility and the populace; by which the last were bound to perpetual services, which they rendered

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dered regularly in future; but thoſe who by their clamours and complaints had been the cauſe of diſcouraging others during battle, were diſmembered from the body of the nation and the ſtate of Mexico, and baniſhed for their meanneſs and cowardice for ever. To Montezuma, and others, who had diſtinguiſhed themſelves in the war, he gave a part of the conquered lands, and aſſigned a portion alſo to the prieſts for their ſupport; and after having given proper orders for the ſecurity and eſtabliſhment of his dominion, he returned with his army to Mexico, to celebrate the ſucceſs of his arms with public rejoicings, and to offer thanks to the gods for their ſuppoſed protection.

BOOK IV.

Re-eſtabliſhment of the Royal Family of the Chechemecas upon the Throne of Acolhuacan. Foundation of the Monarchy of Tacuba. The Triple Alliance of the Kings of Mexico, Acolhuacan, and Tacuba. Conqueſts and Death of King Itzcoatl. Conqueſts and Events of the Mexicans under their Kings Montezuma I. and Axajacatl. War between the Mexicans and Tlatelolcas. Conqueſt of Tlatelolco, and Death of the King Moquihuix. Government, Death, and Eulogium of Nezahualcojotl, and Acceſſion of his Son Nezahualpilli.

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SECT. I. Re-eſtabliſhment of the royal family of the Chechemecas on the throne of Acolhuacan.

AS ſoon as Itzcoatl found himſelf firm upon his throne, and in quiet poſſeſſion of Azcapozalco, that he might make a return to the prince Nezahualcojotl for the aſſiſtance he gave in the defence of Mexico, and the conqueſt of the Tepanecas, he determined to aid him in perſon in the recovery of the kingdom of Acolhuacan. If the King of Mexico had been willing to liſten to ambition rather than the calls of honour and juſtice, he would not have failed to find pretences to make himſelf maſter alſo of that kingdom. Chimalpopoca had been put in poſſeſſion of Tezcuco, by the tyrant Tezozomoc, and had commanded as lord of that court. Itzcoatl, who had entered into all the rights of his predeceſſor, might well have conſidered that ſtate to have been incorporated for ſome years paſt with the crown of Mexico. On the other hand he had lawfully acquired Azcapozalco, and ſubjected the Tepanecas, and appeared to have a title to all the rights of the conquered; which were thought to have been ſufficiently eſtabliſhed by twelve years poſſeſſion, and the general acquieſcence of the people. But availing himſelf of no ſuch pretences, he ſincerely deſired to place Nezahualcojotl on the throne which by lawful ſucceſſion was due to him, and which he had been deprived of for ſo many years by the uſurpation of the Tepanecas.

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After the defeat of the Tepanecas there were ſeveral cities in the kingdom which were unwilling to ſubmit to the prince, from apprehenſions of the chaſtiſement they merited. Huexotla was one of this number, in the neighbourhood of Tezcuco, the lord of which, *Huetzinahuatl* (*a*), continued obſtinately rebellious. The confederate troops left Mexico, and directing their courſe through the plains, which at preſent go by the name of *Santa Marta*, made a halt in Chimalhuacan, from whence the king and prince ſent an offer of pardon to thoſe citizens if they would ſurrender, and threatening to ſet fire to their city if they perſiſted in rebellion; but the rebels, inſtead of accepting the terms offered them, went out in order of battle againſt the royal army. The conflict was not laſting; the lord of that city being taken by the invincible Montezuma, the rebel force was put to flight, and afterwards came humbly to aſk pardon, preſenting according to cuſtom, their pregnant women, their children, and old people to the conqueror, to move him to mercy. At length the way to the throne of Acolhuacan being laid open, and the prince being placed there, the auxiliary troops of Huexotzinco and Tlaſcala were diſmiſſed with many marks of gratitude and a conſiderable ſhare of the plunder of Axcapozalco.

SECT. II. Conqueſt of Cojohuacan and other places.

From thence the army of the Mexicans and Acolhuas moved againſt the rebels of Cojohuacan, Atlacuihuajan, and Huitzilipochco. The Cojoacaneſe had endeavoured to excite all the other Tepanecas to ſhake off the Mexican yoke. The above mentioned cities, and ſome neighbouring places, had complied with their ſolicitations; but others, intimidated by the deſtruction of Azcapozalco, were afraid of expoſing themſelves to new dangers. Before they declared their rebellion they began to ill-treat the Mexican women who went to their market, and alſo any of the men who happened occaſionally to call at that city. Upon this Itzcoatl ordered that no Mexican ſhould go to Cojohuacan until the inſolence of theſe rebels was properly puniſhed. Having finiſhed the expedition to Huexotla, he went againſt them. In the three firſt battles which were fought, he gained ſcarcely any other advantage than making them retreat a little; but in the fourth whilſt the two armies were fiercely engaged, Montezuma with a ſet of brave troops which

(*a*) The city of Huexotla had been given by Tezozomoc to the king of Tlatelolco, from whom it is probable, therefore, Maxtlaton took it to give to Huitznahuatl.

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he had placed in ambuſcade, fell with ſuch fury on the rear-guard of the rebels that he ſoon diſordered and forced them to abandon the field and fly to the city. He purſued them, and obſerving their intention to fortify themſelves in the greater temple, he prevented them by taking poſſeſſion of it, and burnt the turret of that ſanctuary. This blow threw the rebels into ſuch conſternation, that, quitting their city, they fled to the mountains which lie to the ſouth of Cojohuacan; but even there they were overtaken by the royal troops, and chaſed for more than thirty miles, until they reached a mountain to the ſouthward of Quauhnahuac, where the fugitives exhauſted with fatigue, and, without any hopes of eſcape, threw down their arms in token of ſurrender, and delivered themſelves up to the mercy of the conquerors.

This victory made Itzcoatl maſter of all the ſtates of the Tepanecas, and crowned Montezuma with glory. It is not a little wonderful, ſay hiſtorians, that the greater part of the priſoners taken in that war with Cojohuacan belonged to Montezuma and three brave Acolhuan officers; for all the four, in imitation of the ancient Mexicans in the war againſt the Xochimilcas, had agreed to cut off a lock of hair from every one they took, and moſt of the priſoners were found with this mark upon them. Having thus happily cloſed this expedition, and regulated the affairs of Cojohuacan, and the other ſubject cities, both the kings returned to Mexico. It was judged proper by the king Itzcoatl to place one of the family of their ancient lords over the Tepanecas, that they might live more peaceably and with leſs reluctance under the Mexican yoke. This dignity he conferred on *Totoquihuatzin*, ſon of a ſon of the tyrant Tezozomoc. It had not appeared that this prince had taken any part in the war againſt the Mexicans, owing either to ſome ſecret attachment which he had to them, or his averſion to his uncle Maxtlaton. Itzcoatl ſent for him to Mexico, and created him king of Tlacopan, or rather Tacuba, a conſiderable city of the Tepanecas, and of all the places to the weſtward, including alſo the country of Mazahuacan; but Cojohuacan, Azcapozalco, Mixcoac, and other cities of the Tepanecas, remained immediately ſubject to the king of Mexico. That crown was given to Totoquihuatzin, on condition of his ſerving the king of Mexico with all his troops whenever required, for which he was to receive a fifth part of the ſpoils which they ſhould take from the enemy. Nezahualcojotl

Sect. III. Monarchy of Tacuba, and alliance of the three kings.

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zahualcojotl likewiſe was put in poſſeſſion of the throne of Acolhuacan, on condition of his giving aſſiſtance to the Mexicans in war, for which he was aſſigned a third part of the plunder, after deducting the ſhare of the king of Tacuba, the other two thirds to be reſerved for the king of Mexico. (*b*) Beſides this, both the kings were created honorary electors of the kings of Mexico; which honour was ſimply confined to the ratifying the election made by four Mexican nobles, who were the real electors. The king of Mexico was reciprocally bound to afford ſuccour to each of the two kings wherever occaſion demanded. This alliance of the three kings which remained firm and inviolate for the ſpace of a century, was the cauſe of the rapid conqueſts which the Mexicans made hereafter. But this was not the only maſterly ſtroke in politics of the king Itzcoatl; he munificently rewarded all thoſe who had diſtinguiſhed themſelves in the wars, not paying ſo much regard to their birth or the ſtations which they occupied, as to the courage which they ſhewed and the ſervices they performed. Thus it was the hope of reward animated them to the moſt heroic enterpriſes, being convinced, that the glory and the advantages to be derived from them would not depend on any accidents of fortune, but on the merit of their actions themſelves. By ſucceeding kings the ſame policy was practiſed with infinite ſervice to the ſtate. Having formed this important alliance Itzcoatl ſet out with the king Nezahualcojotl for Tezcuco, to crown him with his own hand. This ceremony was performed with all poſſible ſolemnity in 1426. From thence the king of Mexico returned to his reſidence, while the other began with the utmoſt diligence to make reformations in the court of Tezcuco.

SECT IV. Judicious regulations of king Nezahualcojotl.

The kingdom of Acolhuacan was not then in ſuch good order and regulation as Techotlala had left it. The dominion of the Tepanecas, and the revolutions which had happened in the laſt twenty years had changed the government of the people, weakened the force of the laws, and cauſed a number of their cuſtoms to fall into diſuſe. Nezahualcojotl, who, beſides the attachment which he had to his nation was gifted with uncommon prudence, made ſuch regulations and changes

(*b*) Several Hiſtorians have believed that the kings of Tezcuco and Tacuba were real electors, but the contrary appears evident from hiſtory; no occaſion ever occurred where they interfered or were preſent at an election, as we ſhall ſhew hereafter.

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in the ſtate, that in a little time it became more flouriſhing than it had ever been under any of his predeceſſors. He gave a new form to the councils which had been eſtabliſhed by his grandfather. He conferred offices on perſons the fitteſt for them. One council determined cauſes purely civil, in which, among others, five lords who had proved conſtantly faithful to him in his adverſity, aſſiſted. Another council judged of criminal cauſes, at which the two princes his brothers, men of high integrity, preſided. The council of war was compoſed of the moſt diſtinguiſhed military characters, among whom Icotihuacan, ſon-in-law to the king and alſo one of the thirteen nobles of the kingdom, had the firſt rank. The treaſury-board conſiſted of the king's major-domos, and the firſt merchants of the court. The principal major-domos who took charge of the tributes and other parts of the royal income, were three in number. Societies ſimilar to academies were inſtituted for poetry, aſtronomy, muſic, painting, hiſtory, and the art of divination, and he invited the moſt celebrated profeſſors of his kingdom to his court, who met on certain days to communicate their diſcoveries and inventions; and for each of theſe arts and ſciences, although little advanced, ſchools were appropriated. To accommodate the mechanic branches, he divided the city of Tezcuco into thirty odd diviſions, and to every branch aſſigned a diſtrict; ſo that the goldſmiths inhabited one diviſion, the ſculptors another, the weavers another, &c. To cheriſh religion he raiſed new temples, created miniſters for the worſhip of their gods, gave them houſes, and appointed them revenues for their ſupport, and the expences which were neceſſary at feſtivals and ſacrifices. To augment the ſplendor of his court he conſtructed noble edifices both within and without the city, and planted new gardens and woods, which were in preſervation many years after the conqueſt, and ſhew ſtill ſome traces of former magnificence.

SECT. V. Conqueſt of Xochimilcas, of Cuitlahuac, and other cities.

While the king of Acolhuacan was occupied in new regulations of his court, the Xochimilcas, afraid leſt the Mexicans in future might be deſirous of making themſelves alſo maſters of their ſtate, as well as of the Tepanecas, aſſembled a council to deliberate on the meaſures they ſhould take to prevent ſuch a diſgrace. Some were of opinion they ſhould voluntarily ſubmit themſelves to the dominion of the Mexicans, as at all events in time they would be obliged to ſuccumb to that power: the

BOOK IV. the judgment of others however prevailed, who thought it would be better to declare war againſt them before new conqueſts rendered them more formidable. The king of Mexico no ſooner heard of their reſolution than he ſet out a large army, under command of the celebrated Montezuma, and ſent advice to the king of Tacuba to join with his troops. The battle was fought on the confines of Xochimilco. Although the number of the Xochimilcas was great, they did not however engage with ſuch good order as the Mexicans, by which means they were quickly defeated, and retreated to their city. The Mexicans having purſued them, entered it, and ſet fire to the turrets of the temples and other edifices. The citizens not being able to reſiſt their attack, fled to the mountains; but being even there beſieged by the Mexicans, they at laſt ſurrendered. Montezuma was received by the Xochimilchan prieſts with the muſic of flutes and drums; and the whole expedition completed in about eleven days. The king of Mexico went immediately to take poſſeſſion of that city, which, as we have before mentioned, next to the royal reſidence, was the moſt conſiderable in the vale of Mexico, where he was acknowledged and proclaimed king, received the obedience of theſe new ſubjects, and promiſed to love them as a father, and watch in future over their welfare.

The bad ſucceſs of the Xochimilcas was not ſufficient to intimidate thoſe of Cuitlahuac; on the contrary, the advantageous ſituation of their city, which was built on a little iſland in the lake of Chalco, encouraged them to provoke the Mexicans to war. Itzcoatl was for pouring upon them with all the forces of Mexico; but Montezuma undertook to humble their pride with a ſmaller body; for which purpoſe he raiſed ſome companies of youths, particularly thoſe who had been bred in the ſeminaries of Mexico; and after having exerciſed them in arms, and inſtructed them in the order and mode which they were to follow in that war, he prepared a ſuitable number of veſſels, and ſet out with this armament againſt the Cuitlahuacheſe. We are totally ignorant of the particulars of this expedition; but we know that in ſeven days the city was taken and reduced under the obedience of the king of Mexico, and that the youths returned loaded with ſpoils, and brought with them a number of priſoners to be ſacrificed to the god of war. We do not know the year either in which this war happened,

nor

nor the time of that of Quauhnahuac, but it appears to have been towards the end of the reign of Itzcoatl.

The lord of Xiuhtepec, a city of the country of the Tlahuicas, more than thirty miles to the ſouthward of Mexico, had requeſted of his neighbour, the lord of Quauhnahuac, one of his daughters to wife, which demand was granted. The lord of Tlaltexcal made afterwards the ſame pretenſions, to whom ſhe was immediately given, notwithſtanding the promiſes made to the firſt, either on account of ſome offence which he had done to the father, or ſome other reaſon of which we are ignorant. The lord of Xiuhtepec being highly offended at ſuch an inſult, deſired to be revenged; but being unable for this himſelf, on account of his inferiority in forces, he implored the aſſiſtance of the king of Mexico, promiſing to be his conſtant friend and ally, and to ſerve him whenever he ſhould require it with his perſon and his people. Itzcoatl eſteeming the war juſt, and the occaſion fit for the extenſion of his dominions, armed his ſubjects, and called upon thoſe of Acolhuacan and Tacuba. So great an army was certainly neceſſary, the lord of Quauhnahuac being very powerful, and his city very ſtrong, as the Spaniards afterwards experienced when they beſieged it. Itzcoatl commanded that the whole army ſhould attack the city at once, the Mexicans by Ocuilla on the weſt ſide, the Tepanecas by Tlatzacapulco on the north, and the Tezcucans together with the Xiuhtepecheſe by Tlalquitenanco on the eaſt and ſouth. The Quauhnahuacheſe truſting to the natural ſtrength of the city, were willing to ſtand the attack. The firſt who began it were the Tepanecas, who were vigorouſly repulſed; but all the other troops immediately advancing, the citizens were forced to ſurrender and ſubject themſelves to the king of Mexico, to whom they paid annually, from that time forward, a tribute in cotton, pepper, and other commodities, which we ſhall mention hereafter. By the conqueſt of that large, pleaſant, and ſtrong city, which was the capital of the Tlahuicas, a great part of that country fell under the dominion of the Mexican king; a little after to theſe conqueſts were added Quantititlan and Toltitlan, conſiderable cities fifteen miles to the northward of Mexico; but any other particulars we know not.

In this manner a city, which ſome ſhort time before was tributary to the Tepanecas, and not much eſteemed by other nations, in leſs than

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twelve years found itſelf enabled to command thoſe who had ruled over it and the people who thought themſelves greatly ſuperior. Of ſuch importance to the proſperity of a nation is the wiſdom and bravery of its chief. At length in the year 1436 of the vulgar era, in a very advanced age, after a reign full of glory, the great Itzcoatl died: a king juſtly celebrated by the Mexicans for his ſingular endowments, and the unequalled ſervices he rendered them. He ſerved the nation upwards of thirty years as general, and governed thirteen as their ſovereign. Beſides reſcuing them from the ſubjection of the Tepanecas, extending their dominions, replacing the royal family of the Chechemecas on the throne of Acolhuacan, enriching his court with the plunder of conquered nations, and having laid, in the triple alliance which he formed, the foundation of their future greatneſs, he added to the nobleneſs and ſplendor of the nation by many new edifices. After the conqueſt of Cuitlahuac he built, among others, a temple to the goddeſs *Cihuacoatl*, and ſome time afterwards another to *Huitzilopochtli*. His funeral was attended with unuſual pomp and the greateſt demonſtrations of grief, and his aſhes repoſed in the ſame ſepulchre with his anceſtors.

SECT. VI. Montezuma I. fifth king of Mexico.

The four electors did not long deliberate on the choice of a new king; there being no ſurviving brother of the late ſovereign, the election conſequently fell on one of his grandſons; and no one appeared more deſerving than Montezuma Ilhuicamina, ſon of Huitzilihuitl, not leſs on account of his perſonal virtues than the important ſervices he had done the nation. He was elected with general applauſe, advice of which being given to the two allied kings, they not only confirmed the election, but paſſed many praiſes on the elected, and ſent him preſents worthy of his rank and their eſteem. After the uſual ceremonies and the congratulary ſpeeches of the prieſts, the nobles, and the military, much rejoicing took place, with entertainments, balls, and illuminations. Before his coronation, either from an eſtabliſhed law of the country, or his own particular deſire, he went to war with his enemies to make priſoners for a ſacrifice on the occaſion. He reſolved that theſe ſhould be of the Chalcheſe nation, to revenge the inſults and the injurious treatment he had received from them when returning from Tezcuco, in the character of ambaſſador, he had been taken and carried to the

priſon

priſon of Chalco. He went againſt them therefore in perſon, defeated them, and made many priſoners; but did not then ſubject the whole of that ſtate to the crown of Mexico, that he might not retard his coronation. On the day appointed for that ſolemnity the tributes and preſents which were ſent to him from conquered places, were brought into Mexico. The king's major-domos and the receivers of the royal revenues preceded, after whom came thoſe who carried the preſents, who were divided into as many companies as there were people who ſent them, and ſo regular and orderly in their proceſſion as to afford infinite pleaſure to the ſpectators. They brought gold, ſilver, beautiful feathers, wearing apparel, great variety of game, and a vaſt quantity of proviſions. It is more than probable, although hiſtorians do not mention it, that the other two allied kings and many other ſtrangers of diſtinction were preſent, beſides a great concourſe of people from all the places in the vale of Mexico.

As ſoon as Montezuma found himſelf on the throne, his firſt care was to erect a great temple in that part of the city which they called *Huitznahuac*. The allied kings, whom he requeſted to aſſiſt him, furniſhed him with ſuch plenty of materials and workmen, that in a ſhort time the building was finiſhed and conſecrated. During the time of its conſtruction the new war againſt Chalco appears to have happened. The Chalcheſe beſides the injuries which they had already done to Montezuma, provoked his indignation afreſh by a cruel and barbarous act, deſerving the execration of all poſterity. Two of the royal princes of Tezcuco having gone a hunting on the mountains which overlook the plains of Chalco, while employed in the chace and ſeparated from their retinue with only three Mexican lords, fell in with a troop of Chalcheſe ſoldiers, who thinking they would pleaſe the cruel paſſions of their maſter, made them priſoners and carried them to Chalco. The ſavage lord of that city, who was probably the ſame Toteotzin by whom Montezuma had been ſo ill treated, paying no regard to the noble rank of the priſoners, nor dreading the fatal conſequences of his inhuman reſolution, put all the five inſtantly to death; and that he might always be able to gratify his ſight with a ſpectacle in which his cruelty delighted, he cauſed their bodies to be ſalted and dried; and when they were thus ſufficiently prepared, he placed them in a hall of his houſe,

SECT. VII. Atrocious act of the Chalcheſe.

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to ſerve as ſupporters of the pine torches which were burned to give light in the evening.

The report of ſo horrid an act ſpread immediately over all the country. The king of Tezcuco, whoſe heart was pierced with the intelligence, demanded the aid of the allied kings to revenge the death of his ſons. Montezuma determined that the Tezcucan army ſhould attack the city of Chalco by land, whilſt he and the king of Tacuba with their troops made an attack on it by water; for which purpoſe he collected an infinite number of veſſels to tranſport his people, and commanded the armament in perſon. The Chalcheſe notwithſtanding the number of the enemy, made a vigorous reſiſtance; for beſides being themſelves warriors, on this occaſion deſperation heightened their courage. The lord of that ſtate himſelf, although ſo old that he could not walk, cauſed himſelf to be carried in a litter to animate his ſubjects with his preſence and voice. They were however totally defeated, the city was ſacked, and the lord of it puniſhed in a moſt exemplary manner for his many atrocious crimes. The ſpoils, according to the agreement made in the time of king Itzcoatl, were divided among the three kings, but the city and the whole of the ſtate remained from that time ſubject to the king of Mexico. This victory, as hiſtorians relate, was owing chiefly to the bravery of the youth Axoquentzin, a ſon of Nezahualcojotl.

This famous king, although he had in early life ſeveral wives and many children by them, had not yet conferred on any of them the dignity of queen, as they had been all ſlaves or daughters of his ſubjects (*c*). Judging it now neceſſary to take a wife worthy of being raiſed to this high rank, and who might bear a ſucceſſor to him in the crown of Acolhuacan, he married Matlalcihuatzin daughter of the king of Tacuba, a beautiful and modeſt virgin, who was conducted to Tezcuco by her father and the king of Mexico. On occaſion of the nuptials there were rejoicings for eighty days, and a year after a ſon was born of this marriage, who was named Nezahualpilli, and ſucceeded, as will appear hereafter, to that crown. A little time after, equally great

SECT. VIII. Marriage of Nezahualcojotl with a princeſs of Tacuba.

(*c*) Nezahualcojotl married in his youth Nezahualxochitl, as we have already mentioned, who, being of the royal family of Mexico, was entitled to the honour of being queen; but ſhe died before the prince recovered his crown from the uſurper.

rejoicings

rejoicings took place, on occaſion of the building of the *Huexcopan* or great palace being completed, of whoſe magnificence the Spaniards were witneſſes. Theſe feſtivals, at which the two allied kings were preſent, were concluded with a moſt ſumptuous entertainment to which the nobility of the three courts were invited. At this entertainment Nezahualcojotl made his muſicians ſing to the accompaniment of inſtruments, an ode which he had compoſed himſelf, which began thus; "*Xochitl mamani in ahuehuetitlan*," the ſubject of which was a compariſon of the ſhortneſs of life and of its pleaſures, with the fleeting bloom of a flower. The pathetic touches of the ſong drew tears from the audience; in whom, according to their love of life, the anticipation of death made proportionate ideas of melancholy ſpring in the mind.

SECT. IX. Death of Quauhtlatoa king of Tlatelolco.

Montezuma having returned to his court, found himſelf obliged to cruſh an enemy, whoſe neighbourhood and almoſt domeſtic ſituation might make him prove the more dangerous to the ſtate. *Quauhtlatoa*, the third king of Tlatelolco, inſtigated by ambition to extend his dominions, or from envy of the happineſs of his neighbour and rival, had formerly been deſirous of taking away the life of king Itzcoatl, and that he might prove ſucceſsful, having no ſufficient forces of his own, had entered into a confederacy with other neighbouring lords; but all his attempts were vain, as Itzcoatl was appriſed of his intentions, prepared in time for defence, and damped his courage. From that time, ſuch a diſtruſt and enmity ſprung up between the Mexicans and Tlatelolcos, that they continued for years without any intercourſe, except among ſome of the common people, who ſtole off occaſionally to the markets. Under the reign of Montezuma, Quauhtlatoa reſumed his hoſtile intentions; but they were not again left unpuniſhed; Montezuma having got advice of them, prevented the blow by a vigorous attack on Tlatelolco, in which the petty king was killed, although the city was not then made ſubject to the government of Mexico. The Tlatelolcos elected the brave *Moquihuix* king, in the choice of whom the king of Mexico himſelf muſt have had conſiderable influence.

SECT. X. Conquest of [illegible]

Montezuma having rid himſelf of this dangerous neighbour, ſet out for the province of the Cohuixcas, which lies to the ſouthward of Mexi-

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co, in order to revenge the loſs of ſome Mexicans who had been put to death by that people. This glorious expedition added to his crown the ſtates of Huaxtepec, Jauhtepec, Tepoztlan, Jacapichtla, Totolapan, Tlalcozauhtitlan, Chilapan, which were more than a hundred and fifty miles diſtant from the court, Coixco, Oztomantla, Tlachmallac, and many others; then turning to the weſt, he conquered Tzompahuacan, bringing under ſubjection to the crown of Mexico both the great country of the Cohuixcas, who had been the authors of the deaths abovementioned, and many other neighbouring ſtates which had provoked his reſentment probably by ſimilar inſults. Upon his return to his court he enlarged the temple of Huitzilopochtli, and adorned it with the ſpoils of thoſe nations. Theſe conqueſts were made in the nine firſt years of his reign.

SECT. XI. The inundation of Mexico.

In the tenth year, which was the 1446 of the vulgar era, a great inundation happened in Mexico, occaſioned by exceſſive rains, which ſwelled the waters of the lake till they overflowed and laid the city ſo much under water as to deſtroy many houſes; and the ſtreets becoming impaſſable, boats were made uſe of in every quarter. Montezuma much diſtreſſed by the accident, had recourſe to the king of Tezcuco, hoping his penetration might ſuggeſt ſome remedy to this calamity. That diſcerning king adviſed a great dyke to be made to keep out the water, and laid down a plan of it, and pointed out the place where it ſhould be made. His counſel was approved by Montezuma, who commanded it to be followed with inſtant execution. He ordered the ſubjects of Azcapozalco, Cojohuacan, and Xochimilco, to provide ſo many thouſand large ſtakes, and the people of other parts to furniſh the neceſſary ſtones. He ſummoned alſo to this work the inhabitants of Tacuba, Iztapalapan, Colhuacan, and Tenajuca, and the lords and the kings themſelves, engaged themſelves firſt in the fatigue; from their example, their ſubjects were animated to ſuch activity, that in a ſhort time the work was perfectly completed which muſt otherwiſe have been many years in accompliſhing. The dyke was nine miles in length, and eleven cubits in breadth, and was compoſed of two parallel paliſades, the ſpace between which was entirely filled up with ſtone and ſand. The greateſt difficulty which occurred, was in being obliged occaſionally to work within the lake, eſpecially in ſome places where it was of a conſiderable

ſiderable depth; but this was overcome by the ſkill of the conductor, and the perſeverance of the labourers. This dyke was certainly of great uſe to the city, although it did not entirely protect it from inundations; that, however, is not wonderful, as the Spaniards, although they employed European engineers, were not able to effect its ſecurity from them, after labouring two centuries and a half upon it, and expending many millions of ſequins. Whilſt this work was going on, the Chalcheſe rebelled, but were quickly brought under obedience again, although not without the loſs of ſome Mexican officers.

SECT. XII. Famine in Mexico.

The accident of the inundation was ſoon followed by a famine; which aroſe from the harveſt of maize, in the years 1448 and 1449, being exceedingly ſtinted; the froſt having attacked the ears while they were young and tender. In the year 1450, the crop was totally loſt from the want of water. In 1451, beſides having unfavourable ſeaſons, there was a ſcarcity of grain for ſeed, ſo much of it being conſumed on account of the ſcarcity of preceding harveſts; from which in 1452, the neceſſities of the people became ſo great, that as the liberality of their king and the nobles was not ſufficient to relieve them, although they opened their granaries to aſſiſt them, they were obliged to purchaſe the neceſſaries of life, with the price of their liberty. Montezuma being unable to relieve his ſubjects from their diſtreſs, permitted them to go to other countries to procure their ſupport; but knowing that ſome of them made ſlaves of themſelves for two or three days ſuſtenance only, he publiſhed a proclamation, in which he commanded that no woman ſhould ſell herſelf for leſs than four hundred ears of maize, and no man for leſs than five hundred. But nothing could ſtop the deſtructive conſequences of famine. Of thoſe who went to ſeek relief in other countries ſome died of hunger on their way. Others who ſold themſelves for food, never returned to their native country. The greater part of the Mexican populace ſupported themſelves like their anceſtors, on the water-fowl, the herbs growing in the marſhes, and the inſects and ſmall fiſh which they caught in the lake. The following year was not ſo unfavourable, and at length, in 1454, which was a ſecular year, there was a moſt plentiful harveſt of maize, and likewiſe of pulſe, and every ſort of fruit.

But

BOOK IV. CHAP. XIII. New conquests and death of Montezuma.

But the Mexicans were not permitted to enjoy the ſeaſon of plenty in quietneſs, being obliged to go to war againſt Atonaltzin, lord of the city and ſtate of Coaixtlahuacan, in the country of the Mixtecas. This was a powerful lord, who, for ſome reaſons unknown, would not allow to any Mexican a paſſage through his lands, and whenever they happened to come there ſhewed them the worſt treatment he could. Montezuma being highly offended with ſuch hoſtility, ſent an embaſſy to him, to know the motive of his conduct, and threatened him with war if he did not make a proper apology. Atonaltzin received the embaſſy with ſcorn, and ordering ſome of his riches to be ſet before the ambaſſadors, "Bear," ſaid he, "this preſent to your king, and tell "him, from it he may know how much my ſubjects give me, and "how great the love is which they have for me; that I willingly ac- "cept of war, by which it ſhall be decided whether my ſubjects are "to pay tribute to the king of Mexico, or the Mexicans to me." Montezuma immediately informed the two allied kings of this inſolent anſwer, and ſent a conſiderable army againſt that lord, who was well prepared, and met them on the frontiers of his ſtate. As ſoon as the armies came in ſight of each other, they engaged; but the Mixtecas ruſhed with ſuch fury on the Mexicans, that they were thrown into diſorder, and forced to abandon their enterprize.

The pride of Atonaltzin increaſed with the victory, but foreſeeing that the Mexicans would return with a more numerous force, he demanded aſſiſtance from the Huexotzincas and the Tlaſcalans, who readily, granted it, rejoicing in having an opportunity of interrupting the ſucceſs of the Mexican arms. Montezuma, who was much troubled at the unhappy iſſue of the war, meditated the re-eſtabliſhment of the honour of his crown, for which purpoſe he ſpeedily collected a numerous and formidable army, reſolving to command it himſelf, together with his two royal allies; but before they ſet out on their march, he received intelligence that the Tlaſcalans and Huexotzincas had attacked Tlachquiauhco, a place in Mixteca, had killed all the Mexican garriſon there, and deprived ſome of the citizens of their lives, and others of their liberty. Montezuma, now warm with indignation, marched towards Mixteca. Neither his own power, nor the aſſiſtance which he received from his friends, were of any avail to Atonaltzin.

In the very firſt conflict his army was totally defeated, many of his ſoldiers were killed, and almoſt all his confederates; the few who eſcaped the fury of the Mexicans fell by the hands of the Mixtecas, in revenge for the unfortunate iſſue of the battle. Atonaltzin ſurrendered to Montezuma, who not only remained in poſſeſſion of the city, and the ſtate of Coaixtlahuacan, but proceeding farther made himſelf maſter of Tochtepec, Tzapotlan, Tototlan, and Chinantla, and in the two following years of Cozamaloapan, and Quauhtochto. The cauſe of theſe laſt wars was the ſame with many others, namely, the inhabitants of theſe places having in time of peace put ſome merchants and couriers of Mexico to death.

The expedition undertaken in 1457 againſt *Cuetlachtlan*, or Cotaſta, proved far more difficult, and more celebrated. This province ſituated as we mentioned before on the coaſt of the Mexican gulf, and founded, or at leaſt inhabited, by the Olmecas, who were driven out by the Tlaſcalans, was extremely populous. We are ignorant of the occaſion of the war; we know, however, that the Cotaſteſe foreſeeing the ſtorm which threatened them, called the Huexotzincas and Tlaſcalans to their aſſiſtance. The two laſt feeling high reſentment for the loſs of Coaixtlahuacan, and thirſting for revenge, not only agreed to aſſiſt the other, but perſuaded the Cholulans alſo to enter into the confederacy. Theſe three republics ſent numerous forces to Cotaſta to wait for the enemy. Montezuma, on his part, raiſed a great and brilliant army, in which the flower of the nobility of Mexico, Acolhua, Tlatelolco, and Tepaneca enliſted. Among other perſons of diſtinction in this army were *Axajacatl*, the general, *Tizoc*, and *Ahuitzotl*, all three brothers, and of the royal family of Mexico, who ſucceſſively filled the throne after Montezuma their couſin. There were alſo the lords of Colhuacan and Tenaycuca; but the moſt reſpectable character was Moquihuix, king of Tlatelolco, ſucceſſor to the unfortunate Quauhtlatoa. When the army left Mexico, intelligence had not arrived of the confederacy of the three republics with the Cotaſteſe; as ſoon as Montezuma knew it, he ſent meſſengers to his generals not to proceed, but to return inſtantly to his court. The generals entered into a conſultation: ſome were of opinion that they ought to obey the order of their ſovereign without heſitation; others thought they were not

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not under obligation to ſubmit to an order, which would throw ſuch reflection on their honour, as the nobles muſt be diſgraced and degraded if they ſhunned engaging upon an occaſion which was ſo fit to ſhew their bravery. The firſt opinion prevailed, as being the moſt ſafe; but in ſetting out on their march to return to Mexico, Moquihuix the king, addreſſed them: "Let thoſe return, whoſe ſpirit can ſuffer them "to turn their backs upon the enemy, whilſt I with my people of "Tlatelolco alone bear off the honour of the victory." This reſolute determination of Moquihuix, ſo rouſed and fired the other generals, that they all reſolved to meet the danger. At length they joined battle with the enemy, in which the Cotaſteſe although they fought courageouſly, were nevertheleſs vanquiſhed, with all their allies: of theſe laſt, the greater part were left on the field; of both, ſix thouſand two hundred were made priſoners, who were ſoon after ſacrificed at the feſtival of the conſecration of the *Quaxicalco*, or the religious edifice appropriated for the preſervation of the ſkulls of the victims. The whole of that province remained ſubject to the king of Mexico, who eſtabliſhed a garriſon there, to keep that people in obedience to the crown. This great victory was principally owing to the bravery of Moquihuix; and even until our day, a Mexican ſong or ode has been preſerved, which was at that time compoſed in his praiſe (*e*). Montezuma more pleaſed with the happy fortune of the war, than offended at the diſobedience to his orders, rewarded the king of Tlatelolco by giving him one of his couſins to wife, who was the ſiſter of the above mentioned princes, Axayacatl, Tizoc, and Ahuitzotl.

In the mean while the Chalcheſe were daily rendering themſelves more deſerving of chaſtiſement, not ſolely by rebellion, but alſo by the commiſſion of other new offences. At this time they had the audacity to take the brother of the king Montezuma himſelf, who was, according to what we can learn, lord of Ehecatepec, with ſome other Mexicans, priſoners. A crime of this nature committed on a perſon ſo nearly related in blood to their ſovereign, appears to have been a meaſure contrived by them to get rid of the power of the Mexicans, and make the city of Chalco the rival of Mexico; as they were deſirous of making that

(*e*) Boturini makes mention of this ode, which he had, among other manuſcripts and paintings, in his very valuable muſeum.

lord,

lord, king of Chalco; and frequently, though in vain, propoſed it to him. He perceiving them fixed in their reſolution, told them he would accept the crown they offered; but, that the act of his exaltation might be the more ſolemn, he deſired they would plant in the market-place, one of the higheſt trees, and place a ſcaffold upon it, from which he might be viewed by all. Every thing was done as he requeſted: having aſſembled the Mexicans around the tree, he aſcended the ſcaffold with a bunch of flowers in his hand; then from the height, in the view of an immenſe concourſe of people, he thus addreſſed his own people: "Ye know well, my brave Mexicans, that the Chalcheſe with "to make me their king; but it is not agreeable to our God that I "ſhould betray our native country, I chuſe rather to teach you by my "example, to place higher value on fidelity to it, than upon life itſelf." Having ſpoke thus, he threw himſelf headlong from the ſcaffold. This act, though barbarous, was agreeable to the ideas which the ancients entertained of magnanimity, and was ſo much leſs cenſurable than that of Cato and others, celebrated by antiquity, as the motive was nobler and the courage of the Mexican greater. The Chalcheſe were ſo enraged at the deed, that they fell inſtantly on the other Mexicans and killed them with their darts. The next evening they heard by chance the melancholy ſcreaming of an owl, which, as they were extremely addicted to ſuperſtition, was interpreted, a fatal omen of their approaching ruin. They were not deceived in the anticipation of their diſaſters; for Montezuma, highly provoked by their rebellion and their enormous offences, immediately declared war, and cauſed fires to be kindled on the tops of the mountains, as a ſignal of the puniſhment to which he condemned the rebels. He then marched with his army againſt that province, and made ſuch havock of the enemy as to leave it almoſt depopulated. Immenſe numbers were ſlaughtered, and thoſe who eſcaped with life, fled into the caves of the mountains which riſe above the plains of Chalco; ſome, to remove themſelves ſtill further from danger, paſſing to the other ſide of the mountains, took refuge in Huexotzinco and Atlixco. The city of Chalco was ſacked and plundered. The fury of revenge was ſucceeded in Montezuma, as is uſual to noble minds, by feelings of compaſſion for the unfortunate. He proclaimed a general pardon to all the fugitives, particularly for the relief of the

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aged, the women, and the children, inviting them to return without fear to their native country; nor content with that only, he ordered his troops to traverſe the mountains, to call back the wanderers who had fled from man to find ſhelter among the wild beaſts, and woods. Many returned, who were diſtributed in Amaquemecan, Tlalmanalco, and other places; but many reſigned themſelves to their fate in the mountains, from diſtruſt of the pardon, or the exceſs of their deſpair. One part of the country of Chalco was divided by Montezuma among the officers who had the moſt diſtinguiſhed themſelves in the war.

After this expedition the Mexicans conquered Tamazollan, Piaztlan, Xilotepec, Acatlan, and other places. By ſuch rapid conqueſts Montezuma ſo enlarged his dominions, that in the eaſt he extended them as far as the gulf of Mexico; in the ſouth-eaſt, to the centre of the country of the Mixtecas; in the ſouth, as far as Chilapan and ſomething beyond it; in the weſt, to the valley of Toluca; in the north-weſt, to the centre of the country of the Otomies; and in the north, as far as the termination of the vale of Mexico.

But while ſo attentive to war, this famous king neglected not what concerned internal polity and religion. He publiſhed new laws, added to the ſplendor of his court, and introduced there many ceremonials not known to his predeceſſors. He erected a large temple to the god of war, ordained many new religious rites, and increaſed the number of the prieſts. The interpreter of Mendoza's collection adds, that Montezuma was himſelf ſober, and remarkably rigorous in puniſhing drunkenneſs; and that by his juſtice and prudence, and the propriety of his actions, he made his ſubjects fear and love him. At laſt, after a very glorious reign of twenty-eight years and ſome months, in 1464 he died, univerſally regretted. His funeral was celebrated with more than ordinary ſolemnity, in proportion to the increaſed magnificence of the court, and the power of the nation.

SECT. XIV. Axajacatl, ſixth king of Mexico.

Before his death he aſſembled the chief nobility of his court, and exhorted them to agree among themſelves, and prayed of the electors that they would, after his death, chuſe Axayacatl, whom he thought the fitteſt perſon to promote the glory of the Mexicans. Whether it was from deference to the opinion of a king who had gained ſo much deſert from his nation, or becauſe they knew the merit of Axayacatl, the

the electors chose him in preference to his elder brother. He was the son of Tezcotomoc, who had been the brother of the three kings who preceded Montezuma, and a son, as well as they, of king Acamapitzin.

After the festival of the election, the new king, after the example of his predecessors, went to war, to collect victims for a sacrifice at his coronation. He made his expedition against the province of Tecuantepec, situated on the coast of the Pacific Ocean, four hundred miles to the south-east, from Mexico. The people of Tecuantepec were well prepared, and in confederacy with their neighbours, to oppose the attempts of the Mexicans. In the keen battle which took place, Axayacatl, who commanded as general, pretended flight, to lead the enemy into an ambuscade. They pursued the Mexicans, triumphing in their victory, when suddenly they found themselves attacked behind by one part of the Mexican army which came from their ambush, and attacked in front by those who were flying and had now faced about upon them; harrassed thus on both sides, they were soon totally defeated. The enemy, who were able to save themselves by flight, were pursued by the Mexicans as far as the city of Tecuantepec, to which they set fire, and taking advantage of the confusion and consternation of the people, they extended their conquests as far as Coatulco, a maritime place, the port of which was much frequented by the vessels of the Spaniards, in the next century. From this expedition Axayacatl returned enriched with spoils, and was crowned with the greatest pomp, there being a procession of the tribute-bearers, and a sacrifice made of the prisoners. In the first years of his reign, following the steps of his predecessor, he applied himself to the extension of his conquests. In 1467 he re-conquered Cotasta and Tochtepec. In 1468, he obtained a complete victory over the Huexotzincas and Atlixcas; and on his return to Mexico, he undertook the building of a temple, which he called *Coatlan*. The Tlatelolcos erected another in rivalship, which they called *Coyolxal*; by which the discord between these two kings was revived, which turned out, as we shall see hereafter, fatal to the Tlatelolcos. In 1469, Totoquihuatzin, the first king of Tacuba, died, who, for upwards of forty years, while he held that small kingdom, was constantly faithful to the king of Mexico, and served him in almost all the wars which he undertook against the enemies of the state. He was succeed-

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SECT. XV. Death, and eulogium of king Nezahualcojotl.

ed in the throne by his ſon Chimalpopoca, who reſembled him no leſs in his bravery than his fidelity.

The loſs which the Mexicans ſuffered, in 1470, by the death of the great Nezahualcojotl king of Acolhuacan, was far more afflicting. This king was one of the moſt renowned heroes of ancient America. His courage, which in his youth was rather fool-hardineſs, however great it appeared, was ſtill one of the leſs noble faculties of his ſoul. His fortitude and conſtancy during the thirteen years which he continued deprived of the crown and perſecuted by the uſurper, were truly wonderful. His integrity in the adminiſtration of juſtice was inflexible. To make his nation more civilized, and to correct the diſorders introduced into the kingdom in the time of the tyrant, he publiſhed eighty laws, which were afterwards compiled by his celebrated deſcendant D. Ferdinando D'Alba *Ixtlilxochitl* in his manuſcript, entitled, *Storia de' Signori Cicimechi.* He ordained that no ſuit, civil or criminal, ſhould be prolonged more than eighty days, or four Mexican months. Every eighty days there was a great aſſembly in the royal palace, at which the judges and delinquents attended. Whatever cauſes had been left undecided in the four preceding months, were infallibly determined on that day; and thoſe who were convicted of any crime, immediately and without any remiſſion, received puniſhment proportioned to their offence, in preſence of the whole aſſembly. To different crimes, different puniſhments belonged; ſome were puniſhed with the utmoſt rigour, particularly adultery, ſodomy, theft, homicide, drunkenneſs, and treaſon to the ſtate. If we are to credit the Tezcucan hiſtorians, he put four of his own ſons to death, for committing inceſt with their mother-in-law.

His clemency to the unfortunate was alſo remarkable. It was forbid, under pain of death, throughout the kingdom, to take any thing from another's field; and ſo ſtrict was this law, that the ſtealing of ſeven ears of maize was ſufficient to incur the penalty. In order to provide, in ſome meaſure, for neceſſitous travellers, without breach of this law, Nezahualcojotl commanded that both ſides of the principal highways ſhould be ſown with maize and other ſeeds, with the fruits of which thoſe who were in want might ſupply themſelves. A great part of his revenue was ſpent in relief of the poor, particularly thoſe who

who were aged, ſick, and in widowhood. To prevent the conſumption of the woods, he preſcribed limits to thoſe who cut wood, and forbid treſpaſſes on them, under ſevere penalties. Being deſirous of knowing if this prohibition was ſtrictly obſerved, he went out one day in diſguiſe, with one of his brothers, and took the way to the foot of the neighbouring mountains, where the boundaries preſcribed, commenced. There he found a youth employed in gathering the ſmall chips which remained of ſome wood that had been cut, and aſked him why he did not go into the woods to cut fuel. Becauſe the king, ſaid the lad, has forbid the treſpaſſing on theſe limits, and if we do not obey him he will puniſh us ſeverely. Neither importunity nor promiſes which the king made, were ſufficient to make him willing to tranſgreſs. The compaſſion excited in him by this poor youth, moved him to enlarge the former limits he had fixed.

He was particularly zealous in his attention to the faithful adminiſtration of juſtice, and that none from their neceſſities might plead an excuſe for being corrupted by any of the contending parties, he ordered the ſupport of all his miniſters and judges, their clothing, and every neceſſary according to the rank and quality of the perſon, to be ſupplied out of the royal treaſury. So much was expended annually in his houſhold, in the ſupport of his miniſters and magiſtrates, and in relief of the poor, it would be totally incredible, nor ſhould we be bold enough to write it, were it not certified by the original paintings, ſeen and examined by the firſt religious miſſionaries, who were employed in the converſion of theſe people, and confirmed by the teſtimony of a third grandſon of this fame king, who being converted to chriſtianity was baptized by the name of Don Antonio Pimentel *(f)*. The annual expenditure made by Nezahualcojotl reduced to Caſtilian meaſure, was therefore as follows:

Of Maize, - - -	4,900,300 Fanegas *(g)*.
Of Cocoa nuts, - - -	2,744,000 Fan.
Of Chili or common pepper and Tomate,	3,200 Fan.
Of Chilteepin, or ſmall pepper, -	240 Fan.

(f) Torquemada the hiſtorian, had theſe paintings in his hands, by his own testimony.

(g) The Fanega is a Spaniſh meaſure for dry goods, containing about a hundred Spanish pounds, or one hundred and thirty Roman pounds.

Of

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Of ſalt, - - - -	1,300 large baſkets.
Of Turkeys, - - -	8,000.

The quantity conſumed of Chia, French beans, and other leguminous plants; of deer alſo, and ducks, quails, and other birds, was infinite and numberleſs. Every perſon will eaſily comprehend how great the extent of population muſt have been to amaſs ſuch a vaſt quantity of maize and cocoas; particularly as it was neceſſary to procure this laſt by commerce with warm countries, there being no ſoil in all the kingdom of Acolhuacan fit for the culture of this plant. During one half of the year or nine Mexican months, fourteen cities furniſhed ſuch proviſions, and fifteen other cities ſupplied them during the other half year. Young men were employed to carry on their backs the fuel which was conſumed in the royal palace, in amazing quantities (*g*).

The progreſs made by this celebrated king, in the arts and ſciences, was ſuch as is to be expected from a great genius who is without books to ſtudy, or maſters to inſtruct him. He excelled in the poetry of theſe nations, and produced many compoſitions which met with univerſal applauſe. In the ſixteenth century, his ſixty hymns, compoſed in honour of the Creator of Heaven, were celebrated even among the Spaniards. Two of his odes or ſongs, tranſlated into Spaniſh verſe by his deſcendant Don Ferdinando d'Alba Ixtlilxochitl, have been preſerved unto our time (*h*). One of theſe was wrote ſome time after the ruin of Azcapozalco. The ſubject of it was ſimilar to the other which we already mentioned; it lamented the inconſtancy of human greatneſs, in the perſon of the tyrant Tezozomoc, whom he compared to a large and ſtately tree which had extended its roots through many countries, and ſpread the ſhade of its green branches over all the lands of the empire; but at laſt, worm-eaten and waſted, fell to the earth, never to reſume its youthful verdure.

(*g*) The fourteen cities charged with furniſhing proviſions for the firſt half year were Tezcuco, Huexotla, Coatlichan, Atenco, Chiauhtla, Tezcajocan, Papalotla, Tepetlaoztoc, Acolman, Tepechpan, Xaltocan, Chinantlacaca, Itzapalocan, and Coatepec. The other fifteen were Otompan, Aztaquemecan, Teotihuacan, Cempoallan, Axapocheo, Tlalanapan, Tepepolco, Tizajocan, Ahuatepec, Oztoticpac, Quauhtlatzinco, Cojoac, Oztotlatlauhcan, Achichillacachocan, and Tetliztacac.

(*h*) Cav. Boturini had two odes compoſed by Nezahualcoyotl; we wiſhed much for them to publiſh them in this hiſtory.

Nothing, however, gave ſo much delight to Nezahualcojotl, as the ſtudy of nature. He acquired ſome ideas of aſtronomy, by the frequent obſervations which he made of the courſe of the ſtars. He applied himſelf beſides, to the knowledge of plants and animals; but finding he could not keep the natives of other climes alive at his court, he cauſed paintings to be made from the life, of all the plants and animals of the country of Anahuac; to which paintings the celebrated Hernandez bears teſtimony, who ſaw and made uſe of them: paintings more uſeful and more worthy of a royal palace than thoſe which repreſent the dark mythology of the Grecians. He was a curious enquirer into the cauſes of the effects by which nature excited his admiration, and frequent obſervation in that way, led him to diſcover the weakneſs of idolatry. To his ſons, he ſaid privately, that although in conformity with the people they paid external adoration to the idols, they ſhould, yet, in their hearts deteſt the worſhip which was ſo deſerving of mockery, as it was directed to lifeleſs forms; that he acknowledged no other God than the Creator of Heaven, and he did not forbid idolatry in his kingdom, though inclined to do ſo, that he might not be blamed for contradicting the doctrines of his anceſtors. He prohibited the ſacrifice of human victims; but perceiving afterwards how difficult it was to make a nation change its ancient and long-rooted ideas in matters of religion, he again permitted them, but commanded, under ſevere penalties, that theſe ſhould be none but priſoners of war. He erected in honour of the Creator of Heaven, a high tower, conſiſting of nine floors. The laſt floor was dark and vaulted, painted within of a blue colour, and ornamented with cornices of gold. In this tower reſided conſtantly ſome men whoſe office was to ſtrike, at certain hours of the day, plates of the fineſt metal, at which ſignal the king kneeled down to pray to the Creator of Heaven. In honour likewiſe of this God, at a certain time of the year he always obſerved a faſt (*k*).

The elevated genius of this king, actuated by the great love he had to his people, produced ſo enlightened his capital, that in future times it was conſidered as the nurſery of the arts and the centre of

(*k*) All the above mentioned anecdotes are extracted from the valuable manuſcripts of Don Ferdinando d'Alba; he being fourth grandſon of that king, received, probably, many traditions from his fathers and grand-fathers.

cultivation.

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cultivation. Tezcuco was the city where the Mexican language was ſpoken in the greateſt purity and perfection, where the beſt artiſts were found, and where poets, orators, and hiſtorians moſt abounded (*l*). The Mexicans and other nations adopted many of their laws; and if we may be allowed the application, Tezcuco was the Athens, and Nezahualcojotl the Solon of Anahuac.

In his laſt illneſs, having called all his ſons into his preſence, he declared Nezahualpilli his heir and ſucceſſor in the kingdom of Acolhuacan, who, though the youngeſt of them all, was preferred to the reſt, on account of his having been born of the queen Matlalcihuatzin, as well as of his ſingular rectitude and great talents. He enjoined his firſt born ſon Acapipioltzin to aſſiſt the new king with his counſel, until he ſhould learn the difficult art of government. He warmly recommended to Nezahualpilli the love of his brothers, the care of his ſubjects, and a zeal for juſtice. At laſt, to prevent any diſorder which the news of his death might occaſion, he commanded them to conceal it as much as poſſible from the people until Nezahualpilli ſhould be fixed in quiet poſſeſſion of the crown. The princes received with tears the laſt advice of their father, and having left him, and come into the hall of audience where the nobility expected them, Nezahualpilli was proclaimed king of Acolhuacan, Acapipioltzin declaring it to be the laſt will of their father, who having a long journey to make, choſe firſt to nominate his ſucceſſor. All paid obedience to the new king, and in the morning after, Nezahualcojotl died, in the forty-fourth year of his reign, and about the eightieth year of his age. His ſons concealed his death, and hid his body, burning it ſecretly, as is probable; and inſtead of rendering funeral honours to it, they celebrated the coronation of the new king with uncommon feſtivity and rejoicing. But in ſpite of their cautious ſecrecy the news of his death ſpread ſuddenly through all the land, and many lords came to the court to condole with the princes. Nevertheleſs the vulgar remained perſuaded that their great king was tranſlated to the company of the gods in reward of his virtues.

SECT. XVI. Conqueſt of Tlatelolco, and death of king Moquihuix.

Some little time after the exaltation of Nezahualpilli to the throne, the memorable war happened between the Mexicans and their neigh-

(*l*) In the liſt which we have given of the hiſtorians of that kingdom, it appears many were of the royal family of Tezcuco.

bours

bours and rivals, the Tlatelolcos. Moquihuix king of Tlatelolco, being unable to endure the dazzling glory of the Mexican monarch, uſed all his arts to darken it. He had married, as we have already mentioned, a ſiſter of king Axayacatl, given him by Montezuma in reward for the famous victory he obtained over the Cotaſteſe. On this unfortunate queen he frequently vented his malice againſt his couſin; nor contented with that he clandeſtinely formed leagues with other ſtates, which like himſelf bore unwillingly the Mexican yoke. Theſe were Chalco, Xilotepec, Toltitlan, Tenajucan, Mexicaltzinco, Huitzilopochco, Xochimilco, Cuitlahuac, and Mizquic, which agreed to attack the Mexicans in their rear, after the Tlatelolcos ſhould begin battle with them. The Quaupancheſe alſo, the Huexotzincas, and Matlatzincas, whoſe aid had been requeſted, were to join their troops with thoſe of Tlatelolco in defence of the city. The queen knew of theſe negociations, and either from the hatred ſhe bore to her huſband, or from her love to her brother and her native country, ſhe revealed them to Axayacatl, that he might ward off a blow which would have ſhaken his throne.

Moquihuix being aſſured of the aid of his confederates aſſembled the nobles of his court to encourage them to the undertaking. An old and venerable prieſt raiſed his voice in the aſſembly, and in the name of them all declared himſelf willing to fight to the laſt againſt the enemies of his country; then to animate them ſtill more he waſhed the altar of the ſacrifices, and preſented the water purple with human blood to the king to drink, and afterwards to all his officers; by which they imagined their courage would be increaſed, and doubtleſs it hardened them to the exerciſe of cruelty upon their foes. In the mean while the queen grew impatient of the ill treatment ſhe ſuffered, and being alarmed at the dangers of war, forſook her huſband and came to Mexico with four ſons, to throw herſelf under the protection of her brother. This it was eaſy for her to do from the very cloſe neighbourhood of the two cities. An incident of this uncommon nature increaſed the mutual enmity and diſguſt of the Mexicans and Tlatelolcos to ſuch a degree, that whenever they met, they abuſed, fought, and murdered each other.

The time of commencing the war drawing near, Moquihuix with his officers and many of his confederates, made a ſolemn ſacrifice on the mountain which was the neareſt to the city, to obtain the protection

BOOK IV. of their gods; and there they fixed the day on which they were to declare war againſt the Mexicans. A few days after, he ſent notice to his allies, to be well prepared to ſuccour him whenever he ſhould begin the attack. Xiloman lord of Colhuacan, was to make the firſt onſet, and afterwards to pretend flight, to induce the Mexicans to purſue him, when the Tlatelolcos were to fall upon their rear. The day after theſe embaſſies were ſent, Moquihuix performed the ceremony of arming his troops, and then went to the temple of Huitzilopochtli to implore the aid of that god, where the ſame horrible draft was again taken which Pojahuitl had given them at the firſt congreſs, and all the ſoldiers paſſed before the idol, with a ſalutation of profound reverence. This ceremony was hardly finiſhed when a troop of daring Mexicans entered the market-place, killing every one they met; but the troops of the Tlatelolcos coming ſuddenly up, repulſed them and took ſome of them priſoners, who were ſacrificed without reſpite, in a temple called Tlillan. That ſame day, about ſun-ſet, ſome women of Tlatelolco had the boldneſs to advance into the ſtreets of Mexico, and to ſet fire to the birch trees at the doors of the houſes, caſting, at the ſame time, impudent reproaches upon the Mexicans, and threatning them with approaching ruin; but they met with the contempt they deſerved.

That night the Tlatelolcos armed themſelves, and in the morning at break of day they began the attack on Mexico. They were in the heat of the battle when Xiloman arrived with the Colhuas; but perceiving that the king of Tlatelolco had commenced the engagement without waiting for his aid or calling for his counſel, that lord retired in diſguſt; but deſirous of doing ſome miſchief to the Mexicans, he cauſed ſeveral canals to be ſhut up, to prevent their receiving any aſſiſtance by water; theſe however were ſoon opened again by order of Axayacatl. The whole of the day the combat laſted with the utmoſt fury on both ſides, until night forced the Tlatelolcos to retire. The Mexicans burnt the houſes of the city which were the neareſt to Tlatelolco, perhaps on account of their ſtanding too much in the way in the time of engagement; but in ſetting fire to them, twenty were made priſoners and inſtantly ſacrificed.

Axayacatl that night diſtributed his army in all the roads which led to Tlatelolco, and at the dawn of day began to march from every quarter towards

towards the market-place, which was to be the point where they were to meet. The Tlatelolcos finding themſelves attacked on all ſides, retreated to the public market-place to collect there all their force, and make the better reſiſtance; but when they reached it, they found themſelves ſtill more incommoded and embarraſſed by their numbers. The words and cries with which Moquihuix endeavoured, from the top of the great temple, to encourage his troops, were of no avail. The Tlatelolcos were beat down and killed, while thoſe who fell, vented their rage in reproaches againſt the king: "Deſcend from thence, you "coward," they ſaid, "and take arms; it is not the part of a brave "man, to ſtand calmly looking at thoſe who are fighting and falling in "the defence of their country." But theſe complaints, occaſioned by the ſmarting of their wounds and the agonies of death, were altogether unjuſt, as Moquihuix neither failed in the duties of a general nor of a king. It was proper for him not to expoſe his life ſo much as the ſoldiers did themſelves, as he could be more uſeful to them by his counſel, and could encourage them by his preſence. In the mean time the Mexicans advanced to the ſteps of the temple, aſcended them, and came to the upper balcony where Moquihuix was calling out to his people, and made a deſperate defence of himſelf; but a Mexican captain, named Quetzalhua, with a thruſt puſhed him backwards down the ſteps (*m*), when ſome ſoldiers took up his body in their arms, and preſented it to Axayacatl, who opened his breaſt, and tore out his heart. An act certainly horrid, but done without the feelings of horror, from its being ſo frequent at their ſacrifices!

Thus fell the brave Moquihuix, and thus was the petty monarchy of the Tlatelolcos, which had been governed by four kings in the ſpace of about one hundred and eighteen years, diſſolved. The Tlatelolcos, after the death of their king, ſoon fell into diſorder, and attempted to ſave themſelves by flight, by paſſing acroſs their enemies; but four hundred and ſixty remained dead on the market-place, among whom were ſome officers of diſtinction. After this defeat the city of Tlatelolco was united with the city of Mexico, and was no longer conſidered as a diſtinct

(*m*) The interpreter of Mendoza's collection ſays, that after the loſs of the battle, Moquihuix fled to the top of the temple, and threw himſelf head-long from it, being unable to endure the reproaches of one of the prieſts; but the account of other hiſtorians appears to us more conſiſtent with the character of this king.

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city, but as a part, or rather as the ſuburbs of Mexico, which it is at preſent. The king of Mexico conſtantly maintained a governor there, and the Tlatelolcos, beſides the tribute which they annually paid of maize, robes, arms, and armour, were obliged to repair the temple of Huitznahuac as often as it became neceſſary.

We are ignorant whether the Quauhpancheſe, the Hoexotzincas, and the Matlatzincas, who were the confederates of the Tlatelolcos, did actually aſſiſt in this war. Of their other allies, hiſtorians ſay, that having come to the ſuccour of the Tlatelolcos, after the king Moquihuix was killed and the conflict over, they returned without action. The moment that Axayacatl found himſelf victorious, he condemned Pojahuitl, and Ehecatzitzimitl, both of them Tlatelolcos, to the laſt puniſhment, for having been the perſons who moſt keenly excited the citizens againſt the Mexicans, and alſo put the lords of Xochimilco, Cuitlahuac, Colhuacan, Huitzilopochco and others, to death, for entering into a confederacy with his enemies.

SECT. XVII. New conquests and death of Axayacatl.

To take revenge of the Matlatzincas, a numerous and powerful nation, eſtabliſhed in the valley of Toluca, and ſtill unſubjected to the Mexicans, Axayacatl declared war againſt them, and marching with the two allied kings he took in his paſſage, Atlapolco, and Xalatlauhco; and afterwards he conquered in the ſame valley, Toluca, Tetenanco, Metepec, Tzinacantepec, Calimaja, and other places in the ſouth diviſion of the valley, which continued, from that time forward, tributary to the crown of Mexico. Some time after, he returned into the ſame province, to ſubdue, likewiſe, the north part of the valley, at preſent called *Valle d'Ixtlahuacan*, and in particular Xiquipilco, a conſiderable city and ſtate of the Otomies, whoſe lord, called Tlilcuezpalin was famous for his bravery. Axayacatl, who likewiſe boaſted of his courage, was anxious to engage him in ſingle combat during the battle, which took place; but the event proved diſaſtrous to Axayacatl himſelf; he received a violent wound on the thigh, and two captains of the Otomies advancing, brought him, with a few ſtrokes more, to the ground, and would have made him priſoner, if ſome young Mexicans had not, when they ſaw their king in ſuch danger, reſolutely defended his liberty and his life. Notwithſtanding this misfortune and diſgrace, the Mexicans obtained a complete victory, and, according to what hiſtorians ſay, made eleven thouſand and ſixty priſoners, among whom were Tlilcuezpalin and the two captains who had

had attacked the king. By this glorious victory Axayacatl added Xiquipilco, Xocotitlan, Atacomalco, and all the other places comprehended in the valley which were not before ſubdued, to the crown of Mexico.

As ſoon as Axayacatl had recovered of his wound, which made him halt in one leg during the reſt of his life, he gave a great entertainment to the allied kings, at which he put Tlilcuezpalin and the two other captains to death. The execution of ſuch a puniſhment did not appear to thoſe people unſeaſonable, amidſt the feſtivity of an entertainment; from being uſed to ſhed human blood, the horror naturally ariſing from it, changed into recreation. So ſtrong is the force of cuſtom, and ſo eaſy is it to familiarize our minds to the moſt horrible objects.

In the laſt years of his reign, the bounds of his empire appearing rather too confined towards the weſt, he again took the field; and paſſing through the valley of Toluca, and croſſing the mountains, he conquered Tochpan and Tlaximalojan, which was afterwards the frontier of the kingdom of Michuacan. From thence returning towards the eaſt he made himſelf maſter of Ocuilla and Malacatepec. The progreſs of his conqueſts and victories were now interrupted by his death, which happened in the thirteenth year of his reign, or the 1477 of the vulgar era. He had a genius for war, and was rigorous in puniſhing the tranſgreſſors of the laws which his predeceſſor had eſtabliſhed. He left a numerous offſpring by his different wives, among which was the celebrated Montezuma of whom we ſhall ſhortly have occaſion to ſpeak.

SECT. XVIII. Tizoc, ſeventh king of Mexico.

In the room of Axayacatl, Tizoc was elected, who was his elder brother and had ſerved in the poſt of general of the army (*n*). We do not find where he made his firſt expedition to procure the victims neceſſary at the ceremony of his coronation. His reign was ſhort and obſcure. In the tenth painting, however, of Mendoza's collection there is a repreſentation of fourteen cities ſubdued by him, among which are Toluca and Tecaxic, which having rebelled againſt the crown, occaſioned the neceſſity of re-conquering them; alſo Chillan, Jancuitlan, in the coun-

(*n*) Acoſta makes Tizoc ſon of Montezuma I. and the interpreter of Mendoza's collection, never him ſon of Axayacatl; but both are demonſtrated to be wrong, by other hiſtorians. Acoſta was wrong alſo in the order of the kings, as he placed Tizoc's reign before Axayacatl. See our Diſſertations on this head.

try

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try of the Mixtecas, Mazatlan, Tlapan, and Tamapachco. Torquemada makes mention of a victory which he obtained over Tlacotepec.

SECT. XIX. War between the Tezcucans and the Huexotzincas.

It was in the time of this king, that the war between the Tezcucan nation and the Huexotzincas happened. This war took its rife from the ambition of the princes the brothers of king Nezahualpilli. Although they fhewed no difcontent, in the beginning, at the exaltation of their younger brother, yet as the memory of their late father began to die away, they felt themfelves unable to endure the controul of one whom, in point of age, they had a right to command; and formed a fecret confpiracy againft him. To help them in their wicked defigns they applied firft to the Chalchefe, who were always the fittert and readieft for fuch undertakings; but failing in all the means employed by them, they made folicitations to the Huexotzincas for the fame purpofe. Nezahualpilli being appriſed of their confpiracy, raifed fpeedily a ftrong army, and marched againft the Huexotzincas. The general of that ftate had procured intelligence of the marks of Nezahualpilli's perfon, that he might direct all his blows againft him, and had promifed rewards to any perfon who fhould produce the king to him alive, or dead. There were not wanting others, who intimated all this to the king; upon which, before he entered into battle he changed garments with one of his captains. This unfortunate officer, being taken for the king, was quickly fet upon by the multitude, and killed. As the enemy were giving to vent their fury on him, Nezahualpilli made his attack on the Huexotzincan general, and killed him, though not without the greateft rifk of being cut to pieces by the foldiers who flew to the defence of their general. The Tezcucan people, who fell into the fame miftake with thofe of Huexotzinco, by not knowing the exchange of drefs which had been made, began to be difpirited; but fuddenly again recognizing the king, they ran up eagerly to refcue him; and after defeating the enemy, they facked the city of Huexotzinco, and returned triumphant with fpoils to Tezcuco. Hiftorians are filent refpecting the fate of the princes who were the authors of this confpiracy. It is probable they were either flain in the battle, or efcaped by flight from the chaftifement they deferved. Nezahualpilli, who, a little before had built himfelf a new palace, defirous of leaving a perpetual monument of this victory, ordered likewife the conftruction of a wall, which fhould

incloſe

incloſe exactly ſo much ſpace of ground as was occupied by the Huexotzincas when they came up to the defence of their general, and gave the place the name of that day on which he had obtained the victory. Thus did thoſe, who are thought by many to have no views of futurity, ſeek to immortalize their name and the glory of their actions.

SECT. XX. Marriage of king Nezahualpilli with two noble ladies of Mexico.

The king of Tezcuco had already ſeveral wives, who were deſcended of noble houſes; but he had not declared any of them his queen, having reſerved that honour for one whom he was to take of the royal family of Mexico. He demanded her of king Tizoc, who gave him one of his grand-daughters, and daughter of *Tzotzocatzin*. The nuptials were ſolemnized in Tezcuco, a great concourſe of the nobility of both courts being preſent. This lady had a ſiſter poſſeſſed of ſingular beauty, who was named *Xocotzin*. They loved each other ſo much, that not being able to endure a ſeparation, the new queen obtained permiſſion from her father, to take her ſiſter along with her to Tezcuco. By frequently viewing and converſing with his beautiful couſin, the king became ſo enamoured, that he reſolved to wed her alſo, and raiſe her to the dignity of queen. Theſe ſecond nuptials, according to the account given by hiſtorians, were the moſt ſolemn and magnificent which were ever celebrated in that country. A ſhort time after, the king had by his firſt queen, a ſon named *Cacamatzin*, who ſucceeded him in the crown, and being afterwards made priſoner by the Spaniards, died unhappily. By the ſecond he had *Huexotzincatzin* (*o*), of whom we ſhall ſpeak preſently, *Coanacotzin*, who was alſo king of Acolhuacan, and, ſome time after the conqueſt by the Spaniards, ordered to be hanged by the conqueror Cortes, and *Ixtlilxochitl*, who became a confederate of the Spaniards againſt the Mexicans, and was converted to chriſtianity, and baptized by the name and ſurname of that conqueror.

SECT. XXI. Tragic death of king Tizoc.

Whilſt Nezahualpilli continued to multiply his deſcendants, enjoying great peace and tranquillity in his kingdom, the death of the king of Mexico was plotted by ſome of his feudatory ſubjects. Techotlalla, lord of Iztapalapan, either in reſentment of ſome affront he had received, or grown impatient of ſubordination to Tizoc, conceived the guilty purpoſe of attempting the king's life, but diſcovered it to thoſe only whom

(*o*) The name Huexotzincatl given to that prince, was certainly on account of his victory over the Huexotzincas.

he

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he thought capable of putting it in execution. He and Maxtlaton lord of Tlachco, agreed upon the manner in which they were to accomplish the dangerous deed. Hiſtorians are not of one opinion on this head. Some of them relate that they employed ſorcereſſes, who, by means of their arts, took his life from him; but this is evidently a popular fable. Others affirm that they adminiſtered poiſon to him. Which ever was his mode of death, it is certain that their machinations were ſucceſsful. Tizoc died in the fifth year of his reign, the 1482d of the vulgar era. He was a perſon of a circumſpect, ſerious character; and rigorous, like his predeceſſors and ſucceſſors, in punishing delinquents. During his time the power and wealth of the crown had arrived to ſuch a height, that he undertook to conſtruct a temple to the tutelary god of the nation, which was to have ſurpaſſed in grandeur and magnificence, all the temples of that country; he had prepared a vaſt quantity of materials for that purpoſe, and had begun the ſtructure when death interrupted his projects.

The Mexicans, well knowing their king had not fallen by any natural death, ſought revenge before they proceeded to a new election. They were ſo diligent in their inquiries and ſearch, that they ſoon detected the perpetrators of the act, and executed ſentence upon them in the greater public place of the city of Mexico, in preſence of the two allied kings, and of all the Tezcucan and Mexican nobility. The electors being aſſembled to appoint a new king, they choſe Ahuitzotl, the brother of their two preceding kings, who was already general of the army; for, from the time of Chimalpopoca the cuſtom had prevailed of exalting no one to the throne who had not firſt occupied that poſt, it being judged highly requiſite that he who was to become the chief of ſo warlike a nation, ſhould firſt give proofs of his bravery, and that while he commanded the army, he might learn the art of governing the kingdom.

SECT. XXII. Ahuitzotl, eighth king of Mexico.

SECT. XXIII. Dedication of the greater temple of Mexico.

The firſt object to which the new king paid attention, was the finiſhing of that magnificent temple, which had been deſigned and begun by his predeceſſor. It was reſumed with the utmoſt ſpirit and activity, an incredible number of workmen being aſſembled, and was completed in four years. While the building was conſtructing, the king went frequently to war, and all the priſoners which were taken from the

the enemy, were reſerved for the feſtival of its conſecration. The wars of theſe four years were carried on againſt the Mazahuas, a few miles diſtant towards of the weſt, who had rabelled againſt the crown of Tacuba; againſt the Zapotecas, three hundred miles diſtant in the ſouth eaſt; and againſt ſeveral other nations. When the fabric was completed, the king invited the two allied kings, and all the nobility of both kingdoms, to its dedication. The concourſe of people was by far the moſt numerous ever ſeen in Mexico (*q*); as this famous ſolemnity drew ſpectators from the moſt diſtant places. The feſtival laſted four days, during which they ſacrificed, in the upper porch of the temple, all the priſoners which they had made in the four preceding years. Hiſtorians are not agreed concerning the number of the victims. Torquemada ſays, that they amounted to ſeventy-two thouſand three hundred and forty-four. Others affirm they were ſixty-four thouſand and ſixty in number. To make theſe horrible ſacrifices with more ſhew and parade, they ranged the priſoners in two files, each a mile and a half in length, which began in the roads of Tacuba and Iztpalapan, and terminated at the temple (*r*), where, as ſoon as the victims arrived, they were ſacrificed. After the feſtival the king made preſents to all whom he had invited, which muſt certainly have been attended with an enormous expence. This event happened in 1486.

In that ſame year, Mozauhqui lord of Xalatlaucho, in imitation of his king to whom he bore much affection, dedicated another temple, which had been built a little before, and ſacrificed likewiſe a great number of priſoners. So much ſlaughter and blood did the cruel and barbarous ſuperſtition of theſe nations occaſion.

The year 1487 was no way memorable, except on account of a violent earthquake, and the death of Chimalpopoca king of Tacuba, who was ſucceeded by Totoquihuatzin the Second.

(*q*) Some authors affirm, that the number of perſons at this feſtival amounted to ſix millions. Although it appears exaggerated yet it does not ſeem altogether improbable, conſidering the populouſneſs of that country, the grandeur and novelty of the feſtival, and the eaſe with which thoſe people moved from place to place, being accuſtomed to travel on foot without the hindrance of baggage or equipage.

(*r*) Betancourt ſays that the file of priſoners ranged on the road of Iztapalapan, began at the place which is now called *La Candelaria Malacatlapilca*, and was given this name on that account, as the word Malacatlapilco ſignifies the tail, point, or the extremity of the priſoners. This conjecture is pretty probable; neither is it eaſy to trace a better origin of the name.

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SECT. XXIV. Conquests of king Ahuitzotl.

Ahuitzotl, whose warlike genius did not permit him to enjoy peace, went again to war against Cozcaquauhtenanco, and obtained a complete victory; but having met with an obstinate resistance, he treated them with great severity. Afterwards he subdued Quapilollan, and passed from thence to make war on Quetzalcuitlapillan, a large province peopled with a warlike nation (s); and lastly turned his arms against *Quauhtla*, a place situate on the coast of the gulf of Mexico, in which war Montezuma, the son of Axayacatl, and the successor of Ahuitzotl in the kingdom distinguished himself. A little time after, the Mexicans together with the Tezcucans, went against the Huexotzincas, in which war Tezcatzin, the brother of the above mentioned Montezuma, and Tliltototl, a noble Mexican officer, who afterwards became general of the army, gained great renown. We do not find in historians either the cause or particulars of this war. The expedition against the Huexotzincas being concluded, Ahuitzotl celebrated the dedication of a new temple called *Tlacateco*, at which the prisoners made in the preceeding wars were sacrificed; but the rejoicings of this festival were disturbed by the burning of the temple of *Tlillan*.

Thus this king continued in constant wars until 1496, in which the war of Atlixco happened. The entry of the Mexican army into this valley was so unexpected, that the first intimation which the Atlixchese nation had of it was the sight of them when they entered. They took up arms immediately in their defence; but finding they had not forces sufficient to resist any length of time, they applied to the Huexotzincas, their neighbours, for assistance. When the Atlixchese ambassadors arrived at Heuxotzinco, they found a famous captain named *Toltecatl* playing at football, whose great courage was still less remarkable than the extraordinary strength of his arm. As soon as he was informed concerning the Mexican army, he quitted play to repair with auxiliary troops to Atlixco, and entering into the battle unarmed to shew his bravery, and the contempt he entertained of his enemies, he knocked down the first Mexican he met with his fist, and took his arms from him, with which he began to make great slaughter. The Mexicans being

(s) Torquemada says, that Ahuitzotl having frequently attempted the conquest of Quetzalcuitlanpillan, did never yet succeed; but among the conquests of this king in the eleventh painting of Mendoza's Collection, this province is represented.

unable

unable to overcome the reſiſtance of their enemies, abandoned the field and returned to Mexico covered with ignominy. The Huexotzincas, in reward of the ſingular bravery of Toltecatl, made him the chief of their republic. This ſtate however was afterwards ſubjected to the dominion of the Mexicans whom they again provoked by freſh inſults; but as the conquered nations only bore the yoke while they could not ſhake it off, whenever the Huexotzincas found themſelves able to reſiſt, they rebelled; and the greater part of the provinces ſubdued by the Mexican arms did the ſame, which forced the Mexican army to keep in continual motion, to regain what their king occaſionally loſt in this way. Toltecatl accepted the dignity and poſt conferred upon him; but a year had hardly elapſed when he was conſtrained to abandon not only his charge but his country. The prieſts and other miniſters of the temples making an abuſe of their authority, entered into private houſes and took away the maize and turkeys which they found in them, and committed other exceſſes unbecoming their dignity. Toltecatl endeavoured to put a ſtop to ſuch injuſtice; but the prieſts roſe in arms. The populace ſupported them; another party oppoſed their violence, and a war kindled between the two factions, which, like all other civil wars, brought on the greateſt evils. Toltecatl weary of governing a people ſo untractable, or afraid of periſhing in the ſtorm, removed from the city with ſome other nobles, and paſſing the mountains arrived at Tlalmanalco. The governor of that city gave ſpeedy advice of them to the king of Mexico, who inſtantly put all the fugitives to death in punihment of their rebellion, and ſent their dead bodies to Huexotzinco to intimidate the rebels.

SECT. XXV. New inundation of Mexico.

In the year 1498, it appearing to the king of Mexico, that the navigation of the lake was become difficult from the ſcarcity of water, he was deſirous of increaſing it from the fountain of Huitzilopochco which ſupplied the Cojoacanese, and called on Tzotzomatzin, lord of Cojoacan, to give his orders for that purpoſe. Tzotzomatzin repreſented to him that that ſpring was not conſtant; that ſometimes it was dry, and at other times ran in ſuch abundance, that it might cauſe ſome diſaſter to his court. Ahuitzotl imagining that theſe reaſons were mere pretences to be excuſed from doing what he was commanded, repeated his firſt order, but hearing the difficulty firſt mentioned inſiſted on, diſmiſſed

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him in anger, and made him be put to death. Such is too often the recompence of good counſel when princes are obſtinate in their caprices, and neglect to attend to the ſincere remonſtrances of their faithful ſubjects. Ahuitzotl being unwilling on any account to abandon his projects, cauſed a large and ſpacious aqueduct to be formed (*t*) from Cojoacan to Mexico, by which the water was conveyed with many ſuperſtitious ceremonies; ſome of the prieſts offering incenſe, others ſacrificing quails, and anointing the lip or border of the aqueduct with the blood; others ſounding muſical inſtruments, and otherwiſe ſolemnizing the arrival of the water. The high-prieſt wore the ſame habit with which they repreſented *Chalchihuitlicue*, goddeſs of the water (*u*).

With ſuch congratulations the water was received at Mexico; but the prevailing joy was not long of being changed into lamentations: as the rains of that year were ſo plentiful, the waters of the lake roſe and overflowed the city; the ſtreets were filled with ſailing veſſels, and ſome houſes waſhed away. The king happening to be one day in the lower chambers of his palace, the water entered ſuddenly in ſuch abundance, that as he haſtened to get out at the door, which was low, he received a violent contuſion on his head, which ſome time after occaſioned his death. Diſtreſſed equally with the accident of the inundation, and the clamours of his people, he called the king of Acolhuacan to his aſſiſtance, who, without delay, ordered the dyke to be repaired, which had been built by the advice of his father in the reign of Montezuma.

The Mexicans were ſcarcely delivered from the calamity of the inundation, when a year after, the ſuperabundance of water having rotted all their maize, they were afflicted with a ſcarcity of corn; but in this year they had the fortune to diſcover a quarry of tetzontli in the vale of Mexico, which proved ſo uſeful for the buildings of that city. The king immediately made uſe of this kind of ſtone for temples; and after his example, private individuals built their houſes of it. He or-

(*t*) This aqueduct was entirely deſtroyed by Ahuitzotl himſelf, or his ſucceſſor, for on the arrival of the Spaniards nothing remained of it.

(*u*) Acoſta teſtifies that the conveyance of the water of Huitzilopocheo to Mexico, and the ceremonies performed by the prieſts were repreſented in a Mexican painting, which in his time was, and may be ſtill, in the library of the Vatican.

dered

dered all ruinous edifices to be pulled down and rebuilt in a better form; adding much to the beauty and magnificence of his court.

SECT. XXVI. New conquests and death of Ahuitzotl.

He paſſed the laſt years of his life in conſtant wars, namely, thoſe of Izquixochitlan, Amatlan, Tlacuilollan, Xaltepec, Tecuantepec, and Huexotla in Huaxteca. Tliltototl, the Mexican general, having finiſhed the war of Izquixochitlan, carried his victorious arms as far as Quahtemallan, or Guatemala, more than nine hundred miles to the ſouth-eaſt from the court, in which campaigns, according to the hiſtorians, he performed prodigies of valour, but none of them relate the particular actions of this renowned general; nor do we know whether that great tract of country remained ſubject to the crown of Mexico.

At length in the year 1502, after a reign of about twenty years, Ahuitzotl died of an illneſs occaſioned by the abovementioned contuſion on his head. He was a very warlike king, and one of thoſe who extended moſt conſiderably the dominions of the crown. At the time of his death, the Mexicans were in poſſeſſion of all which they had at the arrival of the Spaniards. Beſides courage, he had two other royal virtues, which made him celebrated among his countrymen; theſe were magnificence and liberality. He embelliſhed Mexico with ſo many new and magnificent buildings, that it was already become the firſt city of the new world. When he received the provincial tributes he aſſembled the people in a certain ſquare of the city, and perſonally diſtributed proviſions and cloathing to the neceſſitous. He rewarded his captains and ſoldiers who diſtinguiſhed themſelves in war, and the miniſters and officers of the crown who ſerved him with fidelity, with gold, ſilver, jewels, and precious feathers. Theſe virtues were put to the foil by ſome vices, as he was capricious, vindictive, and ſometimes cruel, and ſo inclined to war, that he appeared to hate peace; from which the name Ahuitzotl was uſed proverbially by the Spaniards of that kingdom to ſignify a man whoſe troubleſome vexatious temper would not permit another to live (x). But he was in other reſpects good humoured, and delighted ſo much in muſic, that he never wanted, neither by night nor day this amuſement in his palace; but it muſt have been prejudicial to the public good, as it robbed him of a great part of that time which ſhould

(x) The Spaniards ſay, N. le mio Ahuitzotl; Queſti è l'Ahuitzotl di N. a niemo manca il ſuo Ahuitzotl, &c.

have

have been dedicated to the important concerns of his kingdom. He was not leſs attached to the company of women. His predeceſſors had many wives, from an opinion that their authority and grandeur would be heightened in proportion to the number of perſons who contributed to their pleaſures. Ahuitzotl having ſo much extended his dominions, and encreaſed the power of the crown, was deſirous alſo of ſhewing the ſuperiority of his grandeur over that of his anceſtors, in the exceſſive number of his wives. In this ſtate was the court of Mexico at the beginning of the ſixteenth century; of that century ſo fruitful in great events, during which that kingdom was to put on a quite different aſpect, and the whole order and ſyſtem of the new world was to be reverſed.



Moteczuma Xocoyotzin.

BOOK V.

Events under Montezuma II. the ninth King of Mexico, until the Year 1519. Particulars of his Life, his Government, and the Magnificence of his Palaces, Gardens, and Woods. The War of Tlaſcala, and ſome Account of Tlahuicole, a Tlaſcalan Captain. Death and Eulogium of Nezahualpilli, King of Acolhuacan, and new Revolutions in that Kingdom. Preſages of the Arrival of the Spaniards.

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SECT. I. Montezuma, the ninth king of Mexico.

AHuitzotl being dead, and his funeral celebrated with extraordinary magnificence, they proceeded to the election of a new ſovereign. No brother of the preceding kings ſurvived; on which account, according to the law of the kingdom, one of the grandſons of the laſt king, who were ſons of his predeceſſors, had the right of ſucceſſion; of theſe there were many; for of the ſons of Axayacatl, Montezuma, Cuitlahuac, Matlatzincatl, Pinahuitzin, Cecepacticatzin, were ſtill living, and of thoſe of king Tizoc, Imactlacuijatzin, Tepehuatzin, and others, whoſe names we do not know. Montezuma, who was called by the name of *Xocojotzin*, to diſtinguiſh him from the other king of that name, was elected in preference to all the others *(a)*.

(2) Beſides the bravery which he had diſplayed in ſeveral battles, in which he held the poſt of general, he was likewiſe a prieſt, and much revered for his gravity, his circumſpection, and religion. He was a man of a taciturn temper, extremely deliberate, not only in words, but alſo in his actions; and whenever he ſpoke in the royal council, of which he was a member, he was liſtened to with reſpect.

(a) The author of the Annotations to Cortes's Letters, printed in Mexico in the year 1770, ſays, that Montezuma II. was ſon of Montezuma I. This is a great miſtake, as we know from all the hiſtorians, both Mexican and Spaniſh, that he was the ſon of Axayacatl. See Torquemada, Bernal Diaz, the interpreter of Mendoza's Collection, &c.

The firſt Montezuma was called by the Mexicans *Huehue Montezuma*, and the ſecond Montezuma *Xocojotzin*, names which are equivalent to the *former* and *latter* of the Latins.

Notice

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Notice of the election being ſent to the two allied kings, they repaired inſtantly to the court to pay their compliments. Montezuma, being apprized of it, alſo retired to the temple, appearing to think himſelf unworthy of ſo much honour. The nobility went there to acquaint him with his being elected, and found him ſweeping the pavement of the temple. He was conducted by a numerous attendance to the palace, where the electors, with due ſolemnity, intimated the election had fallen on him as the fitteſt perſon to fill the throne of Mexico. From thence he returned to the temple to perform the uſual ceremonies, and as ſoon as they were finiſhed he received on the throne the homage of the nobility, and heard the congratulatory harangues of the orators. The firſt ſpeech was made by Nezahualpilli, king of Acolhuacan, which we preſent to our readers ſuch as it is preſerved to us by the Mexicans.

" The great good fortune," he ſaid, " of the Mexican monarchy is " made manifeſt from the unanimity in your election, and the uncommon " applauſe with which it is celebrated by all. All have in truth rea- " ſon to celebrate it, for the kingdom of Mexico is arrived at ſuch " greatneſs, no leſs fortitude than your invincible heart poſſeſſes, no " leſs wiſdom than that which in you we admire, would be ſuffi- " cient to ſupport ſo great a load. It is moſt evident, how ſtrong " the love is which the omnipotent God bears to this nation; as " he has enlightened it, that it may diſcern and chuſe that which can " be moſt beneficial to it. Who is able to perſuade himſelf that he, " who, as a private individual, has ſearched into the myſteries of hea- " ven *(a)*, will not now, when king, know the things of this earth, " which will preſerve the happineſs of his ſubjects? That he who on ſo " many occaſions has diſplayed the greatneſs of his ſoul, will not now re- " tain it when it is become moſt neceſſary to him? Who can believe, " that where there is ſo much courage, and ſo much wiſdom, the widow " or the orphan will ever apply without relief? The Mexican empire " has unqueſtionably attained the height of its power, as the Creator of " heaven has inveſted you with ſo much authority as to inſpire all thoſe " who behold you with awe and reſpect. Rejoice, therefore, O happy

(*a*) This ſaying of Nezahualpilli appears to imply that Montezuma was engaged in the ſtudy of aſtronomy.

" land,

" land, that you are deſtined to have a prince who will not only be thy " ſupport, but will by his clemency prove a father and brother to his ſub- " jects. Thou haſt, indeed, a king who will not ſeize the occaſion of his " exaltation to give himſelf up to luxury, and lie ſluggiſhly in bed, aban- " doned to paſtimes and effeminate pleaſures; his anxiety for thee rather " will wake and agitate his boſom in the ſofteſt hour of repoſe, nor " will he be able to taſte food, or reliſh the moſt delicious morſel, while " thy intereſts are oppreſſed or neglected. And do you, noble prince and " moſt powerful lord, be confident, and truſt that the Creator of hea- " ven, who has raiſed you to ſo high a dignity, will give you ſtrength " to diſcharge all the obligations which are annexed to it. He who " has hitherto been ſo liberal to you, will not now be niggardly of his " precious gifts, having himſelf raiſed you to the throne on which I " wiſh you many years of happineſs."

Montezuma heard this harangue with much attention, and was ſo greatly affected by it, that he attempted three times to anſwer it, but could not, from the interruption of the tears, which the ſecret pleaſure he felt produced, and gave him the appearance of much humility; but, at laſt after checking his emotions, he replied in few words, declaring himſelf unworthy of the ſtation to which he was exalted, and returning thanks to that king for the praiſes which he beſtowed on him; and after hearing the other addreſſes on this occaſion, he returned to the temple to keep faſt for four days, at the end of which he was re-conducted with great ſtate to the royal palace.

He thought now of going to war to procure victims to be ſacrificed at his coronation. This diſaſter fell upon the Atlixcheſe, who ſome time before had rebelled againſt the crown. The king, accordingly, ſet out from the court, with the flower of the nobility, his brothers and couſins being amongſt the number. In this war the Mexicans loſt ſome brave officers; but, notwithſtanding, they reduced the rebels under their former yoke, and Montezuma returned victorious, bringing along with him the priſoners which he required at his coronation. On this occaſion was diſplayed ſo much pomp of games, dances, theatrical repreſentations and illuminations, and with ſuch variety and richneſs of tributes ſent from the different provinces of the kingdom, that foreigners never known before in Mexico, came to ſee

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it, and even the enemies of the Mexicans, namely, the Tlaſcalans and Michuacaneſe were preſent in diſguiſe at the ſpectacle; but Montezuma having intelligence of this, with a generoſity becoming a king, ordered them to be properly lodged and entertained, and cauſed ſeveral ſcaffolds to be erected where they might with eaſe and conveniency view the whole of the ſolemnity.

SECT. II. Deportment and ceremonials of king Montezuma.

The firſt act of this king was to reward a renowned captain, named *Tlilxochitl*, with the ſtate of Tlachaucho, for the great ſervices he had rendered his anceſtors during ſeveral wars: a truly happy commencement of a reign, had his ſucceeding conduct been correſpondent to it. But he had ſcarce begun to exerciſe his authority when he diſcovered the pride which had hitherto lain concealed under an exterior of ſeeming humility. All his predeceſſors had been accuſtomed to confer offices on perſons of merit, and thoſe who appeared the moſt able to diſcharge them, honouring, without partiality, the nobility or thoſe of the claſs of plebeians occaſionally, notwithſtanding the ſolemn agreement entered into by the nobility and plebeians in the reign of Itzcoatl. Montezuma as ſoon as he ſeized the reins of government ſhewed quite different ſentiments, and diſapproved of the conduct of his predeceſſors, under pretence that the plebeians ſhould be employed according to their rank, for that in all their actions the baſeneſs of their birth, and the meanneſs of their education were apparent. Being biaſſed by this maxim, he ſtripped the plebeians of thoſe offices which they held either in his royal manſion, or about the court, and declared them incapable of holding any ſuch in future. A prudent old man, who had been his tutor, repreſented to him that this reſolution would alienate the minds of the people from him; but no remonſtrances were ſufficient to divert him from his purpoſe.

All the ſervants of his palace conſiſted of perſons of rank. Beſides thoſe who conſtantly lived in it, every morning ſix hundred feudatory lords and nobles came to pay court to him. They paſſed the whole day in the anti-chamber, where none of their ſervants were permitted to enter, converſing in a low voice, and waiting the orders of their ſovereign. The ſervants who accompanied thoſe lords, were ſo numerous as to occupy three ſmall courts of the palace, and many waited in the ſtreets. The women about the court were not leſs in number, including thoſe of rank,

ſervants, and ſlaves. All this numerous female tribe, lived ſhut up in a kind of ſeraglio, under the care of ſome noble matrons, who watched over their conduct; as theſe kings were extremely jealous, and every piece of miſconduct which happened in the palace, however ſlight, was ſeverely puniſhed. Of theſe women the king retained thoſe who pleaſed him (*d*); the others he gave away, as a recompence for the ſervices of his vaſſals. All the feudatories of the crown were obliged to reſide for ſome months of the year, at the court; and at their return to their ſtates, to leave their ſons or brothers behind them, as hoſtages, which the king demanded as a ſecurity for their fidelity; on which account they required to keep houſes in Mexico.

The forms and ceremonials introduced at court, were another effect of the deſpotiſm of Montezuma. No one could enter the palace, either to ſerve the king, or to confer with him on any buſineſs, without pulling off his ſhoes and ſtockings at the gate. No perſon was allowed to appear before the king in any pompous dreſs, as it was deemed a want of reſpect to majeſty; conſequently the greateſt lords, excepting the neareſt relations of the king, ſtripped themſelves of the rich dreſs which they wore, or at leaſt covered it with one more ordinary, to ſhew their humility before him. All perſons on entering the hall of audience, and before ſpeaking to the king, made three bows, ſaying at the firſt, lord; at the ſecond, my lord; and at the third, great lord (*e*). They ſpoke low, and with the head inclined, and received the anſwer which the king gave them by means of his ſecretaries, as attentively and humbly as if it had been the voice of an oracle. In taking leave, no perſon ever turned his back upon the throne.

The audience hall ſerved alſo for his dining room. The table was a large pillow, and his ſeat a low chair. The table cloth, napkins, and towels were of cotton, but very fine, white, and always perfectly clean. The kitchen utenſils were of the earthen ware of Cholula; but none of theſe things ever ſerved him more than once, as immediately after he gave them to one of his nobles. The cups in which they prepared his

(*d*) Some hiſtorians affirm that Montezuma had a hundred and fifty of his wives pregnant at once; but it is certainly not very credible.

(*e*) The Mexican words are, *Tlatoani*, lord; *Notlatocatzin*, my lord; and *Huitlatoani*, great lord.

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chocolate, and other drinks of the cocoa, were of gold, or ſome beautiful ſea-ſhell, or naturally formed veſſels curiouſly varniſhed, of which we ſhall ſpeak hereafter. He had gold plate, but it was uſed only on certain feſtivals, in the temple. The number, and variety of diſhes at his table amazed the Spaniards who ſaw them. The conqueror Cortez, ſays, that they covered the floor of a great hall, and that there were diſhes of every kind of game, fiſh, fruit, and herbs of that country. Three or four hundred noble youths carried this dinner in form; preſented it as ſoon as the king ſat down to table, and immediately retired; and that it might not grow cold, every diſh was accompanied with its chafing-diſh. The king marked with a rod, which he had in his hand, the meats which he choſe, and the reſt were diſtributed among the nobles who were in the anti-chamber. Before he ſat down, four of the moſt beautiful women of his ſeraglio, preſented water to him to waſh his hands, and continued ſtanding all the time of his dinner, together with ſix of his principal miniſters, and his carver.

As ſoon as the king ſat down to table, the carver ſhut the door of the hall, that none of the other nobles might ſee him eat. The miniſters ſtood at a diſtance, and kept a profound ſilence, unleſs when they made anſwer to what the king ſaid. The carver and the four women ſerved the diſhes to him, beſides two others who brought him bread made of maize baked with eggs. He frequently heard muſic, during the time of his meal, and was entertained with the humorous ſayings of ſome deformed men whom he kept out of mere ſtate. He ſhewed much ſatisfaction in hearing them, and obſerved that amongſt their jeſts, they frequently pronounced ſome important truth. When his dinner was over he took tobacco mixed with liquid amber, in a pipe, or reed beautifully varniſhed, and with the ſmoke of it put himſelf to ſleep.

After having ſlept a little, upon the ſame low chair he gave audience, and liſtened attentively to all that was communicated to him; encouraged thoſe who, from embarraſſment, were unable to ſpeak to him, and anſwered every one by his miniſters or ſecretaries. After giving audience, he was entertained with muſic, being much delighted with hearing the glorious actions of his anceſtors ſung. At other times he amuſed himſelf with ſeeing various games played, of which we ſhall ſpeak hereafter. When he went abroad, he was carried on the

ſhoulders

ſhoulders of the nobles in a litter covered with a rich canopy, attended by a numerous retinue of courtiers; and wherever he paſſed, every perſon ſtopped with their eyes ſhut, as if they feared to be dazzled with the ſplendor of majeſty. When he alighted from the litter to walk on foot, they ſpread carpets, that he might not touch the earth with his feet.

SECT. III. Magnificence of the palaces and royal houſes.

The grandeur and magnificence of his palaces, houſes of pleaſure, woods, and gardens, were correſpondent to this majeſty. The palace of his uſual reſidence was a vaſt edifice of ſtone and lime, which had twenty doors to the public ſquare and ſtreets; three great courts, in one of which was a beautiful fountain, ſeveral halls, and more than a hundred chambers. Some of the apartments had walls of marble and other valuable kinds of ſtone. The beams were of cedar, cypreſs, and other excellent woods, well finiſhed and carved. Among the halls there was one ſo large, that, according to the teſtimony of an eye-witneſs of veracity (*f*), it could contain three thouſand people. Beſides this palace, he had others, both within and without the capital. In Mexico, beſides the ſeraglio for his wives, there was lodging for all his miniſters and counſellors, and all the officers of his houſhold and court; and alſo accommodation for foreign lords who arrived there, and particularly for the two allied kings.

Two houſes in Mexico he appropriated to animals; the one for birds, which did not live by prey; the other for thoſe of prey, quadrupeds, and reptiles. There were ſeveral chambers belonging to the firſt, and galleries ſupported on pillars of marble, all of one piece. Theſe galleries looked towards a garden, where, in the midſt of ſome ſhrubbery, ten fiſh-ponds were formed, ſome of them of freſh water for the aquatic birds of rivers, and others of ſalt-water for thoſe of the ſea. In other parts of the houſe were all ſorts of birds, in ſuch number and variety, as to ſtrike the Spaniards with wonder, who could not believe there was any ſpecies in the world wanting to the collection. They were ſupplied with the ſame food which they fed upon while they enjoyed their liberty, whether ſeeds, fruits, or inſects. For thoſe birds

(*f*) The anonymous conqueror, in his valuable relation or narrative. He ſays alſo, that he went four different times into that great palace, and ranged over it till he was fatigued, but could not ſee it all.

which

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who lived on fiſh only, the daily conſumption was ten Caſtilian *peſos* of fiſh, (according to the teſtimony of the conqueror Cortez, in his letters to Charles V.) which is more than three hundred Roman pounds. Three hundred men, ſays Cortez, were employed to take care of thoſe birds, beſides their phyſicians, who obſerved their diſtempers, and applied timely remedies to them. Of thoſe three hundred men, ſome procured them their food, others diſtributed it, others took care of their eggs at the time of their incubation, and others picked their plumage at certain ſeaſons of the year; for, beſides the pleaſure which the king took in ſeeing ſo great a multitude of animals collected together, he was principally careful of their feathers, not leſs for the ſake of the famous Moſaic images, of which we ſhall ſpeak hereafter, than of the other works which were made of them. The halls and chambers of thoſe houſes, were ſo many in number, as the conqueror above mentioned atteſts, that they could have accommodated two great princes with all their retinue. This celebrated houſe was ſituated in the place where, at preſent, the great convent of St. Francis ſtands.

The other houſe appropriated to the wild animals, had a large and handſome court, with a chequered pavement, and was divided into various apartments. One of them contained all the birds of prey, from the royal eagle to the keſtrel, and many individuals of every ſpecies. Theſe birds were diſtributed, according to their ſpecies, in various ſubterraneous chambers, which were more than ſeven feet deep, and upwards of ſeventeen in length and breadth. The half of every chamber was covered with flat ſtones: and ſtakes were fixed in the wall, on which they might ſleep, and be defended from rain. The other half of the chamber was only covered with a lattice, through which they enjoyed the light of the ſun. For the ſupport of theſe birds, were killed, daily, near five hundred turkeys. In the ſame houſe were many low halls filled with a great number of ſtrong wooden cages, in which, lions, tygers, wolves, coyotoo, and wild cats were confined, and all other kinds of wild beaſts, which were fed upon deer, rabbits, hares, techichis, and other animals, and the inteſtines of human ſacrifices.

The king of Mexico not only kept all the ſpecies of animals, which other princes do for ſtate, but likewiſe ſuch as by nature ſeemed exempted

empted from ſlavery, namely, crocodiles, and ſerpents. The ſerpents were kept in large caſks or veſſels; the crocodiles in ponds, which were walled round. There were alſo, various ponds for fiſh, two of which, that are remaining and ſtill beautiful, we have ſeen in the palace of Chapoltepec, two miles from Mexico.

Montezuma, who was not ſatisfied with having every ſort of animal in his palace, alſo collected there all irregularly formed men, who either from the colour of their hair, or of their ſkin, or ſome other deformity in their perſons, were oddities of their ſpecies. A humour this, however, not unattended with beneficial conſequences, as it gave maintenance to a number of miſerable objects, and delivered them from the inhuman inſults of their other fellow-creatures.

All his palaces were ſurrounded with beautiful gardens, where there was every kind of beautiful flower, odoriferous herb, and medicinal plant. He had, likewiſe, woods incloſed with walls, and furniſhed with variety of game, in which he frequently ſported. One of thoſe woods was upon an iſland in the lake, known at preſent, among the Spaniards, by the name of *Piñon*.

Of all theſe palaces, gardens, and woods, there is now remaining the wood of Chapoltepec only, which the Spaniſh viceroys have preſerved for their pleaſure. All the others were deſtroyed by the conquerors. They laid in ruins the moſt magnificent buildings of antiquity, ſometimes from an indiſcreet zeal for religion, ſometimes in revenge, or to make uſe of the materials. They neglected the cultivation of the royal gardens, cut down the woods, and reduced that country to ſuch a ſtate, the magnificence of its former kings could not now find belief, were it not confirmed by the teſtimony of thoſe who were the cauſes of its annihilation.

Not only the palaces, but all the other places of pleaſure, were kept in exquiſite order and neatneſs, even thoſe which were ſeldom or never viſited; as there was nothing in which he took more pride than the cleanlineſs of his own perſon, and of every thing elſe which was his. He bathed regularly every day, and had baths, therefore, in all his palaces. Every day he wore four dreſſes; and that which he once put off, he never after uſed again: theſe were reſerved as largeſſes for the nobles who ſerved him, and the ſoldiers who behaved gallantly in war. Every morning,

SECT. IV. The good and bad of Montezuma.

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morning, according to the accounts given by ſome hiſtorians, upwards of a thouſand men were employed by him in ſweeping and watering the ſtreets of the city.

In one of the royal buildings was an armory filled with all kind of offenſive and defenſive arms, which were made uſe of by thoſe nations, with military ornaments, and enſigns. He kept a ſurpriſing number of artificers at work, in manufacturing theſe and other things. He had numerous artiſts conſtantly buſied likewiſe, namely, goldſmiths, Moſaic work-men, ſculptors, painters, and others. One whole diſtrict conſiſted ſolely of dancing-maſters, who were trained up to entertain him.

His zeal for religion was not leſs conſpicuous than his magnificence. He built ſeveral temples to his gods, and made frequent ſacrifices to them, obſerving with great punctuality the eſtabliſhed rites and ceremonies. He was extremely careful that all the temples, and in particular the greater temple of Mexico, ſhould be well kept, and exquiſitely clean; but his vain fear of the auguries and pretended oracles of thoſe falſe divinities totally debaſed his mind.

He was anxiouſly attentive to the execution of his orders, and the laws of the kingdom, and was inexorable in puniſhing tranſgreſſors. He tried, frequently, by ſecret preſents, the integrity of his magiſtrates, and whenever he found any of them guilty, he puniſhed them without remiſſion, even if they were of the firſt rank of the nobility.

He was an implacable enemy to idleneſs, and, in order to baniſh it as much as poſſible from his dominions, he kept his ſubjects perpetually employed; the military, in conſtant warlike exerciſes; the others, in the culture of the fields, and in the conſtruction of new edifices, and other public works; and even beggars, that they might not be totally idle, were enjoined to contribute a certain quantity of thoſe filthy inſects which are the breed of naſtineſs and adherents of wretchedneſs.

The oppreſſion which he made his vaſſals feel, the heavy burdens he impoſed on them, his own arrogance and pride, and exceſſive ſeverity in puniſhments, diſguſted his people; but, on the other hand, he gained their love by his liberality in ſupplying the neceſſities of individuals, as well as rewarding his generals and miniſters. Amongſt other things worthy to be recorded with the higheſt praiſes, and to be imitated by all princes,

princes, he allotted the city of Colhuacan as an hoſpital for all invalids, who, after having done faithful ſervice to the crown, either in military or civil employments, required a proviſion for their age or infirmities. They were there maintained, and attended to at the expence of the king. Such were the good and bad qualities of the celebrated Montezuma; which we have thought proper to lay before the reader here, before we go on to detail the events of his reign. BOOK V.

In the beginning of his government, he put to death Malinalli, lord of Tlachquiauhco, for rebellion againſt the crown of Mexico; he reduced the ſtate again under his obedience, and conquered, alſo, that of *Achiotlan*. A little time after, another war broke out more ſerious and dangerous, in which he was not ſo ſucceſsful.

SECT. V. War of Tlaſcala.

Amongſt the many provinces which either voluntarily ſubjected themſelves to the Mexicans from fear of their power, or were conquered by force of arms, the republic of Tlaſcala remained always unſubdued, having never bowed to the Mexican yoke, although ſo little diſtant from the capital of that empire. The Huexotzincas, Cholulans, and other neighbouring ſtates, who were formerly allied with the republic, growing jealous afterwards of its proſperity, exaſperated the Mexicans againſt it, by inſinuating that the Tlaſcalans were deſirous of making themſelves maſters of the maritime provinces on the Mexican gulf, and that by their commerce with thoſe provinces, they were daily increaſing their power and their wealth, and were gaining the minds of the people with whom they had traffick. The commerce of the Tlaſcalans, of which the Huexotzincas complained, was both juſtifiable and neceſſary; becauſe, beſides that the greater part of the people of theſe coaſts were originally of Tlaſcala, and conſidered each other as kindred and relations; the Tlaſcalans were under the neceſſity of providing themſelves from thence with what cocoas, cotton, and ſalt they wanted. Nevertheleſs the repreſentations of the Huexotzincas had ſuch influence on the Mexicans, that ſince the time of Montezuma I. all the kings of Mexico had treated the Tlaſcalans as the greateſt enemies of the empire, and had always maintained ſtrong garriſons on the frontiers of Tlaſcala, to obſtruct their commerce with the maritime parts.

The Tlaſcalans finding themſelves deprived of their freedom of commerce, and conſequently of the means of obtaining ſome of the neceſſaries

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The Tlaſcalans alarmed at the arrogant and ambitious pretenſions of the Mexicans, and deſpairing of being able to bring them to any amicable agreement, reſolved at laſt to fortify their frontiers to prevent an invaſion. They had already incloſed the lands of the republic with intrenchments, and eſtabliſhed good garriſons on their frontiers: the threats of the Mexicans made them increaſe their fortifications, and ſtrengthen their garriſons, and conſtruct that famous wall ſix miles in length, which prevented the enemy from entering in the quarter of the weſt, where danger was chiefly to be apprehended. They were frequently attacked by the Huexotzincas, the Cholulans, the Itzocaneſe, the Tecamachalcheſe, and other ſtates which were neighbouring, or but little diſtant from Mexico; but they never could wreſt a foot of land from the republic, owing to the watchful attention of the Tlaſcalans, and the bravery with which they reſiſted their invaders.

A great many ſubjects of the crown of Mexico had taken refuge in the country of Tlaſcala, particularly ſome of the Chalcheſe nation, and the Otomies of Xaltocan who fled from the ruin of their native countries, in the wars above-mentioned. They bore an inveterate hatred to the Mexicans, from the evils which they had ſuffered, and appeared, there-

therefore, to the Tlaſcalans, to be the fitteſt people to give vigorous oppoſition to their enemies; in this they were not deceived; for the Mexicans found no reſiſtance more powerful than that which they met with from theſe exiles, eſpecially the Otomies compoſing the frontier garriſons, who ſerved the republic with great fidelity, and were rewarded with the higheſt honours and employments.

All the time that Axayacatl and his ſucceſſors reigned, the Tlaſcalans continued to be obſtructed in their commerce with the maritime provinces, by which means the common people were ſo much in want of ſalt, that they grew accuſtomed to eat their food without that ſeaſoning, and did not return to the uſe of it for many years after the conqueſt; but the nobles, or at leaſt ſome of them, had ſecret correſpondence with ſome Mexican lords, and got a ſupply of what was neceſſary, without the populace of either country having any knowledge of it. Every perſon knows that in all general calamities, the poor are thoſe who ſuffer the greateſt hardſhips, while thoſe of better circumſtances eſcape, or at leaſt find means by their wealth to ſoften and relieve them.

Montezuma being unable to endure a refuſal of obedience and homage from the little republic of Tlaſcala, while ſo many nations, even the moſt diſtant, were tributary to him, ordered in the beginning of his reign, the ſtates in its neighbourhood to muſter their troops, and attack the republic on every ſide. The Huexotzincas, in confederacy with the Cholulans, quickly raiſed their forces, under command of Tecajahuatzin, the chief of the ſtate of Huexotzinco; but confiding more in their arts than their ſtrength, they tried to draw over to their party, by bribes and promiſes, the inhabitants of Huejotlipan, a city of the republic, ſituated on the frontiers of the kingdom of Acolhuacan, and the Otomies, who guarded the other frontiers; but neither would be prevailed upon: on the contrary, they declared they were reſolved to die in defence of the republic. Upon which the Huexotzincas, being obliged to make uſe of their ſtrength, entered with ſuch fury into the boundaries of Tlaſcala, that the frontier garriſon was not able to withſtand them: they committed great ſlaughter, and advanced as far as *Xiloxochitla*, which was only three miles diſtant from the capital. There they met with a ſtout reſiſtance from *Tezatlacatzin*, a celebrated Tlaſcalan captain, who fell at laſt however, being

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overcome by the multitude of his enemies. Finding themſelves ſo near the capital, they conceived ſuch a dread of the vengeance of the Tlaſcalans, that they retreated precipitately to their own territories. Such was the commencement of the continual battles and the hoſtilities which ſubſiſted between the two ſtates until the arrival of the Spaniards. We are uninformed by hiſtory whether the other ſtates in the neighbourhood of Tlaſcala were engaged in the war: perhaps, the Huexotzincas and and Cholulans were unwilling to let any other have a ſhare in their glory.

The Tlaſcalans were now ſo enraged againſt the Huexotzincas, that they did not confine themſelves any longer to the defence of their ſtate; but frequently ſallied out upon the enemy. At one time they attacked them at the foot of the mountains, which lie to the weſt of Huexotzinco, and reduced them to ſuch difficulties, that finding themſelves unable for reſiſtance, they demanded aſſiſtance from Montezuma, who immediately ordered an army under the command of his firſt-born ſon to their relief. This army marched acroſs the ſouthern border of the mountain and volcano Popocatepec, where it was increaſed with the troops of Chietlan and Itzocan, and from thence it entered by Quauhquechollan into the valley of Atlixco. The Tlaſcalans having intelligence of this route, poſted themſelves in the way to fall upon the Mexicans before they could join the Huexotzincas. The attack was ſo ſudden and unexpected on the Mexicans that they were defeated, and the Tlaſcalans taking advantage of their diſorder, made a conſiderable havoc of them. Amongſt others who were ſlain, the prince the general was one, on whom ſo important a poſt had been conferred probably more from an intention to add this honour to the nobleneſs of his birth than from reſpect to his ſkill in the art of war. The reſt of the army was put to flight, and the conquerors returned to Tlaſcala loaded with ſpoils. It is much to be wondered at that they did not pour immediately upon the city of Huexotzinco, as they might have expected it would have eaſily ſurrendered; but, perhaps, the victory was not ſo complete, but that many of their people fell in the battle, and that they thought it more prudent to enjoy the immediate fruits of victory, and return afterwards with more forces to the war. They quickly returned, but they were repulſed by the Huexotzincas, who were

were now fortified, ſo that they retreated to Tlaſcala without any other advantage than laying waſte the fields of the Huexotzincas and Cholulans; by which theſe people were ſo reduced as to be forced to ſeek proviſion in Mexico and other places.

Montezuma was deeply affected with the death of his firſt-born ſon, and the defeat of his army: upon which he commanded another army to be raiſed in the provinces ſurrounding Tlaſcala, to block up the whole republic; but the Tlaſcalans foreſeeing the hoſtility of the Mexicans, had made extraordinary fortifications, and ſtrengthened all their garriſons. The conteſt became vigorous on both ſides; but at laſt the royal troops were repulſed, leaving no ſmall ſhare of riches in the hands of their enemies. The Tlaſcalans celebrated this victory with great rejoicings, and rewarded the Otomies, to whom it was chiefly owing, by advancing the moſt reſpectable among them to the dignity of *Texetli*, which was in the greateſt eſteem among them, and giving daughters of the moſt noble Tlaſcalans in marriage to the heads of that nation.

It is not to be doubted that if the king of Mexico had been ſeriouſly bent on the reduction of the Tlaſcalans, he would in the end have ſubjected them to his crown; becauſe although the ſtrength of the republic was conſiderable, its troops warlike, and its places ſtrong, they were ſtill inferior to the Mexicans in reſources and power. From which it appears probable, as hiſtorians affirm, that the kings of Mexico, although they had conquered the moſt diſtant provinces, deſignedly let the republic of Tlaſcala exiſt, which is ſcarcely ſixty miles diſtant from that capital; not only that they might have an enemy at hand againſt whom they might exerciſe their troops; but likewiſe that they might always be able to procure with eaſe victims for their ſacrifices. The frequent attacks which they made on the different places of Tlaſcala, ſerved for both theſe purpoſes.

SECT. VI. Tlahuicol, a celebrated general of the Tlaſcalans.

Among the Tlaſcalan victims in the hiſtory of Mexico, a very famous general, named *Tlahuicol*, is extremely worhy of memory (g). His courage, and the uncommon ſtrength of his arms, were unequalled and wonderful. The *maquahuitl*, or Mexican ſword, with which he

(g) The event reſpecting this officer happened in the laſt years of Montezuma's reign; but on account of its connection with the war of Tlaſcala we have thought proper to introduce it here.

fought

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fought, was ſo weighty, that a man of ordinary ſtrength could hardly raiſe it from the ground. His name was a terror to the enemies of the republic, and wherever he appeared in arms, they fled before him. In an aſſault which the Huexotzincas made upon a garriſon of the Ottomies, he got inadvertently, during the heat of the engagement, into a marſh, where not being able to move with ſufficient agility, he was made priſoner, confined in a ſtrong cage, carried to Mexico, and preſented to Montezuma. The king, who could eſteem merit even in his enemies, inſtead of putting him to death, graciouſly granted him liberty to return to his native country; but the proud Tlaſcalan would not accept the favour, pretending that as he had been made priſoner, he had not confidence to preſent himſelf after ſuch diſhonour before his countrymen. He ſaid he deſired to die like the other priſoners, in honour of their god. Montezuma obſerving his averſion to return to his country, and at the ſame time being unwilling to deprive the world of a man who was ſo renowned, continued to entertain him at his court, in hopes of making him a friend to the Mexicans, and gaining his ſervices to the crown. In the mean time a war broke out with the Michuacaneſe, the reaſons and particulars of which we know not, when Montezuma committed the command of the army which he ſent to Tlaximalojan, the frontier as we have already mentioned of Michuacan, to Tlahuicol. Tlahuicol correſponded faithfully with the truſt repoſed in him; for although he could not diſlodge the enemy from the place where they were fortified, yet he made many priſoners, and brought off a great quantity of gold and ſilver. Montezuma was ſenſible of his ſervices, and again made him offers of liberty; but this being refuſed as formerly, he was offered the honourable poſt of *Tlacatecatl*, general of the Mexican arms. To this the Tlaſcalan nobly anſwered, that he would never be a traitor to his country, that he deſired poſitively to die, provided it might be in the gladiatorian ſacrifice, which as it was reſerved for the moſt reſpectable priſoners, would therefore be more honourable to him. This celebrated general paſſed three years in Mexico with one of his wives, who came there from Tlaſcala to live with him. It is probable, that the Mexicans brought her to him that he might leave them ſome poſterity, to ennoble with his virtues the court and kingdom of Mexico. The king perceiving at laſt the obſtinacy with which he re-

fuſed

fuſed every offer which was made him, yielded to his barbarous inclination, and appointed the day of the ſacrifice. Eight days before the arrival of that day, they began to celebrate the occaſion with entertainments of dancing; after which, they, in preſence of the king, the nobility, and an immenſe croud of people, put the Tlaſcalan priſoner, tied by one foot, upon the *Temalacatl*, or the large round ſtone on which ſuch ſacrifices were made. Several brave men came on, one at a time, to fight with him, of whom, according to report, he killed eight and wounded twenty, until at laſt falling almoſt dead from a ſevere blow which he received on the head, they carried him before the idol of Huitzilopochtli, where the prieſts opened his breaſt and took out his heart, and threw the body down the ſtair of the temple according to the eſtabliſhed rites. Thus fell this famous general, whoſe courage and fidelity to his country, had he lived in more enlightened times, would have raiſed him high in the rank of heroes.

SECT. VII. Famine in the provinces of the empire, and public works in the capital.

During the time in which war was carrying on againſt the Tlaſcalans, ſome provinces of the empire were diſtreſſed with a famine, occaſioned by two years of dry weather. All the grain which individuals poſſeſſed being conſumed, the king had an opportunity of ſhewing his liberality; he opened all his granaries, and diſtributed among his ſubjects all the maize which was in them; but this not being ſufficient to relieve their neceſſities, in imitation of Montezuma I. he permitted them to go to other countries to procure their ſubſiſtence. The following year, 1505, having had an abundant harveſt, the Mexicans went to war againſt Guatemala, a province upwards of nine hundred miles diſtant from Mexico in the ſouth-eaſt. During the continuance of this war, occaſioned probably by ſome hoſtilities offered to ſome of the ſubjects of the crown, the building of a temple, erected in honour of the goddeſs *Centiotl*, was finiſhed at Mexico, the conſecration of which was celebrated with the ſacrifice of the priſoners made in that war.

They had, during this ſeaſon alſo, enlarged the road upon the lake from Chapoltepec to Mexico, and repaired the aqueduct which was upon that road, but the rejoicings which the concluſion of ſuch a labour excited were interrupted by the turret of another temple, called *Zomolli*, being ſet on fire by lightning. The inhabitants of that part

of

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of the city which was moſt diſtant from the temple, and eſpecially the Tlatelolcos, having perceived no lightning, were perſuaded that the burning was cauſed by enemies come unexpectedly into the city, upon which they immediately roſe in arms to defend it, and ran in troops towards the temple. Montezuma being ſuſpicious that it was a mere pretence of the Tlatelolcos to raiſe a ſedition, as he was always diffident of them, was ſo provoked at their diſturbance, that he deprived them of all the public offices which they held, and even forbade their appearance at court, neither proteſtations of their innocence, nor prayers with which they implored the royal mercy, having ſufficient weight to make him alter his reſolution; but as ſoon as the firſt heat of his paſſion was over, they were reinſtated in their employments and his favour.

SECT. VIII. Rebellion of the Mixtecas and Zapotecas.

In the mean while the Mixtecas and Zapotecas rebelled againſt the crown. The principal leaders of the rebellion, in which all the lords of each nation had engaged, were *Cetecpatl*, lord of Coaixtlahuacan, and *Mochuixochitl*, lord of Tzotzollan. Firſt of all they treacherouſly murdered all the Mexicans in the garriſons of Huayjacac and other places. As ſoon as Montezuma had information of the rebellion, he ſent a large army againſt them, compoſed of Mexicans, Tezcucans, and Tepanecas, under the command of prince Cuitlahuac, his brother and ſucceſſor in the crown. The rebels were totally defeated, a great many of them taken priſoners with their chiefs, and their cities ſacked. The army returned to Mexico loaded with ſpoils, the priſoners were ſacrificed, and the ſtate of Tzotzollan was given to *Cozcaquauhtli*, the brother of Nahuixochitl, for his fidelity to the crown, preferring the duties of a ſubject to the ties of blood; but *Cetecpatl* was not ſacrificed, as he had not yet diſcovered all his accomplices in the rebellion, and the deſigns of the rebels.

SECT. IX. Conteſt between the Huexotzincas and Cholulans.

Some little time after this expedition, a diſpute and quarrel aroſe between the Huexotzincas and the Cholulans their friends and neighbours, which as it was left to be decided by arms, occaſioned a pitched battle to be fought. The Cholulans being more verſed in the forms of religion, in commerce, and the arts than ſkilled in the ſcience of war, were ſoon defeated, and forced to retreat to their city, where their enemies purſued them, killed ſome of their people, and burned ſome of their houſes. The Huexotzincas had hardly gained the victory when they found cauſe to repent

repent it, on account of the chaſtiſement which they apprehended would follow it; that they might prevent this, they ſent two reſpectable perſons to king Montezuma, whoſe names were *Tolimpanecatl*, and *Tzoncoztli*, who were to juſtify them, and lay the blame on the Cholulans. Theſe ambaſſadors, either with a deſign to magnify the courage of their citizens, or from ſome other motive, exaggerated the ſlaughter made of the Cholulans to ſuch a degree, that the king believed they were all cut to pieces, or that the few whoſe lives had been ſaved had abandoned the city. On hearing this account Montezuma was extremely afflicted, and dreaded the revenge of the god Quelzalcoatl, whoſe ſanctuary, which was one of the moſt celebrated and moſt honoured of all that land, he conceived to have been profaned by the Huexzotzincas. Having conſulted, therefore, with the two allied kings, he ſent ſome perſons from his court to Cholula, to gain juſt information of this tranſaction; and having found it very different from the repreſentation given by the Huexotzincas, he was ſo enraged at their deceit to him, that he ſuddenly diſpatched an army, with orders to his general, to puniſh them ſeverely if they did not make a ſuitable apology and ſubmiſſion. The Huexotzincas, foreſeeing the ſtorm which was likely to pour upon them, went out in order of battle to meet the Mexicans; but the Mexican general advanced towards them to explain his commiſſion in the following words: "Our lord "Montezuma, who has his court in the middle of the water, Neza-"hualpilli, who commands upon the borders of the lake, and Toto-"quihuatzi who reigns at the foot of the mountains, have ordered us "to tell you, that having learned from your ambaſſadors that you have "ruined Cholula and killed its inhabitants, they feel the utmoſt af-"fliction, and are under an obligation to revenge the violent outrage "which has been offered to the venerable ſanctuary of Quelzalcoatl." The Huexotzincas proteſted that the account given by their ambaſſadors was extravagant and falſe, and that a body of men ſo reſpectable as the citizens of Huexotzinco, could not be the authors of it, and declared themſelves ready to ſatisfy all the three kings by puniſhment of the guilty. Upon which having ſummoned their ambaſſadors, and cut off their ears and noſes, that being the puniſhment deſtined for thoſe who told falſehoods pernicious to the ſtate, they delivered them up to the general. Thus they eſcaped the evils of war, which otherwiſe would have been inevitable.

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SECT. X. Expedition againſt Atlixco and other places.

The Atlixcheſe, who had rebelled againſt the crown, met with a very different fate; they were defeated by the Mexicans, and many of them made priſoners. This happened preciſely in the month of February, 1506, when, on account of the termination of the century, the great feſtival of the renewal of the fire was celebrated with ſtill greater pomp and ſolemnity than under the reign of Montezuma I. or in other ſecular years. This, which was the moſt ſolemn, was alſo the laſt feſtival of the kind celebrated by the Mexicans. A great number of priſoners were ſacrificed at it; a great many alſo were reſerved for the feſtival of the dedication of *Tzompantli*, which, as we have obſerved above, was an edifice cloſe to the greater temple, where the ſkulls of the victims were ſtrung together and preſerved.

SECT. XI. Preſages of the war with the Spaniards.

This ſecular year appears to have paſt without war; but in 1507, the Mexicans made an expedition againſt Tzollan and Mictlan, two ſtates of the Mixtecas, whoſe inhabitants fled to the mountains, and left the Mexicans no other advantage than that of making a few priſoners of thoſe who remained in their houſes. From thence they proceeded to ſubdue Quauhquechollan which was in rebellion, in which war the prince Cuitlahuac the general of the army, made a diſplay of his courage. Some brave Mexican officers fell in this expedition; but the rebels were reduced under the yoke, and three thouſand two hundred taken priſoners, who were ſacrificed, one part of them at the feſtival *Tlacaxipchualiztli*, which took place in the ſecond Mexican month; and another part of them at the dedication of the ſanctuary Zomolli, which was rebuilt after the burning of it before mentioned, with greater magnificence than it was at firſt.

In the year following the royal army of the Mexicans, Tezcucans, and Tepanecas, ſet out againſt the diſtant province of Amatla. On their march, which lay over a very lofty mountain, they were attacked by a furious north wind, accompanied with ſnow, which made great havoc in the army, as ſome of them who were accuſtomed to a mild climate, and travelling almoſt without cloathing, periſhed with cold, and others were beat down by the trees which were rooted up by the wind. Of the remainder of the army which continued their journey but feebly, to Amatla, the greater part died in battle.

Theſe and other calamities together with the appearance of a comet at that time, threw all the princes of Anahuac into the utmoſt conſterna-

tion.

tion. Montezuma, who was too ſuperſtitious to look with indifference on ſo uncommon a phenomenon, conſulted his aſtrologers upon it; but they being unable to divine its meaning, applied to the king of Acolhuacan, who was reputed able in aſtrology, and in the art of divination. Theſe kings, although they were related to, and perpetual allies of, each other, did not live in much harmony together, the king of Acolhuacan having put to death his ſon *Huexotzincatzin*, as we ſhall ſee preſently, paying no regard to the prayers of Montezuma, who, as the uncle of that prince, had interfered in his behalf. For a long time paſt they had neither met with their uſual frequency, nor confidence; but on this occaſion the myſterious dread which ſeized the mind of Montezuma incited him to profit by the knowledge of the king Nezahualpilli, for which reaſon he intreated him to come to Mexico to conſult with him upon an event which appeared equally to concern them both. Nezahualpilli went, and after having conferred, at length, with Montezuma, was of opinion, according to the account of hiſtorians, that the comet predicted the future diſaſters of thoſe kingdoms, by the arrival of a new people. This interpretation, however, being unſatisfactory to Montezuma, Nezahualpilli challenged him at the game of foot-ball, which was frequently played at even by thoſe kings themſelves; and it was agreed between them that if the king of Mexico gained the party, the king of Acolhuacan ſhould renounce his interpretation, adjudging it to be falſe; but if Nezahualpilli came off victor, Montezuma ſhould acknowledge and admit it to be true: a folly though truly ridiculous in thoſe men, to believe the truth of a prediction could depend on the dexterity of the player, or the fortune of the game; but leſs pernicious, however than that of the ancient Europeans, who decided on truth, innocence, and honour, by a barbarous duel and the fortune of arms. Nezahualpilli remained victor in the game, and Montezuma diſconſolate at the loſs and the confirmation of ſo fatal a prognoſtic: he was willing, however, to try other methods, hoping to find ſome more favourable interpretation which might counterbalance that of the king of Acolhuacan, and the diſgrace he had ſuffered at play: he conſulted therefore a very famous aſtrologer who was much verſed in the ſuperſtitious art of divination, by which he had rendered his name ſo celebrated in that land, and acquired ſo great a reſpect, that without ever ſtirring abroad from his houſe he was conſidered and conſulted by the kings

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themſelves as an oracle. He knowing, without doubt, what had happened between the two kings, inſtead of returning a propitious anſwer to his ſovereign, or at leaſt one which was equivocal, as ſuch prognoſticators generally do, confirmed the fatal prophecy of the Tezcucan. Montezuma was ſo enraged at the anſwer, that in return he made his houſe be pulled to pieces, leaving the unhappy diviner buried amidſt the ruins of his ſanctuary.

Theſe and other ſimilar preſages of the fall of that empire appear repreſented in the paintings of the Americans, and are related in the hiſtories of the Spaniards. We are far from thinking that all that which has been wrote on this ſubject is deſerving of credit; but neither can we doubt of the tradition which prevailed among the Americans, that a new people totally different from the native inhabitants, were to arrive at that kingdom and make themſelves maſters of that country. There has not been in the country of Anahuac any nation more or leſs poliſhed which has not confirmed this tradition either by verbal teſtimony or their own hiſtories.

It is impoſſible to gueſs at the origin of a tradition ſo univerſal as this; but the event which I am going to relate, is ſaid to have been public, and to have made a conſiderable noiſe; to have happened alſo in the preſence of the two kings and the Mexican nobility. It is repreſented in ſome of the paintings of thoſe nations, and a legal atteſtation of it even was ſent to the court of Madrid (*b*). Though in compliance with the duty of a hiſtorian, we give a place to many of the memorable traditions of thoſe nations; on theſe, however, we leave our readers to form their own judgment and comments.

SECT. XII. Memorable event of a Mexican princeſs.

Papantzin, a Mexican princeſs, and ſiſter of Montezuma, was married to the governor of Tlatelolco, and after his death lived in his palace until the year 1509, when ſhe likewiſe died of old age. Her funeral was celebrated with magnificence ſuitable to her exalted birth, the king her brother, and all the nobility of Mexico and Tlatelolco being preſent. Her body was buried in a ſubterraneous cavern, in the garden of the ſame palace, near to a fountain where ſhe had uſed to bathe, and the mouth of the cave was ſhut with a ſtone. The day following, a child of five or ſix years of age happened to paſs from her mother's apartment to that of the major-domo of the deceaſed princeſs, which

(*b*) See Torquemada, lib. ii. cap. 91, and Betencourt, Part iii. Trat. i. cap. 8.

was

was on the other ſide of the garden; and in paſſing ſaw the princeſs ſitting upon the ſteps of the fountain, and heard herſelf called by her by the word *Cocoton* (*i*), which is a word of tenderneſs uſed to children. The little child not being capable, on account of its age, of reflecting on the death of the princeſs, and thinking that ſhe was going to bathe as uſual, approached without fear, upon which ſhe ſent the child to call the wife of her major-domo; the child went to call her, but the woman ſmiling and careſſing her, told her, "My little girl, Papantzin is dead, "and was buried yeſterday;" but as the child inſiſted, and pulled her by her gown, ſhe, more to pleaſe, than from belief of what was told her, followed her; but was hardly come in ſight of the princeſs, when ſhe was ſeized with ſuch horror that ſhe fell fainting to the earth. The little girl ran to acquaint her mother, who, with two other companions came out to give aſſiſtance; but on ſeeing the princeſs they were ſo affected with fear, that they would have ſwooned away if the princeſs herſelf had not endeavoured to comfort them, aſſuring them ſhe was ſtill alive. She made them call her major-domo, and charged him to go and bear the news to the king her brother; but he durſt not undertake it, as he dreaded that the king would conſider the account as a fable, and would puniſh him with his uſual ſeverity for being a liar, without examining into the matter. Go then to Tezcuco, ſaid the princeſs, and intreat the king Nezahualpilli, in my name, to come here and ſee me. The major-domo obeyed, and the king having received the information, ſet out immediately for Tlatelolco. When he arrived there, the princeſs was in a chamber of the palace; though full of aſtoniſhment, the king ſaluted her, when ſhe requeſted him to go to Mexico, to tell the king her brother that ſhe was alive, and had occaſion to ſee him, to communicate ſome things to him of the utmoſt importance. The king ſet out for Mexico to execute her commiſſion; but Montezuma would hardly give credit to what was told him. However, that he might not do injuſtice to ſo reſpectable an ambaſſador, he went along with him, and many of the Mexican nobility to Tlatelolco, and having entered the hall where the princeſs was, he demanded of her if ſhe was his ſiſter. "I am, indeed, ſir," anſwered the princeſs, "your ſiſter Papantzin, whom you buried yeſterday; I am truly alive,

(*i*) *Cocoton* means little girl, only that it is an expreſſion of more tenderneſs

"and

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" and wiſh to relate to you what I have ſeen, as it deeply concerns you." Upon this the two kings ſat down, while all the other nobles continued ſtanding full of admiration at what they ſaw.

The princeſs then began to ſpeak as follows: " After I was dead " or if you will not believe that I have been dead, after I remained be- " reft of motion and of ſenſe, I found myſelf ſuddenly placed upon " an extenſive plain, to which there appeared no boundaries. In the " middle of it I obſerved a road which I afterwards ſaw was divided " into a variety of paths, and on one ſide ran a great river whoſe wa- " ters made a frightful noiſe. As I was going to throw myſelf into the " river to ſwim to the oppoſite bank, I ſaw before me a beautiful youth " of handſome ſtature, clothed in a long habit, white as ſnow, and " dazzling like the ſun; he had wings of beautiful feathers, and upon " his forehead, this mark," (in ſaying this the princeſs made the ſign of the croſs with her two fore fingers, " and laying hold of my hand, " ſaid to me, *Stop, for it is not yet time to paſs this river. God loves thee,* " *though thou knoweſt it not.* He then led me along by the river-ſide, " upon the borders of which I ſaw a great number of human ſkulls " and bones, and heard moſt lamentable groans that waked my utmoſt " pity. Turning my eyes afterwards upon the river, I ſaw ſome large " veſſels upon it filled with men of a complexion and dreſs quite dif- " ferent from ours. They were fair and bearded, and carried ſtand- " ards in their hands, and helmets on their heads. The youth then " ſaid to me, *It is the will of God that thou ſhalt live to be a witneſs* " *of the revolutions which are to happen to theſe kingdoms. The groans* " *which thou haſt heard among theſe bones, are from the ſouls of your* " *anceſtors, which are ever and will be tormented for their crimes.* " *The men whom you ſee coming in theſe veſſels, are thoſe who who by* " *their arms will make themſelves maſters of all theſe kingdoms, and* " *with them will be introduced the knowlege of the true God, the creator* " *of heaven and earth. As ſoon as the war ſhall be at an end, and the* " *bath publiſhed and made known which will waſh away ſin, be thou the* " *firſt to receive it, and guide by thy example the natives of thy country.* " Having ſpoke this the youth diſappeared, and I found myſelf re- " called to life; I roſe from the place where I lay, raiſed up the ſtone

" of

" of my ſepulchre, and came out to the garden where I was found by " my domeſtics."

Montezuma was ſtruck with aſtoniſhment at the recital of ſo ſtrange an adventure, and feeling his mind diſtracted with a variety of apprehenſions, roſe and retired to one of his palaces which was deſtined for occaſions of grief, without taking leave of his ſiſter, the king of Tacuba, or any one of thoſe who accompanied him, although ſome of his flatterers, in order to conſole him, endeavoured to perſuade him that the illneſs which the princeſs had ſuffered, had turned her brain. He avoided for ever after returning to ſee her, that he might not again hear the melancholy preſages of the ruin of his empire. The princeſs, it is ſaid, lived many years in great retirement and abſtinence. She was the firſt who, in the year 1524, received the ſacred baptiſm in Tlatelolco, and was called from that time, *Donna Maria Papantzin*.

SECT. XII. Uncommon occurrences.

Among the memorable events, in 1510, there happened without any apparent cauſe, a ſudden and furious burning of the turrets of the greater temple of Mexico, in a calm, ſerene night; and in the ſucceeding year, ſo violent and extraordinary an agitation of the waters of the lake, that many houſes of the city were deſtroyed, there being at the ſame time no wind, earthquake, nor any other natural cauſe to which the accident could be aſcribed. It is ſaid alſo, that in 1511, the figures of armed men appeared in the air, who fought and ſlew each other. Theſe and other ſimilar phenomena, recounted by Acoſta, Torquemada and others, are found very exactly deſcribed in the Mexican and Acolhuan hiſtories.

SECT. XIII. Erection of a new altar for the ſacrifices, and new expeditions of the Mexicans.

The conſternation which theſe ſad omens raiſed in the mind of Montezuma did not, however, turn aſide his thoughts from war. His armies made numerous expeditions in 1508, particularly againſt the Tlaſcalans and Huexotzincas, the Atlixcheſe, Icpatepec, and Malinaltepec, in which they made five thouſand priſoners, which were afterwards ſacrificed. In 1509, the war againſt Xochitepec happened, that ſtate having rebelled. In the year following, Montezuma thinking the altar for the ſacrifices too ſmall, and unproportioned to the magnificence of the temple, he cauſed a proper ſtone of exceſſive ſize, to be ſought for, which was found near to Cojoacan. After ordering it to be poliſhed and cut, he commanded it to be brought in due form to Mexico. A vaſt

vaſt number of people went to drag it along, but in paſſing a wooden bridge over a canal, in the entry to the city, the ſtone by its enormous weight, broke through the bridge and fell into the canal, drawing ſome men after it, and among the reſt, the high prieſt, who was accompanying it, and ſcattering incenſe. The king and the people were a good deal diſconcerted by this misfortune; but without giving up the undertaking, they drew the ſtone, with prodigious labour and fatigue, out of the water, and brought it to the temple, where it was conſecrated with the ſacrifice of all the priſoners that had been reſerved for this great feſtival, which was one of the moſt ſolemn ever celebrated by the Mexicans. The king invited the principal nobility of all his kingdom to it, and expended a great deal of his treaſure in preſents which he made to the nobles and populace. In this ſame year the conſecration of the temple *Tlamatzinco* was celebrated, and alſo that of Quaxicalco, of which we ſhall ſpeak elſewhere. The victims ſacrificed at the conſecration of theſe two edifices, and the altar of the ſacrifices, were, according to the account of hiſtorians, twelve thouſand two hundred and ten, in number.

To have been able to furniſh ſuch a number of victims, they muſt have been continually at war. In 1511, the Jopas rebelled, and deſigned to kill all the Mexican garriſon in Tlacotepec; but their intentions being ſeaſonably diſcovered, they were puniſhed accordingly, and two hundred of them carried priſoners to Mexico. In 1512, an army of the Mexicans marched towards the north, againſt the Quitzalapaneſe, and with the loſs only of ninety-five men, they made one thouſand and three hundred priſoners, which were alſo carried to Mexico. By theſe and other conqueſts made in the three following years, the Mexican empire was extended to its utmoſt limits, five or ſix years previous to its fall, to which the very great rapidity of its conqueſts contributed. Every province, and place which was conquered, created a new enemy to the conquerors, who became impatient of the yoke to which they were not accuſtomed, and irritated by injuries, only waited for an opportunity of being revenged, and reſtoring themſelves to their wonted liberty. It would appear that the happineſs of a kingdom conſiſts not in the extenſion of its dominions, nor in the number of its vaſſals; but on the contrary, that it approaches at no time nearer to its final period, than when

when on account of its vaſt and unbounded extent, it can no longer maintain the neceſſary union among its parts, nor that vigour which is requiſite to withſtand the multitude of its enemies.

SECT. XIV. Death and eulogium of king Nezahualpilli.

The revolutions which happened at this time, in the kingdom of Acolhuacan, occaſioned by the death of king Nezahualpilli, did not leſs contribute to the ruin of the Mexican empire. This celebrated king after having poſſeſſed the throne for forty-five years, either wearied of governing, or troubled with melancholy, from the fatal phenomena he had witneſſed, left the reins of government in the hands of two of the royal princes, and retired to his palace of pleaſure in Tezcotzinco, carrying with him his favourite Xocotzin and a few ſervants, leaving orders to his ſons not to leave the court, but to wait there for his farther commands. During the ſix months of his retirement, he amuſed himſelf frequently with the exerciſe of the chace, and at night uſed to employ himſelf in obſerving the heavens, and for that purpoſe had conſtructed, on the terrace of his palace, a little obſervatory, which was preſerved for a century after, and was ſeen by ſome Spaniſh hiſtorians who mention it. He there not only ſtudied the motion and courſe of the ſtars, but converſed with thoſe who were intelligent in aſtronomy: that ſcience having always been in eſteem among them, they applied ſtill more to it when excited by the examples of the great Nezahualcojotl, and his ſon and ſucceſſor.

After living ſix months in this private manner, he returned to his court, ordered his beloved Xocotzin to retire with her children into the palace of *Tecpilpan*, and ſhut himſelf up in the palace of his uſual reſidence, without letting himſelf be ſeen by any perſon but one of his confidents, deſigning to conceal his death in imitation of his father. Accordingly, neither the time nor the circumſtances of his death have ever been known. All that is certain is, that he died in 1516, and that before his death he commanded his confidents who were about him to burn his body ſecretly. From hence it happened that many of the vulgar, and even ſeveral of the nobles, were perſuaded that he was not dead, but had returned to the kingdom of Amaquemecan where his anceſtors ſprung, as he had frequently reſolved to do.

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In matters of religion he was of the ſame opinion with his great father Nezahualcojotl. He ſecretly deſpiſed the worſhip of the idols, although he appeared to conform to it with the people. He reſembled his father alſo in his great zeal for the laws, and in the rigorous adminiſtration of juſtice, of which he afforded a ſtriking example in the laſt years of his reign. There was a law which forbid, on pain of death, the ſpeaking of indecent words in the royal palace. One of the princes his ſons, who was named Huexotzincalzon, to whom he bore more affection than to any of the reſt, not leſs on account of his diſpoſition, and the virtues which ſhone out even in his youth, than of his having been the firſt born of his ſons by his favourite Xocotzin, violated this law; but the words made uſe of by the prince were rather the effect of youthful indiſcretion than of any culpable intention. The king was informed of it by one of his miſtreſſes to whom the words had been addreſſed. He enquired of her if they had been ſpoke before any other perſons, and finding that the prince's tutors had been preſent, he retired to an apartment of his palace, deſtined for occaſions of mourning and grief. There he ſent for the tutors to examine them. They being afraid of meeting with ſevere puniſhment if they concealed the truth, confeſſed it openly, but at the ſame time endeavoured to exculpate the prince, by ſaying, that he neither knew the perſon to whom he ſpoke, nor that the words were obſcene. But notwithſtanding their repreſentations, he ordered the prince to be immediately arreſted, and the ſame day pronounced ſentence of death upon him. The whole court was aſtoniſhed at ſo rigorous a judgment, the nobles pleaded with prayers and tears in his behalf, and the mother of the prince herſelf, relying on the king's particular affection for her, preſented herſelf as a plaintiff before him, and in order to move him to compaſſion, led all her children along with her. But neither reaſoning, prayers, nor tears, could bend the king. "My ſon," he ſaid, "has violated the law. If I pardon him, it will be ſaid, the laws are "not binding upon every one. I will let my ſubjects know that no "one will be pardoned a tranſgreſſion, as I do not even pardon the ſon "whom I dearly love." The queen pierced with the moſt lively grief, and deſpairing of being able to ſhake the conſtancy of the king, told him, "Since you have baniſhed from your heart all the affections of a

"father

" father and a huſband for ſo ſlight a cauſe, why do you heſitate to put me " to death and theſe young princes whom I have borne to you?" The king then with a grave aſpect commanded her to retire, as the caſe was without a remedy. The diſappointed queen retreated to her apartment, and there, in company with ſome of her attendants who went to conſole her, abandoned herſelf to grief. In the mean while, thoſe who were charged with the puniſhment of the prince, continued to delay it, that time might ſoften the rigour of juſtice, and give opportunity for the return of parental affection and mercy; but the king perceiving their intention, commanded that they ſhould immediately do their duty, which accordingly followed, to the general diſpleaſure of the kingdom, and the utmoſt diſguſt to Montezuma, not only on account of the relation between himſelf and the prince, but likewiſe of the interference which he made in the prince's favour, having been unſucceſsful in procuring a repeal of the ſentence. After the puniſhment was executed, the king ſhut himſelf up for forty days in a hall, without letting himſelf be ſeen by any one, while he ſecretly vented his grief, and made the door of his ſon's apartment be cloſed up with a wall, to hide from his ſight any remembrancer of his ſorrows.

His ſeverity in puniſhing tranſgreſſors was compenſated by the compaſſion which he ſhewed for the accidental diſtreſſes of any of his ſubjects. There was a window in his palace which looked towards the market-place, covered with blinds, from which he uſed to obſerve, without being ſeen, the people that aſſembled there; and whenever he ſaw any ill clothed woman he made her be called, and after informing himſelf of her life and condition, he ſupplied her with what was neceſſary for herſelf and family if ſhe had any. Every day at his palace alms were given to the ſick and to orphans. There was an hoſpital at Tezcuco for all thoſe who had loſt their eyeſight in war, or had become from any other cauſe unfit for ſervice, where they were ſupported at the royal expence, according to their ſtations, and frequently viſited by the king himſelf. In ſuch beneficent acts a great part of his revenues was expended.

The genius and talents of this king have been highly extolled by the hiſtorians of that kingdom. He endeavoured to imitate, both in his ſtudies and in the conduct of his life, the example of his father, and

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his reſemblance to him was remarkable. The glory of the Chechemecan kings may be ſaid to have ended with him, as the diſcord which took place among his children, diminiſhed the ſplendour of the court, weakened the force of the ſtate, and tended to bring on its final ruin. Nezahualpilli did not declare who was to be his ſucceſſor in the crown, which all his anceſtors had done. We are ignorant, however, of the motive that cauſed this omiſſion, and which proved ſo prejudicial to the kingdom of Acolhuacan.

SECT. XV. Revolutions in the kingdom of Acolhuacan.

As ſoon as the ſupreme council of the deceaſed king were certain of his death, they conſidered it neceſſary to elect a ſucceſſor to him in imitation of the Mexicans. They aſſembled therefore in order to deliberate on a point of ſuch importance, and the oldeſt and moſt reſpectable perſon among them taking the lead in the aſſembly, repreſented the great diſaſters which might accrue to the ſtate of Acolhuacan, if the election was retarded: he was of opinion, that the crown fell to the prince Cacamatzin; ſince, beſides his prudence and his courage, he was the firſt-born of the firſt Mexican princeſs whom the late king married. All the other counſellors concurred in this opinion, which was in itſelf ſo juſt and came from a perſon of ſuch authority. The princes who waited in a hall adjoining for the reſolution of the counſel, were deſired to enter there to hear it. When they were all introduced, the principal ſeat was given to Cacamatzin, who was a youth of twenty-two years, and his brothers Coanocotzin, who was twenty, and Ixthilxochitl who was eighteen, were placed on each ſide of him. The ſame aged counſellor, who had firſt addreſſed the aſſembly, then roſe, and declared that the reſolution of the council, which included alſo that of the kingdom, was to give the crown to Cacamatzin, on account of the right of primogeniture. Ixtlilxochitl, who was an ambitious and enterpriſing youth, oppoſed it, by ſaying, that if the king was really dead, he would certainly have named his ſucceſſor; that his not having done it was a clear evidence of his life, and while the lawful ſovereign was living it was criminal in his ſubjects to name a ſucceſſor. The council who knew the diſpoſition of Ixtlilxochitl, durſt not openly contradict him, but deſired Coanocotzin to deliver his opinion. This prince approved and confirmed the determination of the council, and pointed out the inconveniencies which would enſue if the execution of

it was delayed. He was contradicted, and taxed with being light and inconſiderate by Ixtlilxochitl, and that he could not perceive while he embraced ſuch an opinion that he was favouring the deſigns of Montezuma, who was much inclined to Cacamatzin, and uſed his endeavours to put him on the throne, becauſe he truſted he would find in him a king of wax, to whom he might give what form he pleaſed. "It is by no "means reaſonable, dear brother," replied Coanocotzin, "to oppoſe "a reſolution which is ſo prudent and ſo juſt; are you not aware that "if Cacamatzin was not to be king, the crown would belong not to "you but to me." "It is true," ſaid Ixtlilxochitl, "if the right of "ſucceſſion is to be determined by age only, the crown is due to Ca-"camatzin, and in failure of him to you; but if regard is paid, as it "ought to be, to courage, to me it belongs." The counſellors perceiving that the princes were growing gradually more vehement and warm in their altercation, impoſed ſilence on them both, and diſmiſſed the aſſembly.

The two princes went to their mother the queen Xocotzin to continue their cavil, while Cacamatzin accompanied by many of the nobility, ſet out immediately for Mexico to inform Montezuma of what had happened, and to demand his aſſiſtance. Montezuma, who, beſides the attachment he had to the prince, ſaw the juſtice of his claim, and the conſent of the nation to it, adviſed him in the firſt place to ſecure the royal treaſures, and promiſed to ſettle the diſpute with his brother, and to employ the Mexican arms in his behalf if negociations for that purpoſe ſhould not prove ſufficient.

Ixtlilxochitl, as ſoon as he knew of the departure of Cacamatzin, and foreſaw the conſequences of his application to Montezuma, ſet out from court with all his partizans, and went to the ſtates which belonged to his tutors in the mountains of Meztitlan. Coanocotzin ſent immediate advice to Cacamatzin to return without delay to Tezcuco, and make uſe of that favourable opportunity for being crowned. Cacamatzin availed himſelf of this wiſe counſel, and came to the court accompanied by Cuitlahuazin the brother of Montezuma, and lord of Iztapalapan, and many of the Mexican nobility. Cuitlahuazin, without loſing any time, aſſembled the Tezcucan nobility in the *Hueiſtlacopan*, or the great palace of the king of Acolhuacan, and preſented prince Caca-

Cacamatzin to be acknowledged by them as their lawful ſovereign. He was received as ſuch by them all, and the day for the ceremony of the coronation was fixed; but this was interrupted by intelligence arriving at court, that the prince Ixtlilzochitl was deſcending from the mountains of Meztitlan at the head of a great army.

This turbulent youth as ſoon as he arrived at Meztitlan, aſſembled all the lords of the places ſituated in thoſe great mountains, and made them acquainted with his deſign of oppoſing his brother Cacamatzin, pretending that it was his zeal for the honour and liberty of the Chechemecan and Acolhuan nations which moved him; that it would be diſgraceful, and even dangerous, to pay obedience to a king, ſo pliant to the will of the monarch of Mexico; that the Mexicans had forgot what they owed to the Acolhuan nation, and were deſirous of increaſing their unjuſt uſurpations with the kingdom of Acolhuacan; that he for his part was reſolved to exert all the courage which God had given him, to defend and ſave his country from the tyranny of Montezuma. With theſe arguments, which were probably ſuggeſted to him by his tutors, he ſo fired the minds of thoſe lords, that they all profeſſed themſelves willing to ſerve him with all their forces, and raiſed ſo many troops that when the prince deſcended from the mountains his army it is ſaid amounted to upwards of one hundred thouſand men; whether it was from the dread of his power, or from an inclination to favour his pretenſions, he was well received in all the places through which he paſſed. He ſent an embaſſy from Tepepolco to the Otompaneſe, commanding them to do obedience to him as their proper king; but they replied, that as Nezahualpilli was dead, they would acknowledge no other ſovereign than Cacamatzin, who had been peaceably accepted at court, and was already in poſſeſſion of the throne of Acolhuacan. This anſwer ſo exaſperated the prince, that he went in great wrath againſt their city. The Otompaneſe met him in order of battle; but although they for ſome time reſiſted the army of their enemy, they were at laſt vanquiſhed, and their city was taken by the prince. The lord himſelf of Otompan fell among the ſlain, which accident ſoon accelerated the victory.

This event threw Cacamatzin and all his court into the utmoſt uneaſineſs, fearing the enemy might even beſiege the capital; he prepared fortifi-

fortifications againſt them; but the prince being contented with ſeeing himſelf reſpected and feared, did not move from Otompan; but placed guards on the roads, with orders, however, to hurt no perſon, to hinder no individuals from paſſing from the court to any other place, and to ſhew reſpect and civility to all paſſengers of rank. Cacamatzin, knowing the forces, and the reſolutions of his brother, and conſidering it would be better for him to ſacrifice even a great part of his kingdom than to loſe it altogether, with the conſent of his brother Coanacotzin, diſpatched an embaſſy to treat of an accommodation with him. He ſent to tell him, that he might, if he choſe, retain all the dominions in the mountains, as he was contented with the court and the territory of the plain; that he was willing alſo to ſhare the revenues of his kingdom with his brother Coanacotzin; but at the ſame time he requeſted him to drop every other pretenſion, and not to diſturb the public tranquillity. The prince anſwered, that his brothers might act as they thought proper; that he was pleaſed that Cacamatzin was in poſſeſſion of the kingdom of Acolhuacan, that he had no deſigns againſt him nor againſt the ſtate; that he had no other view in maintaining his army than to oppoſe the ambitious deſigns of the Mexicans, who had given grounds for the greateſt diſguſt and ſuſpicions to his father Nezahualpilli; that if at that time the kingdom was divided for the common intereſt of the nation, he hoped to ſee it again united; that above all things it was neceſſary to guard againſt falling into the ſnares of the crafty Montezuma. Ixtlilxochitl was not deceived in his diffidence of Montezuma, as this king was the very perſon who, as we ſhall find hereafter, gave the unfortunate Cacamatzin into the hands of the Spaniards, in ſpite of the attachment he pretended to him.

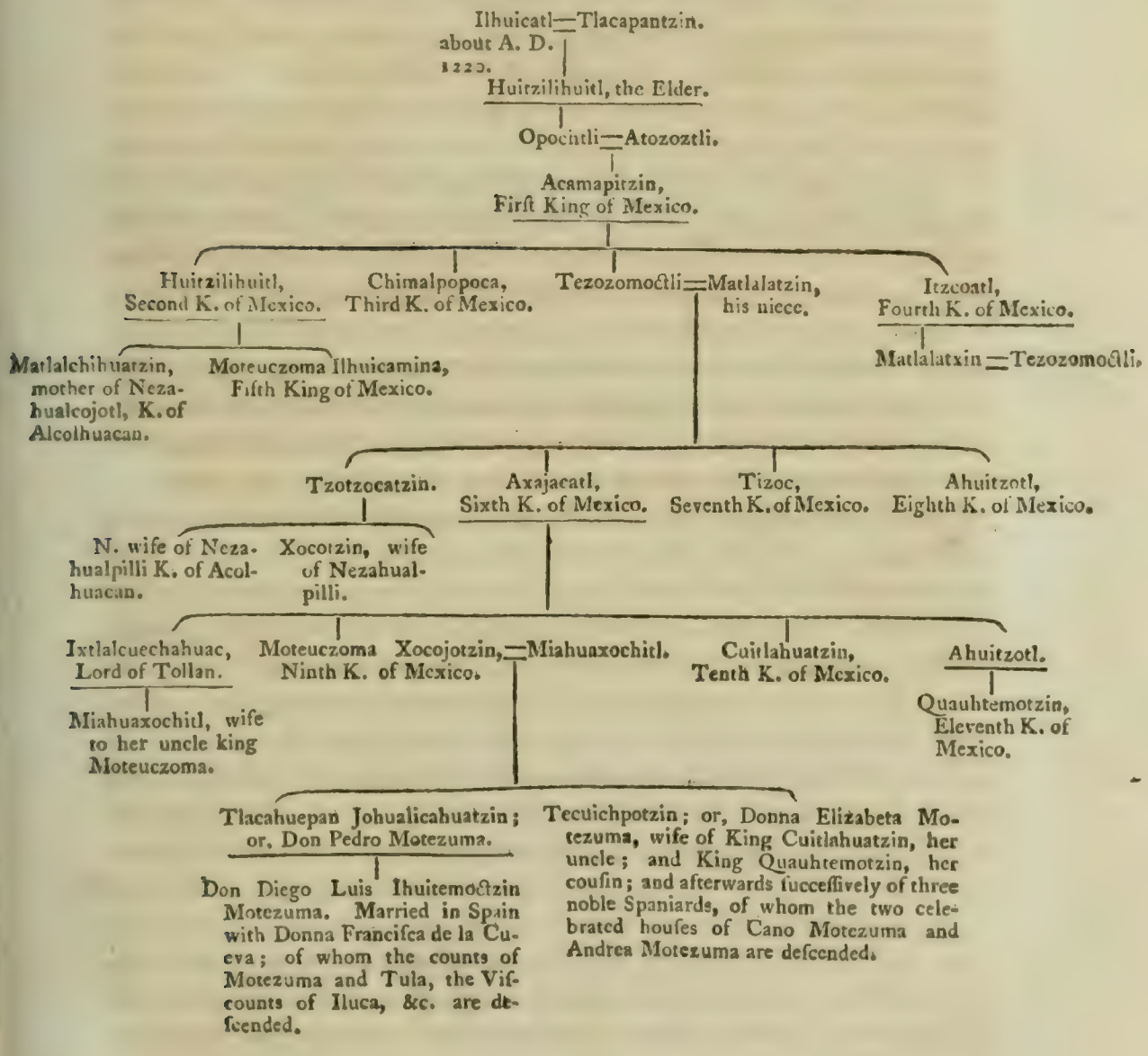
This agreement being made with his brother, Cacamatzin remained in peaceable poſſeſſion of the crown of Acolhuacan; but with greatly diminiſhed dominions, as he had ceded a very conſiderable part of the kingdom. Ixtlilocxhitl kept his troops conſtantly in motion, and frequently appeared with his army in the environs of Mexico, daring Montezuma to a ſingle combat with him. But this king was no longer in a ſtate fit to accept ſuch a challenge. The fire which he had in his youth had already began to die away with age, and domeſtic luxury had enervated his mind; nor would it have been prudent to have expoſed

expoſed himſelf to a rencounter of this kind with ſo adventurous a youth who had already, by ſecret negociations, drawn over a great part of the Mexican provinces to his intereſt. The Mexicans, however, frequently engaged with that army, being ſometimes vanquiſhed, and at other times victorious. In one of thoſe battles a relation of the king of Mexico was taken priſoner, who had gone out to the war with an expreſs reſolution to make a priſoner of the prince, and to carry him bound to Mexico according to a promiſe which he had made to Montezuma. Ixtlilxochitl knew of this boaſtful promiſe, and in order to be fully revenged, commanded him to be bound and covered with dry reeds, and burned alive in the ſight of the whole army.

In the courſe of our hiſtory it will appear how much this turbulent prince contributed to the ſucceſs of the Spaniards, who began about this time to make their appearance on the coaſt of the Gulf of Mexico: but before we undertake the relation of a war which totally reverſed the order of thoſe kingdoms, it will be neceſſary to give ſome account of the religion, the government, the arts, and manners of the Mexicans.

GENEALOGY of the MEXICAN KINGS.

Deduced from the Beginning of the Thirteenth Century.



(To face Page 240, Vol. I.)



BOOK VI.

The Religion of the Mexicans: namely, their Gods, Temples, Prieſts, Sacrifices, and Offerings: their Faſts and Auſterities, their Chronology, Calendar, and Feſtivals; their Ceremonies upon the Birth of Children, at Marriages, and Funerals.

THE religion, government, and œconomy of a ſtate are the three things which chiefly form the character of a nation, and without being acquainted with theſe, it is impoſſible to have a perfect idea of the genius, diſpoſitions, and knowledge of any people whatever. The religion of the Mexicans, of which we are to give an account in this book, was a heap of errors, of ſuperſtitions, and cruel rites. Such weakneſſes of the human mind, of which we have had but too many examples even in the moſt enlightened nations of antiquity, are inſeparable from every religion that takes its ſource in the fantaſtical imaginations and fears of mankind. If we compare, as we ſhall do in another place, the religion of the Greeks and Romans with that of the Mexicans, we ſhall find the former more ſuperſtitious and ridiculous, the latter more cruel. Theſe celebrated nations of ancient Europe, from the unfavourable opinion which they entertained of the power of their gods, multiplied their number to exceſs, confined their influence within narrow bounds, imputed to them the moſt atrocious crimes, and ſtained their worſhip with the moſt ſcandalous impurities; for which they have been juſtly reproached by the advocates of Chriſtianity. The Mexicans imagined their gods more perfect, and in their worſhip, however ſuperſtitious it might be, there was nothing repugnant to decency.

SECT. I. Principles of their religion.

The Mexicans had ſome idea, though a very imperfect one, of a ſupreme, abſolute, and independent Being, to whom they acknowledged to owe fear and adoration. They repreſented him in no external

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form, becauſe they believed him to be inviſible; and named him only by the common appellation of God, in their language *Teotl*, a word reſembling ſtill more in its meaning than in its pronunciation the *Theos* of the Greeks: but they applied to him certain epithets which were highly expreſſive of the grandeur and power which they conceived him to poſſeſs. They called him *Ipalnemoani*, that is, He by whom we live; and *Tloque Nahuaque*, He who has all in himſelf. But their knowledge and worſhip of this ſupreme Being was obſcured and in a manner loſt in the crowd of deities invented by their ſuperſtition.

They believed in an evil ſpirit, the enemy of mankind, which they called *Tlacatecolototl*, or Rational Owl, and ſaid that he often appeared to men for the purpoſe of terrifying or doing them an injury.

With reſpect to the ſoul, the barbarous *Otomies*, as they tell us, believed that it died together with the body: while the Mexicans, with all the other poliſhed nations of Anahuac, conſidered it as immortal; allowing, at the ſame time, that bleſſing of immortality to the ſouls of brutes, and not reſtraining it to rational beings alone (*a*).

They diſtinguiſhed three places for the ſouls when ſeparated from the body. Thoſe of ſoldiers who died in battle or in captivity among their enemies, and thoſe of women who died in labour, went to the houſe of the ſun, whom they conſidered as the Prince of Glory, where they led a life of endleſs delight; where, every day, at the firſt appearance of the ſun's rays they hailed his birth with rejoicings; and with dancing, and the muſic of inſtruments and of voices, attended him to his meridian; there they met the ſouls of the women, and with the ſame feſtivity accompanied him to his ſetting. If religion is intended only to ſerve the purpoſes of government, as has been imagined by moſt of the free-thinkers of our times, ſurely thoſe nations could not forge a ſyſtem of belief better calculated to inſpire their ſoldiers with courage than one which promiſed ſo high a reward after their death. They next ſuppoſed that theſe ſpirits after four years of that glorious life, went to animate clouds, and birds of beautiful feathers and of ſweet ſong; but always at liberty to riſe again to heaven,

(*a*) The ideas here aſcribed to the Mexicans, with reſpect to the ſouls of brutes, will appear more fully when we ſhall come to ſpeak of their funeral rites.

or to deſcend upon the earth to warble and ſuck the flowers. The people of Tlaſcala believed that the ſouls of perſons of rank went, after their death, to inhabit the bodies of beautiful and ſweet ſinging birds, and thoſe of the nobler quadrupeds; while the ſouls of inferior perſons were ſuppoſed to paſs into weazles, beetles, and ſuch other meaner animals. Whence we ſee that the abſurd ſyſtem of the Pythagorean tranſmigration, which has been ſo firmly ſettled, and ſo widely propagated throughout the countries of the Eaſt, has not wanted its advocates in thoſe of the Weſt (*b*). The ſouls of thoſe that were drowned, or ſtruck by lightning, of thoſe who died by dropſy, tumors, wounds, and other ſuch diſeaſes, went, as the Mexicans believed, along with the ſouls of children, at leaſt of thoſe which were ſacrificed to *Tlaloc* the god of water, to a cool and delightful place, called *Tlalocan*, where that god reſided, and where they were to enjoy the moſt delicious repaſts, with every other kind of pleaſure. In the inner part of the greater temple of Mexico there was a particular place where they ſuppoſed that on a certain day of the year all the children which had been ſacrificed to *Tlaloc*, came, and inviſibly aſſiſted at the ceremony. The *Mixtecas* had a perſuaſion, that a great cavern in a lofty mountain, in their province, was the entrance into paradiſe; and their nobles and great men, therefore, always took care to be buried near the cavern, in order to be nearer that place of delight. Laſtly, the third place allotted for the ſouls of thoſe who ſuffered any other kind of death, was the *Mictlan*, or hell, which they conceived to be a place of utter darkneſs, in which reigned a god, called *Mictlantecutli* (lord of hell), and a goddeſs named *Mictlancihuatl*. I am of opinion that they believed hell to be a place in the centre of the earth (*c*); but they did not imagine that the ſouls underwent any other puniſhment there than what they ſuffered from the darkneſs of their abode.

(*b*) Who would believe that a ſyſtem ſo prepoſterous and improbable as that of the Pythagorean tranſmigration, ſhould be ſupported by a philoſopher of the enlightened eighteenth century. Yet it has been ſeriouſly maintained, lately, by a Frenchman, in a book printed at Paris, under the title of "The Year Two thouſand four hundred and forty."

(*c*) Dr. Siguenza was of opinion, that the Mexicans placed hell in the northern part of the earth; as the ſame word *Mictlampa*, ſignified *towards the North*, and *towards Hell*. But, I rather think they placed it in the center, for that is the meaning of the name of *Tlalxicco*, which they gave to the temple of the god of hell. After all it is poſſible that the Mexicans themſelves might hold different opinions upon the ſubject.

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The Mexicans, with all other civilized nations, had a clear tradition, though ſomewhat corrupted by fable, of the creation of the world, of the univerſal deluge, of the confuſion of tongues, and of the diſperſion of the people; and had actually all theſe events repreſented in their pictures (*d*). They ſaid, that when mankind were overwhelmed with the deluge, none were preſerved but a man called *Coxcox* (to whom others give the name of *Teocipactli*), and a woman called *Xochiquetzal*, who ſaved themſelves in a little bark, and having afterwards got to land upon a mountain called by them *Colhuacan*, had there a great many children: that theſe children were all born dumb, until a dove from a lofty tree imparted to them languages, but differing ſo much that they could not underſtand one another. The Tlaſcalans pretended that the men who ſurvived the deluge were transformed into apes, but recovered ſpeech and reaſon by degrees (*e*).

SECT. II. The gods of Providence and of Heaven.

Among all the deities worſhipped by the Mexicans, and which were very numerous, although not near ſo much ſo as thoſe of the Romans, there were *thirteen* principal and greater gods, in honour of whom they conſecrated that number. We ſhall give an account of what we have found in the Mexican mythology with reſpect to theſe and the other gods, without regard to the pompous conjectures and abſurd ſyſtem of Cav. Boturini.

Tezcatlipoca. This was the greateſt god adored in theſe countries, after the inviſible God, or ſupreme Being, whom we have already mentioned. His name means *Shining Mirror*, from one that was affixed to his image. He was the god of providence, the ſoul of the world, the creator of heaven and earth, and maſter of all things. They repreſented him always young, to denote that no length of years ever diminiſhed his power; they believed that he rewarded with various benefits the juſt, and puniſhed the wicked with diſeaſes and other afflictions. They placed ſtone ſeats in the corners of the ſtreets, for that god to reſt upon when he choſe it, and upon which no perſon was ever allowed to ſit down. Some ſaid, that he had deſcended from

(*d*) Their idea of the deluge appears from the repreſentation in the plate annexed, which is copied from an original painting of the Mexicans.

(*e*) For an account of the opinions of the Miztecas and other nations of America, with reſpect to the creation of the world, I muſt refer the reader to Father Gregorio Garcia, a Dominican, in his work entitled, *The Origin of the Indians*.

heaven

heaven by a rope made of ſpiders webs, and had perſecuted and driven from theſe countries, the grand prieſt of Tula *Quetzalcoatl*, who was afterwards conſecrated as a god.

His principal image was of *teotetl* (divine ſtone) which is a black ſhining ſtone like black marble, and was richly dreſſed. It had golden ear-rings, and from the under lip hung a cryſtal tube, within which was a green feather, or a turquoiſe ſtone, which at firſt ſight appeared to be a gem. His hair was tied with a golden ſtring, from the end of which hung an ear of the ſame metal, with the appearance of aſcending ſmoke painted on it, by which they intended to repreſent the prayers of the diſtreſſed. The whole breaſt was covered with maſſy gold. He had bracelets of gold upon both his arms, an emerald in the navel, and in his left hand a golden fan, ſet round with beautiful feathers, and poliſhed like a mirror, in which they imagined he ſaw every thing that happened in the world. At other times to denote his juſtice, they repreſented him ſitting on a bench covered with a red cloth, upon which were drawn the figures of ſkulls, and other bones of the dead: upon his left arm a ſhield with four arrows, and his right lifted in the attitude of throwing a ſpear: his body dyed black, and his head crowned with quail-feathers.

Ometeuctli and *Omecihuatl* (*f*). The former was a god, and the latter a goddeſs, who they pretended dwelt in a magnificent city in heaven, abounding with delights, and there watched over the world, and gave to mortals their wiſhes: *Ometeuctli* to men, and *Omecihuatl* to women. They had a tradition that this goddeſs having had many children in heaven, was delivered of a knife of flint; upon which her children in a rage threw it to the earth, from which when it fell, ſprung ſixteen hundred heroes, who, knowing their high origin, and having no ſervants, all mankind having periſhed in a general calamity, (*g*) agreed to ſend an embaſſy to their mother, to intreat her to grant them power to create men to ſerve them. The mother anſwered, that if they had had more exalted ſentiments, they would have made themſelves

(*f*) They likewiſe gave theſe gods the names of *Citlallatonac*, and *Citlalicue*, upon account of the ſtars.

(*g*) Theſe people, as we ſhall mention in another place, believed that the earth had ſuffered three great univerſal calamities by which all mankind had been deſtroyed.

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ſelves worthy to live with her eternally in heaven: but ſince they choſe to abide upon the earth, ſhe deſired them to go to *Mictlanteuctli*, god of hell, and aſk of him one of the bones of the men that had died; to ſprinkle this with their own blood, and from it they would have a man and a woman who would afterwards multiply. At the ſame time ſhe warned them to be upon their guard againſt *Mictlanteuctli*, who after giving the bone might ſuddenly repent. With theſe inſtructions from his mother, *Xolotl*, one of the heroes, went to hell, and after obtaining what he ſought, began to run towards the upper ſurface of the earth: upon which *Mictlanteuctli* enraged purſued him, but being unable to come up with him, returned to hell. *Xolotl* in his precipitate flight ſtumbled, and falling broke the bone into unequal pieces. Gathering them up again, he continued his courſe till he arrived at the place where his brothers awaited him; when they put the fragments into a veſſel, and ſprinkled them with their blood which they drew from different parts of their bodies. Upon the fourth day they beheld a boy, and continuing to ſprinkle with blood for three days more, a girl was likewiſe formed. They were both conſigned to the care of Xolotl to be brought up, who fed them with the milk of the thiſtle. In that way, they believed the recovery of mankind was effected at that time. Thence took its riſe, as they affirmed, the practice of drawing blood from different parts of the body, which as we ſhall ſee was ſo common among theſe nations: and they believed the differences in the ſtature of men to have been occaſioned by the inequality of the pieces of the bone.

Cihuacohuatl (woman ſerpent) called likewiſe *Quilaztli*. This they believed to have been the firſt woman that had children in the world; and ſhe had always twins. She was eſteemed a great goddeſs, and they ſaid that ſhe would frequently ſhew herſelf, carrying a child in a cradle upon her back.

SECT. III. Deification of the ſun and moon.

Tonatrich and *Meztli*, names of the ſun and moon, both deified by theſe nations. They ſaid, that after the recovery and multiplication of mankind, each of the above mentioned heroes or demigods, had among the men, his ſervants and adherents: and that there being no ſun, the one that had been, having come to an end, the heroes aſſembled in *Teotihuacan* around a great fire, and ſaid to the men that the firſt

firſt of them that ſhould throw himſelf into the fire would have the glory to become a ſun. Forthwith one of the men, more intrepid than the reſt, called *Nanahuaztin*, threw himſelf into the flames, and deſcended to hell. In the interval while they all remained expecting the event, the heroes made wagers with the quails, locuſts, and other animals, about the place of the ſky where the ſun would firſt appear; and the animals being miſtaken in their conjectures were immediately ſacrificed. At length the ſun aroſe in that quarter which from that time forward has been called the *Levant*; but he had ſcarcely riſen above the horizon when he ſtopped; which the heroes perceiving, ſent to deſire him to continue his courſe. The ſun replied, that he would not, until he ſhould ſee them all put to death. The heroes were no leſs enraged than terrified by that anſwer: upon which one of them named *Citli*, taking his bow and three arrows, ſhot one at the ſun; but the ſun ſaved himſelf by ſtooping. Citli aimed two other arrows, but in vain. The ſun enraged turned back the laſt arrow, and fixed it in the forehead of *Citli*, who inſtantly expired. The reſt intimidated by the fate of their brother, and unable to cope with the ſun, reſolved to die by the hands of *Xolotl*, who after killing all his brothers, put an end to his own life. The heroes before they died left their cloaths to their ſervants; and ſince the conqueſt of theſe countries by the Spaniards, certain ancient garments have been found, which were preſerved by the Indians with extraordinary veneration, under a belief that they had them by inheritance from thoſe ancient heroes. The men were affected with great melancholy upon loſing their maſters; but *Tezcatlipoca* commanded one of them to go to the houſe of the ſun, and from thence to bring muſic to celebrate his feſtival: he told him that for his journey which was to be by ſea, he would prepare a bridge of whales and tortoiſes, and deſired him to ſing always as he went, a ſong which he gave him. This the Mexicans ſaid, was the origin of the muſic and dancing with which they celebrated the feſtivals of their gods. They aſcribed the daily ſacrifice which they made of quails to the ſun, to that which the heroes made of thoſe birds; and the barbarous ſacrifices of human victims, ſo common afterwards in theſe countries, they aſcribed to the example of *Xolotl* with his brethren.

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They told a ſimilar fable of the origin of the moon. *Tezcociztecal*, another of thoſe men who aſſembled in *Teotihuacan*, following the example of *Nanahuatzin*, threw himſelf into the fire: but the flames being ſomewhat leſs fierce, he turned out leſs bright, and was tranſformed into the moon. To theſe two deities they conſecrated thoſe two famous temples erected in the plain of *Teotihuacan*, of which we ſhall give an account in another place.

SECT. IV. The god of air.

Quetzalcoatl. (Feathered ſerpent.) This was among the Mexicans, and all the other nations of *Anahuac*, the god of the air. He was ſaid to have once been high-prieſt of *Tula*. They figured him tall, big, and of a fair complexion, with an open forehead, large eyes, long black hair, and a thick beard. From a love of decency, he wore always a long robe; he was ſo rich that he had palaces of ſilver and precious ſtones; he was thought to poſſeſs the greateſt induſtry, and to have invented the art of melting metals and cutting gems. He was ſuppoſed to have had the moſt profound wiſdom, which he diſplayed in the laws which he left to mankind; and above all to have had the moſt rigid and exemplary manners. Whenever he intended to promulgate a law in his kingdom, he ordered a crier to the top of the mountain *Tzatzitepec* (the hill of ſhouting) near the city of Tula, whoſe voice was heard at the diſtance of three hundred miles. In his time, the corn grew ſo ſtrong that a ſingle ear was a load for a man: gourds were as long as a man's body: it was unneceſſary to dye cotton, for it grew naturally of all colours: and all other fruits and ſeeds were in the ſame abundance and of extraordinary ſize. Then too there was an incredible number of beautiful and ſweet ſinging birds. All his ſubjects were rich, and to ſum up all in one word, the Mexicans imagined as much happineſs under the prieſthood of *Quetzalcoatl*, as the Greeks did under the reign of Saturn, whom this Mexican god likewiſe reſembled in the exile which he ſuffered. Amidſt all this proſperity, *Tezcatlipoca*, I know not for what reaſon, wiſhing to drive him from that country, appeared to him in the form of an old man, and told him that it was the will of the gods that he ſhould be taken to the kingdom of *Tlapalla*. At the ſame time he offered him a beverage, which *Quetzalcoatl* readily accepted, in hopes of obtaining that immortality after which he aſpired. He had no ſooner drank it than he felt himſelf

ſelf ſo ſtrongly inclined to go to *Tlapalla*, that he ſet out immediately, accompanied by many of his ſubjects, who, on the way, entertained him with muſic. Near the city of *Quauhtitlan* he felled a tree with ſtones, which remained fixed in the trunk; and near *Tlalnepantla* he laid his hand upon a ſtone and left an impreſſion, which the Mexicans ſhewed the Spaniards after the conqueſt. Upon his arrival at *Cholula*, the citizens detained him, and made him take upon him the government of their city. Beſides the decency and ſweetneſs of his manners, the averſion he ſhewed to all kinds of cruelty, inſomuch that he could not bear to hear the very mention of war, added much to the affection entertained for him by the inhabitants of Cholula. To him they ſaid they owed their knowledge of melting metals, their laws by which they were ever afterwards governed, the rites and ceremonies of their religion, and even, as ſome affirmed, the arrangement of their ſeaſons and calendar.

After being twenty years in *Cholula*, he reſolved to purſue his journey to the imaginary kingdom of *Tlapalla*, carrying along with him four noble and virtuous youths. In the maritime province of *Coatzacoalco*, he diſmiſſed them, and deſired them to aſſure the *Cholulans* that he would return to comfort and direct them. The *Cholulans* out of reſpect to their beloved *Quetzalcoatl*, put the reins of government into the hands of thoſe young men. Some people ſaid that he ſuddenly diſappeared, others that he died upon that coaſt; but, however it might be, *Quetzalcoatl* was conſecrated as a god by the *Toltecas* of *Cholulan*, and made chief guardian of their city, in the center of which, in honour of him, they raiſed a great eminence and built a ſanctuary upon it. Another eminence with a temple, was afterwards erected to him in *Tula*. From Cholula his worſhip was propagated over all that country, where he was adored as the god of the air. He had temples in Mexico, and elſewhere; and ſome nations, even enemies of the *Cholulans*, had, in the city of Cholula, temples and prieſts dedicated to his worſhip; and people came from all countries thither, to pay their devotions and to fulfil their vows. The Cholulans preſerved with the higheſt veneration ſome ſmall green ſtones, very well cut, which they ſaid had belonged to him. The people of Yucatan boaſted that their nobles were deſcended from him.

BOOK IV. Barren women offered up their prayers to him in order to become fruitful. His feſtivals were great and extraordinary, eſpecially in Cholula, in the *Teoxihuitl*, or divine year; and were preceded by a ſevere faſt of eighty days, and by dreadful auſterities practiſed by the prieſts conſecrated to his worſhip. Quetzalcoatl, they ſaid, cleared the way for the god of water; becauſe in theſe countries rain is generally preceded by wind.

Dr. Siguenza imagined that the *Quetzalcoatl*, deified by thoſe people, was no other than the apoſtle St. Thomas, who announced to them the Goſpel. He ſupported that opinion with great learning, in a work (*b*), which, with many other of his ineſtimable writings, has been unfortunately loſt by the neglect of his heirs. In that work he inſtituted a compariſon betwixt the names of *Didymos* and *Quetzalcoatl* (*i*), their dreſs, their doctrine, and their prophecies; and examined the places through which they went, the traces which they left, and the miracles which their reſpective diſciples related. As we have never ſeen the manuſcript above mentioned, we ſhall avoid criticiſing an opinion to which we cannot ſubſcribe, notwithſtanding the reſpect which we bear for the great genius and extenſive learning of the author.

Some Mexican writers are perſuaded that the Goſpel had been preached in America ſome centuries before the arrival of the Spaniards. The grounds of that opinion are ſome croſſes (*k*) which have been found

(*b*) This work of Siguenza is mentioned by Betancourt, in his *Mexican Theatre*; and by Dr. Eguiera, in his Mexican Bibliotheca.

(*i*) Betancourt obſerves, when he is comparing together the names of *Didymos* and *Quetzalcoatl*, that the latter is compoſed of *Coatl* a twin, and *Quetzalli* a gem; and that it ſignifies a Precious Twin. But Torquemada, who perfectly underſtood the Mexican language, and had thoſe names interpreted to him by the ancient people, ſays that Quetzalcoatl means, ſerpent furniſhed with feathers. In fact, *Coatl* does perfectly ſignify *ſerpent*, and *Quetzalli*, *green-feather*, and have been applied to *twin* and *gem*, only metaphorically.

(*k*) The croſſes the moſt celebrated are thoſe of Yucatan, of Mizteca, Queretaro, Tepique, and Tianquiztepec. Thoſe of Yucatan are mentioned by Father Cogolludo, a Franciſcan, in his Hiſtory, book ii. chap 12. The croſs of Mizteca is taken notice of by Boturini in his work, and in the chronicle of Father Burgoa, a Dominican. There is an account of the croſs of Queretaro, written by a Franciſcan of the college of *Propaganda* in that city; and of that of Tepique by the learned Jeſuit Sigiſmund Tarabal, whoſe manuſcripts are preſerved in the Jeſuit college of Guadalajora. That of Tianquiztepec was diſcovered by Boturini, and is mentioned in his work. The croſſes of Yucatan were worſhipped by the Yucataneſe, in obedience, as they ſaid, to the inſtructions of their great prophet *Chilam-Cambal*, who deſired that when a certain race of men with beards ſhould arrive in that country from the Eaſt, and ſhould

found at different times, which ſeem to have been made before the arrival of the Spaniards: the faſt of forty days obſerved by the people of the new world *(l)*, the tradition of the future arrival of a ſtrange people, with beards, and the prints of human feet impreſſed upon ſome ſtones, which are ſuppoſed to be the footſteps of the apoſtle St. Thomas *(n)*. We never could reconcile ourſelves to this opinion; but the examination of ſuch monuments and remains, would require a work of a very different kind from that which we have undertaken.

Tlaloc, otherwiſe *Tlalocateuctli* (maſter of paradiſe), was the god of water. They called him fertilizer of the earth, and protector of their temporal goods. They believed he reſided upon the higheſt mountains, where the clouds are generally formed, ſuch as thoſe of Tlaloc, Tlaſcala, and Toluca; whither they often went to implore his protection.

SECT. V. The gods of mountains, water, fire, earth, night, and hell.

The native hiſtorians relate, that the *Acolhuas* having arrived in that country in the time of Xolotl, the firſt Chechemecan king, found at the top of the mountain of Tlaloc, an image of that god, made of a white and very light ſtone, in the ſhape of a man ſitting upon a ſquare ſtone, with a veſſel before him, in which was ſome elaſtic gum, and a variety of ſeeds. This was their yearly offering, by way of rendering up their thanks after having had a favourable harveſt. That image was reckoned the oldeſt in that country; for it had been placed upon that hill by the ancient Toltecas, and remained till the end of the XVth or beginning of the XVIth century, when Nezahualpilli, king of Acolhuacan, in order to gain the favour of his ſubjects, carried it away, and placed another in its ſtead, of a very hard black ſtone. The new image, however, being defaced by lightning, and the prieſts declaring it to be a puniſhment from heaven, the ancient ſtatue was reſtored, and there

ſhould be ſeen to adore that ſign, they ſhould embrace the doctrine of thoſe ſtrangers. We ſhall have an opportunity of ſpeaking more particularly concerning theſe monuments, in the *Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory of Mexico*, if Heaven vouchſafe to favour our deſign.

(*l*) The faſt of forty days proves nothing, as thoſe nations likewiſe obſerved faſts of three, four, five, twenty, eighty, a hundred and ſixty days, and even of four years; nor was that of forty days, by any means the moſt common.

(*n*) Not only the marks of human feet have been found printed or rather cut out in ſtones, but thoſe likewiſe of animals have been found, without our being able to form any conjecture of the purpoſe had in view by thoſe who have taken the trouble to cut them.

BOOK VI. continued to be preſerved and worſhipped, until the promulgation of the Goſpel, when it was thrown down and broken by the order of the firſt biſhop of Mexico.

The ancients alſo believed that in all the high mountains there reſided other gods, ſubaltern to Tlaloc. They all went under the ſame name, and were revered, not only as gods of water, but alſo as the gods of mountains. The image of *Tlaloc* was painted blue and green, to expreſs the different colours that are obſerved in water. He held in his hand a rod of gold, of an undulated and pointed form, by which they intended to denote the lightning. He had a temple in Mexico, within the incloſure of the greater temple, and the Mexicans celebrated ſeveral feſtivals in honour to him every year.

Chalchiuhcueje, otherwiſe *Chalchihuitlicue*, the goddeſs of water, and companion of Tlaloc. She was known by ſome other very expreſſive names *(o)*, which either ſignify the effects which water produces, or the different appearances and colours which it aſſumes in motion. The Tlaſcalans called her *Matlalcueje*, that is, clothed in a green robe; and they gave the ſame name to the higheſt mountain of Tlaſcala, on whoſe ſummit are formed thoſe ſtormy clouds which generally burſt over the city of Angelopoli. To that ſummit the Tlaſcalans aſcended to perform their ſacrifices, and offer up their prayers. This is the very ſame goddeſs of water, to which Torquemada gives the name of *Xochiquetzal*, and the Cav. Boturini that of *Macuilxochiquetzalli*.

Xiuhteuctli (maſter of the year and of the graſs), was among theſe nations the god of fire, to whom they likewiſe gave the name of *Ixcozauhqui*, which expreſſes the colour of fire. This god was greatly revered in the Mexican empire. At their dinner they made an offering to him of the firſt morſel of their food, and the firſt draught of their beverage, by throwing both into the fire; and burned incenſe to him at certain times of the day. In honour of him they held two fixed feſtivals of the moſt ſolemn kind, one in the tenth, and another in the eighteenth month; and one moveable feaſt at which they created the

(o) *Apozonallotl* and *Acuecuejotl* expreſs the ſwelling and fluctuation of water: *Atlacamani*, ſtorms excited on it: *Ahuic* and *Aiauh*, its motions ſometimes to one ſide and ſometimes to another: *Xiniquepilihui*, the alternate riſing and falling of the waves, &c.

uſual

uſual magiſtrates, and renewed the ceremony of the inveſtiture of the fiefs of the kingdom. He had a temple in Mexico, and ſome other palaces.

Centeotl, goddeſs of the earth and of corn, called likewiſe, *Tonacajohua (p)*, that is, ſhe who ſupports us. She had five temples in Mexico, and three feſtivals were held on her account, in the third, eighth, and eleventh months: ſhe was particularly revered and honoured by the Totonacas, who eſteemed her to be their chief protectreſs; and erected to her, upon the top of a high mountain, a temple, where ſhe was ſerved by a great number of prieſts ſolely devoted to her worſhip, and adored by the whole nation. They had an extraordinary love for her, being perſuaded that ſhe did not require human victims, but was contented with the ſacrifice of doves, quails, leverets, and ſuch animals, which they offered up to her in great numbers. They expected ſhe was at laſt to deliver them from the cruel ſlavery they were under to the other gods, who conſtrained them to ſacrifice ſo many human creatures. The Mexicans entertained very different ſentiments of her ſhedding a great deal of human blood at her feſtivals. In the above mentioned temple of the Totonacas, was one of the moſt renowned oracles of the country.

Mictlanteuctli, the god of hell, and *Mictlancihuatl* his female companion, were much honoured by the Mexicans. Theſe deities were imagined to dwell in a place of great darkneſs in the bowels of the earth. They had a temple in Mexico, in which they held a feſtival in the eighteenth month. Sacrifices and offerings were made to them by night, and the chief miniſter of their worſhip was a prieſt called *Tlillantlenamacac*, who was always died of a black colour, in order to perform the functions of his prieſthood.

Joalteuctli, the god of night, who ſeems to us to have been the ſame with *Meztli* or the moon. Some think him the ſame with *Tonatiuh*, or the ſun, while others imagine him to have been quite a diſtinct deity. They recommended their children to this god, to give them ſleep.

(p) They gave her likewiſe the names of *Tzinteol* (original goddeſs), *Xilonen*, *Iztacacentcotl* and *Tlatlauhquicenteotl*, changing her name according to the different ſtates of the grain in the progreſs of its growth.

Joalticitl

BOOK VI.

Joalticitl (nightly phyſician), goddeſs of cradles; to whom they likewiſe recommended their children to be taken care of, particularly in the night time.

SECT. VI. The gods of war.

Huitzilopochtli, or Mexitli, was the god of war; the deity the moſt honoured by the Mexicans, and their chief protector *(q)*. Of this god ſome ſaid he was a pure ſpirit, others that he was born of a woman, but without the aſſiſtance of a man, and deſcribed his birth in the following manner. There lived, ſaid they, in Coatepec, a place near to the ancient city of Tula, a woman called *Coatlicue*, mother of the *Centzonhuiznahuis*, who was extremely devoted to the worſhip of the gods. One day as ſhe was employed, according to her uſual cuſtom, in walking in the temple, ſhe beheld deſcending in the air, a ball made of various feathers. She ſeized it and kept it in her boſom, intending afterwards to employ the feathers in decoration of the altar; but when ſhe wanted it after her walk was at an end, ſhe could not find it, at which ſhe was extremely ſurpriſed, and her wonder was very greatly increaſed when ſhe began to perceive from that moment that ſhe was pregnant. Her pregnancy advanced till it was diſcovered by her children, who, although they could not themſelves ſuſpect their mother's virtue, yet fearing the diſgrace ſhe would ſuffer upon her delivery, determined to prevent it by putting her to death. They could not take their reſolution ſo ſecretly as to conceal it from their mother, who while ſhe was in deep affliction at the thoughts of dying by the hands of her own children, heard an unexpected voice iſſue from her womb, ſaying, "Be not afraid mother, for I ſhall ſave you with the greateſt honour to yourſelf, and glory to me." Her hard-hearted ſons, guided and encouraged by their ſiſter *Cojolxauhqui*, who had been the moſt keenly bent upon the deed, were now juſt upon the point of executing their purpoſe, when Huitzilopochtli was born, with a ſhield in his

(*q*) *Huitzilopochtli* is a compound of two words, viz. *Huitzilin*, the humming bird, and *Opochtli*, left. It was ſo called from his image having the feathers of the little bird upon its left foot. Boturini knowing little of the Mexican language, derives the name from *Huitziton* the leader of the Mexicans in their pilgrimage, and takes this leader and the god to have been the ſame perſon. Beſides that ſuch an etymology is over-ſtrained, that pretended identity is quite unknown to the Mexicans themſelves, who when they began their pilgrimage under the conduct of Huitziton, had long before, from time immemorial, worſhipped the god of war: the Spaniards being unable to pronounce the word, called him *Huitzilobos*.

left

left hand, a ſpear in his right, and a creſt of green feathers on his head; his left leg adorned with feathers, and his face, arms, and thighs ſtreaked with blue lines. As ſoon as he came into the world he diſplayed a twiſted pine, and commanded one of his ſoldiers called *Tochancalqui*, to fell with it Cojolxauhqui, as the one who had been the moſt guilty; and he himſelf attacked the reſt with ſo much fury that, in ſpite of their efforts, their arms, or their intreaties, he killed them all, plundered their houſes, and preſented the ſpoils to his mother. Mankind were ſo terrified by this event, that from that time they called him *Tetzahuitl*, terror, and *Tetzauhteotl*, terrible god.

This was the god who, as they ſaid, becoming the protector of the Mexicans, conducted them for ſo many years in their pilgrimage, and at length ſettled them where they afterwards founded the great city of Mexico. There they raiſed to him that ſuperb temple ſo much celebrated even by the Spaniards, in which were annually holden three ſolemn feſtivals in the fifth, ninth, and fifteenth months; beſides thoſe kept every four years, every thirteen years, and at the beginning of every century. His ſtatue was of gigantic ſize, in the poſture of a man ſeated on a blue-coloured bench, from the four corners of which iſſued four huge ſnakes. His forehead was blue, but his face was covered with a golden maſk, while another of the ſame kind covered the back of his head. Upon his head he carried a beautiful creſt, ſhaped like the beak of a bird; upon his neck a collar conſiſting of ten figures of the human heart; in his right hand, a large, blue, twiſted club; in his left, a ſhield, on which appeared five balls of feathers diſpoſed in the form of a croſs, and from the upper part of the ſhield roſe a golden flag with four arrows, which the Mexicans pretended to have been ſent to them from heaven to perform thoſe glorious actions which we have ſeen in their hiſtory. His body was girt with a large golden ſnake, and adorned with various leſſer figures of animals made of gold and precious ſtones, which ornaments and inſignia had each their peculiar meaning. They never deliberated upon making war without imploring the protection of this god, with prayers and ſacrifices; and offered up a greater number of human victims to him than to any other of the gods.

Tlaca-

BOOK VI.

Tlacahuepancuexcotzin, likewiſe a god of war, the younger brother and companion of Huitzilopochtli. His image was worſhipped along with his brother's, in the chief ſanctuary of Mexico; but no where with greater devotion than at the court of Tezcuco.

Painalton (ſwift or hurried), a god of war, and lieutenant of Huitzilopochtli. As they invoked the latter in thoſe wars which were undertaken after ſerious deliberation, ſo they called upon Painalton upon ſudden occaſions, ſuch as an unexpected attack of the enemy. Then the prieſts ran about the city with the image of the god, which was worſhipped together with thoſe of the other gods of war, calling upon him with loud cries, and making ſacrifices to him of quails, and other animals. All the men of war were then obliged to run to arms.

SECT. VII. The gods of commerce, hunting, fiſhing, &c.

Jacateuctli (the lord who guides), the god of commerce *(r)*, for whom the merchants celebrated two great annual feſtivals in his temple at Mexico; one in the ninth, and another in the ſeventeenth month, with many ſacrifices of human victims, and ſuperb repaſts.

Mixcoatl, the goddeſs of hunting, and the principal deity of the Otomies, who, living among the mountains, were for the moſt part hunters. The Matlatzincas likewiſe worſhipped her with peculiar reverence. She had two temples in Mexico, and in one of them called *Teotlalpan*, was held a great feſtival with numerous ſacrifices of the wild animals, in the fourteenth month.

Opochtli, the god of fiſhing. He was believed to be the inventor of nets and other inſtruments of fiſhing, whence he was particularly revered by fiſhermen, as their protector. In Cuitlahuac, a city upon a little iſland in the lake of Chalco, there was a god of fiſhing highly honoured, named *Amimitl*, who probably differed from Opochtli no otherwiſe than in name.

Huixtocihuatl, the goddeſs of ſalt, was worſhipped by the Mexicans upon account of the ſalt works which they had at a little diſtance from the capital. A feaſt was celebrated to her in the ſeventh month.

Tzapotlatenan, the goddeſs of phyſic. She was ſuppoſed to have been the inventreſs of the oil called *Oxitl*, and other moſt uſeful drugs. She was yearly honoured with the ſacrifice of human victims, and with particular hymns compoſed in her praiſe.

(r) Jacateuctli was alſo called *Yacatecuhtli* and *Jacatecolotzqui*.

Tezcat-

Texcatzoncatl, the god of wine; known likewiſe by other names (*s*), from the effects produced by wine. He had a temple in Mexico, in which four hundred prieſts were conſecrated to his worſhip, and where for him, and the other gods his companions, a yearly feaſt was held in the thirteenth month.

Ixtlilton (the black-faced) ſeems to have been a god of phyſic; for they uſed to bring ſick children to his temple, to be cured. Their fathers brought them, and dictating to them the prayers with which they were to aſk for health, made them dance before the image; and then gave them a water to drink which had been bleſſed by the prieſts conſecrated to the god.

Coatlicue, or *Coatlantona*, was the goddeſs of flowers. She had a temple in Mexico called *Jopico*, where a feſtival was celebrated to her by the *Xochimanqui*, or compoſers of noſegays of flowers, in the third month which falls in ſpring. They preſented her among other things with beautiful braids of flowers. We do not know whether this goddeſs was the ſame with the mother of Huitzilopochtli.

Tlazolteotl was the god whom the Mexicans invoked to obtain pardon of their ſins, and to be freed from the diſgrace to which the guilty are expoſed. The principal devotees of this falſe deity were luſtful men, who courted his protection with ſacrifices and with offerings (*t*).

Xipe is the name given by hiſtorians to the god of the goldſmiths, (*u*) who was greatly revered among the Mexicans. They were perſuaded that all thoſe who neglected his worſhip, would be puniſhed with diſeaſes, particularly with the itch, boils, and ſevere pains in the eyes and the head. They took care, therefore, to diſtinguiſh themſelves by the cruelty of their ſacrifices, which were made at a feſtival uſually celebrated in the ſecond month.

Nappateuctli (four times lord) was the god of the mat-weavers. He was ſaid to be a benign god, eaſy to pardon injuries, and generous

(*s*) Such as *Tequechmecaniani* the ſtrangler, and *Teatlahuiani* the drowner.

(*t*) Boturini aſſerts, that Tlazolteotl was the immodeſt and Hebeian goddeſs; and *Macuilxochiquetzalli*, the Venus *Pronuba*. But the Mexicans never attributed to their gods thoſe ſhameful irregularities, which the Greeks and Romans imputed to theirs.

(*u*) *Xipe* has no meaning; ſo that I imagine the Spaniſh writers not knowing the Mexican name of this god, applied to him the two firſt ſyllables of the name of his feaſt *Xipehualiztli*.

BOOK VI. towards all. He had two temples in Mexico, where a feſtival was held in the thirteenth month.

Omacatl was the god of mirth. Upon occaſion of any public rejoicing, or any great feaſt of the Mexican lords, they imagined they would certainly meet with ſome diſaſter if they neglected to bring the image of this god from the temple and ſet it up at the feaſt.

Tonantzin (our mother) I take to be the ſame with the goddeſs Centeotl, whom we have mentioned before. She had a temple upon a mountain, about three miles from Mexico towards the north, whither the nations came in crowds to worſhip her, with a wonderful number of ſacrifices. At the foot of that hill is now the moſt famous ſanctuary in the new world, dedicated to the true God; where people from the moſt remote countries aſſemble to worſhip the celebrated and truly miraculous image of the moſt Holy Lady of *Guadaloupe*; thus converting a place of abomination into a mercy-ſeat, where religion has diſtributed its favours, for the benefit of thoſe nations, in the place that has been ſtained with the blood of ſo many of their anceſtors.

Teteoinan was the mother of the gods, which the word itſelf ſignifies. As the Mexicans called themſelves the children of the gods, they gave to this goddeſs the name likewiſe of *Tocitzin*, that is, our grand-mother. I have already ſpoken of the origin and deification of this pretended mother of the gods in the ſecond book, where I gave an account of the tragical death of the princeſs of Colhuacan. This goddeſs had a temple in Mexico, where a moſt ſolemn feaſt was held in the eleventh month. She was particularly adored by the Tlaſcalans; and midwives worſhipped her as their protectreſs. Almoſt all the Spaniſh writers confound her with Tonantzin, but they are certainly different.

Ilamateuctli, for whom the Mexicans had a feaſt upon the third day of the ſeventeenth month, ſeems to have been the goddeſs of age. Her name means nothing more than Old Lady.

Tepitoton (little ones), was the name given by the Mexicans to their penates, or houſhold gods, and the images that repreſented them. Of theſe little images, the kings and great lords had always ſix in their houſes, the nobles four, and the lower people two. They were to be ſeen every where in the public ſtreets.

Beſides

Beſides theſe gods which were the moſt conſiderable, and ſome others which we omit, that we may not tire the reader, there were two hundred and ſixty, to which as many days were conſecrated. Thoſe days take their names from them, and are thoſe we find in the firſt thirteen months of their calendar.

The Mexican gods were generally the ſame with thoſe of the other nations of Anahuac; differing only in their greater or leſs celebrity, in ſome of their rites, and ſometimes in their names. The god the moſt celebrated in Mexico was *Huitzilopochtli*; in Cholula and Huexotzinco, *Quetzalcoatl*; among the Totonacas, *Centeotl*; and among the Otomies, *Mixcoatl*. The Tlaſcalans, although the conſtant enemies of the Mexicans, adored the ſame gods; and even their moſt favoured deity was the very Huitilopochtli of the Mexicans, but under the name of *Camaxtle*. The people of Tezcuco, as allies, friends, and neighbours, conformed almoſt entirely with the Mexicans.

SECT. VIII. Their idols and the manner of worſhipping their gods.

The number of the images by which thoſe falſe gods were repreſented, and worſhipped in the temples, the houſes, the ſtreets, and the woods, were infinite. Zumarraga, firſt biſhop of Mexico, affirms, that the Franciſcans had, in the courſe of eight years, broken more than twenty thouſand idols; but that number is trifling compared to thoſe of the capital only. They were generally made of clay, and certain kinds of ſtone and wood; but ſometimes too of gold and other metals: and there were ſome of gems. In a high mountain of Achiauhtla, in Mizteca, Benedict Fernandez, a celebrated Dominican miſſionary, found a little idol called by the Miztecas the *heart of the people*. It was a very precious emerald, four inches long and two inches broad, upon which was engraved the figure of a bird, and round it that of a little ſnake. The Spaniards offered fifteen hundred ſequins for it; but the zealous miſſionary before all the people, and with great ſolemnity reduced it to powder. The moſt extraordinary idol of the Mexicans was that of Huitzilopochtli, which was made of certain ſeeds paſted together with human blood. Almoſt all their idols were coarſe and hideous from the fantaſtical parts of which they were compoſed in order to repreſent their attributes and employments.

The divinity of thoſe falſe gods were acknowledged by prayers, kneeling and proſtrations, with vows, faſts, and other auſterities,

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with ſacrifices and offerings, and various rites, ſome common to other nations, and others peculiar to the Mexican religion alone. They prayed generally upon their knees, with their faces turned towards the eaſt, and therefore made their ſanctuaries with the door to the weſt. They made vows for their children as well as for themſelves, and frequently dedicated them to the ſervice of their gods in ſome temple or monaſtery. Thoſe who happened to be in danger from ſtumbling or ſlipping, upon a journey, made vows to viſit the temple of the god Omacatl, and to offer up incenſe and paper. They made frequent uſe of the name of God to confirm the truth; and their oaths were in this form; *Cuix à mo nechitta in Toteotzin?* Does not our god ſee me now? Then naming the principal god, or any other they particularly reverenced, they kiſſed their hand, after having touched the earth with it. Great faith was put in oaths of this kind by way of purgation when any one was accuſed of a crime; for they thought no man could be ſo raſh as to venture to abuſe the name of God, at the evident riſk of being moſt ſeverely puniſhed by heaven.

SECT. IX. Their tranſformations.

Metamorphoſes, or tranſformations, were not wanting to the mythology of the Mexicans. Among others they related one of a man named *Jappan*, who having undertaken to do penance upon a mountain, yielded to the temptations of a woman, and fell into the ſin of adultery. He was immediately beheaded by *Jaotl*, to whom the gods had given the charge of watching over his conduct, and by the gods themſelves was transformed into a black ſcorpion. Jaotl, not ſatisfied with that puniſhment, executed it likewiſe upon *Tlahuitzin*, the wife of Jappan, who was transformed into a white ſcorpion, while Jaotl himſelf, for having exceeded the bounds of his commiſſion, was turned into a locuſt. They ſaid it was from the ſhame of that crime that ſcorpions ſhun the light, and hide themſelves under ſtones.

SECT. X. The greater temple of Mexico.

The Mexicans, and other nations of Anahuac, like all civilized nations, had temples or places allotted for the purpoſes of religion, where the people aſſembled to worſhip their gods, and implore their protection. They called the temple *Teocalli*, that is, the houſe of god, and *Teopan*, the place of God; which names they applied with greater propriety to the temples erected in honour of the true God, after they embraced Chriſtianity.

The

The city and kingdom of Mexico began with the building of the ſanctuary of Huitzilopochtli or *Mexitli*, whence it has derived its name. That edifice was then a miſerable hut. Itzcoatl, the firſt king and conqueror of that nation, after the taking of Azcapozalco, enlarged it. Montezuma I. his ſucceſſor, built a new temple, which had ſome ſhew of magnificence; and, at length Ahuitzotl raiſed and dedicated that immenſe temple which his predeceſſor Tizoc had planned. This was the temple which the Spaniards celebrated ſo highly after they had deſtroyed it. It were to be wiſhed that their accuracy in deſcribing its dimenſions had been but equal to their zeal in deſtroying that ſuperb monument of ſuperſtition: but ſuch is the variety of their accounts, that, after having laboured to reconcile them, I have found it impoſſible to aſcertain its proportions; nor ſhould I ever have been able to form an idea of the architecture of that temple without the figure preſented to us by the Anonymous Conqueror; a copy of which I have here ſubjoined, although I have paid leſs regard in it to his delineation than his deſcription. I ſhall mention therefore all that I think may be depended upon, after a very tedious compariſon of the deſcriptions given by four eye-witneſſes, and neglect what I have been unable to extricate from the confuſion of different authors (*x*).

(*x*) The four eye-witneſſes whoſe deſcriptions we have connected together are the conqueror Cortes, Bernal Diaz, the Anonymous Conqueror, and Sahagun. The three firſt lived for ſeveral months in the palace of king Axajacatl, near the temple, and therefore ſaw it every day. Sahagun, although he never ſaw it entire, yet ſaw ſome part of it, and could diſcover what ground it had occupied. Gomara, who did not himſelf ſee the temple, nor ever was in Mexico, received the different accounts of it from the conquerors themſelves who ſaw it. Acoſta, whoſe deſcription has been copied by Herrera and Solis, inſtead of the great temple deſcribes one perfectly different. This author, although in other reſpects deſerving of credit, was not in Mexico till ſixty years after the conqueſt, when there were no remains of the temple.

In a Dutch edition of Solis, was given an incorrect print of the great temple, which was afterwards given by the authors of the *General Hiſtory of Voyages*, and is ſtill to be met with in an edition of the conqueror Cortes's Letters, publiſhed at Mexico in 1770: but the carelеſſneſs of the editors of that edition will appear from comparing the print in it with Cortes's own deſcription. He ſays, in his firſt letter, though ſomewhat hyperbolically, that the great temple of Mexico was higher than the tower of the cathedral church of Seville, while in the print mentioned it ſcarcely appears to be ſeven or eight perches or toiſes. Cortes declares that five hundred Mexican nobles fortified themſelves in the upper area, whereas that ſpace as repreſented in the print could not contain more than ſeventy or eighty men. Laſtly, omitting many other contradictions, Cortes ſays, that the temple conſiſted of three or four bodies, and that each body had, as he deſcribes it, its corridores or balconies: yet in the print it is repreſented as conſiſting of one body only, without any of thoſe corridores at all.

This

BOOK VI.

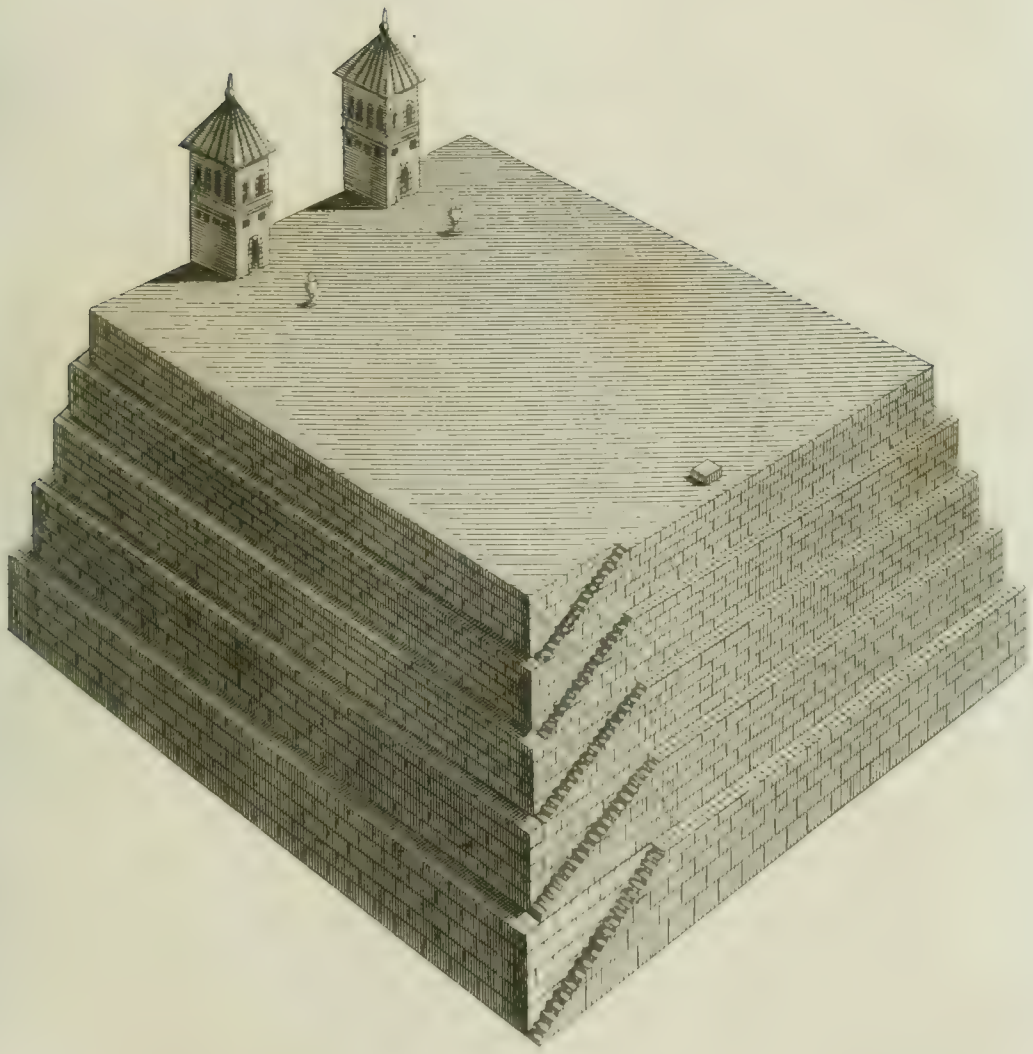
This great temple occupied the centre of the city, and, together with the other temples and buildings annexed to it, comprehended all that ſpace upon which the great cathedral church now ſtands, part of the greater market-place, and part likewiſe of the ſtreets and buildings around. Within the incloſure of the wall which encompaſſed it in a ſquare form, the conqueror Cortes affirms that a town of five hundred houſes might have ſtood (*y*). The wall, built of ſtone and lime, was very thick, eight feet high, crowned with battlements, in the form of niches, and ornamented with many ſtone figures in the ſhape of ſerpents, whence it obtained the name of *Coatepantli*, or the wall of ſerpents. It had four gates to the four cardinal points: the eaſtern gate looked to a broad ſtreet which led to the lake of Tezcuco: the reſt correſponded to the three principal ſtreets of the city, the broadeſt and the ſtraighteſt, which formed a continuation with thoſe built upon the lake that led to Iztapalapan, to Tacuba, and to Tepejacac. Over each of the four gates was an arſenal filled with a vaſt quantity of offenſive and defenſive weapons, where the troops went when it was neceſſary, to be ſupplied with arms. The ſpace within the walls was curiouſly paved with ſuch ſmooth and poliſhed ſtones that the horſes of the Spaniards could not move upon them without ſlipping and tumbling down. In the middle was raiſed an immenſe ſolid building of greater length than breadth (*z*), covered with ſquare equal pieces of pavement. The building conſiſted of five bodies nearly equal in height, but differing in length and breadth; the higheſt being narroweſt. The firſt body, or baſis of the building, was more than fifty perches long from eaſt to weſt, and about forty-three in breadth, from north to ſouth (*a*). The ſecond

(*y*) The Anonymous Conqueror ſays, that what was within the wall was like a city. Gomara affirms, that the wall was a very long bowſhot in length upon every ſide. Torquemada, although agreeing with Gomara in book viii. chap. 2. ſays afterwards in ch. xix. that the circumference of the wall was above three thouſand paces, which is plainly a miſtake. Dr. Hernandez, in his prolix deſcription of the temple, preſerved in manuſcript in the library of the Eſcurial, and which Father Nieremberg has made uſe of in his Natural Hiſtory, allows to the the wall, of every ſide, two hundred Toledan cubits, which is about eighty-ſix perches.

(*z*) Sahagun makes the temple perfectly ſquare, but the Anonymous Conqueror, both in the deſcription and in the figure which he has left us, repreſents it to have been of greater length than breadth, like thoſe of Teotihuacan which ſerved as models for all the reſt.

(*a*) Sahagun gives to the firſt body upon every ſide three hundred and ſixty Toledan feet, and that is the meaſure of its length. Gomara gives it fifty *brazas*, which is the meaſure of its breadth. Three hundred and ſixty Toledan feet make three hundred and eight Pariſian, or a lit-

The greater Temple of Mexico.



ſecond body was about a perch leſs in length and breadth than the firſt; the third as much leſs than the ſecond; and the reſt in proportion, ſo that upon each body there remained a free ſpace or plain which would allow three, or even four men abreaſt to walk round the next body.

The ſtairs, which were upon the ſouth-ſide, were made of large well formed ſtones, and conſiſted of a hundred and fourteen ſteps, each a foot high. They were not, however, one ſingle ſtair-caſe continued all the way, as they have been repreſented by the authors of the Geneneral Hiſtory of Travels, and the Publiſhers of Cortes's Letters, in Mexico; but were divided into as many ſeparate ſtair-caſes as there were bodies of the building in the manner ſhewn in our plate; ſo that after getting to the top of the firſt ſtair-caſe, one could not mount the ſecond, without going along the firſt plain round the ſecond; nor the third, without going along the ſecond plain, and ſo of the reſt. This will be better underſtood by conſulting the plate, which is copied from that of the Anonymous Conqueror (*b*), but corrected as to the dimenſions, from that author's own deſcription, and other hiſtorians.

Upon the fifth body was a plain, which we ſhall call the upper area, which was about forty three perches long (*c*), and thirty-four broad, and was as well paved as the great area below. At the eaſtern extremity of this plain were raiſed two towers to the height of fifty-ſix feet, or nearly nine perches. Each was divided into three bodies, of which the lower was of ſtone and lime, and the other two of wood very well wrought and painted. The inferior body or baſis of each were properly the ſanctuaries, where, upon an altar of ſtone, five feet high, were placed their tutelary idols. One of theſe two ſanctuaries was conſe-

a little more than fifty perches. Fifty *brazas*, or *eſtados* make two hundred and fifty-ſeven Pariſian feet, or about forty-two perches.

(*b*) A copy of the drawing of the temple made by the Anonymous Conqueror, is to be found in the collection of Jo. Ramuſio; and another in Father Kircher's work, entitled, *Oedipus Egyptiacus*.

(*c*) Sahagun, whoſe meaſures have been adopted by Torquemada, allows no more than ſeventy Toledan feet ſquare, which is about ten perches, to the upper area; but it is impoſſible that five hundred Mexican nobles, as Cortes aſſerts, could have ſtood to fight againſt the Spaniards, in ſuch a narrow ſpace; eſpecially if we believe Bernard Diaz, who ſays, that four thouſand Mexicans fortified themſelves in that temple, and that numbers had got up before the nobles aſcended.

crated

BOOK IV.

crated to Huitzilopochtli, and the gods of war; and the other to Tezcatlipoca. The other bodies were deſtined to the keeping of ſome things belonging to the worſhip, and the aſhes of ſome kings and lords who, through particular devotion, deſired that to be done. The doors of both ſanctuaries were towards the weſt, and both the towers terminated in a very beautiful wooden cupola. There is no author who has deſcribed the internal diſpoſition and ornaments of the ſanctuaries; nor indeed the ſize of the towers; ſo that what is repreſented in our plate is only delineated from conjecture. I believe, however, we may venture to ſay without danger of miſtake, that the height of the building without the towers, was not leſs than nineteen perches, and with the towers exceeded twenty-eight. From that height one might ſee the lake, the cities around, and a great part of the valley; and it has been affirmed by eye-witneſſes to be the fineſt proſpect in the world.

In the upper area was the altar for the common ſacrifices, and in the lower that for the gladiatorial. Before the two ſanctuaries were two ſtone ſtoves of the height of a man, and of the ſhape of our holy pyx, in which they preſerved a conſtant fire, night and day, with the utmoſt care; fearing that if ever it went out, they ſhould ſuffer the moſt dreadful puniſhment from heaven. In the other temples and religious buildings compriſed within the incloſure of the great wall, there were ſix hundred ſtoves, of the ſame ſize and figure, which in the night time, when they uſed all to be burning, preſented a very pleaſing ſight.

SECT. XI. Buildings annexed to the great temple.

In the ſpace betwixt the wall and the great temple, there were, beſides a place for their religious dances, upwards of forty leſſer temples, conſecrated to the other gods, ſeveral colleges of prieſts, ſome ſeminaries for youth and children of both ſexes, and many other buildings ſcattered about, of which, for their ſingularity, it will be neceſſary to give ſome account.

The moſt remarkable were the temples of Tezcatlipoca, Tlaloc, and Quetzalcoatl. They all reſembled one another in form, but were of different ſizes, and all fronted the great temple; while the other temples without this area were built with the front towards the weſt. The temple of Quetzalcoatl alone differed from the reſt in form; it being round, the others all quadrangular. The door of

this

this ſanctuary was the mouth of an enormous ſerpent of ſtone, armed with fangs. Some Spaniards tempted by curioſity to go into that diabolical temple, afterwards confeſſed the horror which they felt upon entering it. Among other temples there was one called *Huitzitlan*, dedicated to the planet Venus, in which was a great pillar with the figure of that ſtar painted or engraved upon it; near which, at the time of her appearance, they ſacrificed priſoners.

The colleges of prieſts, and the ſeminaries were various; but we particularly know only of five colleges or monaſteries of prieſts, and three ſeminaries of youth, although there muſt certainly have been more, from the prodigious number of perſons that were found there conſecrated to the worſhip of the gods.

Among the remarkable buildings within this area, beſides the four arſenals over the four gates, there was another near the temple *Tezcacalli* (houſe of mirrors), ſo called from its walls being covered with mirrors on the inſide. There was another ſmall temple called *Teocalli*, all adorned with ſhells which had a houſe annexed to it, into which, at certain times, the king of Mexico retired for the purpoſes of faſting and prayer. The high-prieſt had likewiſe a houſe of retirement called *Tlapalchian*, and there were ſeveral others for other perſons. There was alſo a great houſe of entertainment to accommodate ſtrangers of diſtinction who came upon a devout viſit to the temple, or from curioſity to ſee the grandeurs of the court. There were ponds in which the prieſts bathed; and fountains, the water of which they drank. In the pond called *Tezcapan*, many bathed in obedience to a particular vow made to the gods. The water of one of the fountains called *Texpalatl* was eſteemed holy: it was drank only at the moſt ſolemn feaſts, and no perſon was allowed to taſte it at any other time (*d*). There were places allotted to the bringing up of birds for the ſacrifices, gardens in which flowers and odoriferous herbs were raiſed for the decoration of the altars; and even a little wood in which were artificially

(*d*) The fountain *Texpalatl*, the water of which was excellent, was ſtopped up, at the time when the Spaniards deſtroyed the temple; it was opened again in 1582, in the little ſquare of the Marquis (which at preſent is called *el Empedradillo*), near to the cathedral; but for ſome reaſon or other, of which we are ignorant, it was a ſecond time ſtopped up.

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repreſented hills, rocks, and precipices, and from which they iſſued to that general chace which we ſhall deſcribe in another part of this work.

Particular apartments were deſtined for the keeping of the idols, the ornaments, and all the furniture of their temples; and among them were three halls ſo large, that the Spaniards were aſtoniſhed upon ſeeing them. Among the buildings moſt ſtriking from their ſingularity, was a great priſon like a cage, in which they kept the idols of the conquered nations as if impriſoned. In ſome other buildings of this kind they preſerved the heads of thoſe who had been ſacrificed, ſome of which were nothing but heaps of bones piled upon one another. In others the heads were arranged in regular order upon poles, or fixed againſt the walls, forming, by the variety of their diſpoſition, a ſpectacle not leſs curious than horrid. The greatest of theſe buildings called *Huitzompan*, although not within the great wall, was but a little way from it, over againſt the principal gate. This was a prodigious rampart of earth, longer than it was broad, in the form of a half pyramid. In the loweſt part it was one hundred and fifty-four feet long. The aſcent to the plain upon the top of it was by a ſtair-caſe of thirty ſteps. Upon that plain were erected about four feet aſunder, more than ſeventy very long beams, bored from top to bottom. By theſe holes, ſticks were paſſed acroſs from one beam to another, and upon each of them a certain number of heads were ſtrung by the temples. Upon the ſteps alſo of the ſtair-caſe there was a head betwixt every ſtone; and at each end of the ſame edifice was a tower which appeared to have been made only of ſkulls and lime. As ſoon as a head began to crumble with age, the prieſts ſupplied its place with a freſh one from the bone-heaps in order to preſerve the due number and arrangement. The ſkulls of ordinary victims were ſtripped of the ſcalp; but thoſe of men of rank, and great warriors, they endeavoured to preſerve with the ſkin and beard and hair entire, which ſerved only to render more frightful thoſe trophies of their barbarous ſuperſtition. The number of heads preſerved in this and ſuch other buildings is ſo great, that ſome of the Spaniſh conquerors took the trouble of reckoning up thoſe upon

upon the ſteps of this building, and upon the files betwixt the beams, and found them amount to one hundred thirty-ſix thouſand (*e*). They who wiſh for a more minute detail of the buildings within the wall of the great temple, may read the relation of Sahagun in Torquemada, and the deſcription of the ſeventy-eight edifices there by Dr. Hernandez, in the Natural Hiſtory of Nieremberg.

SECT. XII. Other temples.

Beſides theſe temples there were others ſcattered in different quarters of the city. Some authors make the number of temples in that capital (comprehending, as may be imagined, even the ſmalleſt) amount to two thouſand; and that of the towers to three hundred and ſixty, but we do not know that any one ever actually counted them. There can be no doubt, however, that they were very numerous, and among them ſeven or eight diſtinguiſhable for their ſize; but that of Tlateloleo, conſecrated likewiſe to Huitzilopochtli, roſe above them all.

Out of the capital, the moſt celebrated were thoſe of Tezcuco, Cholula, and Teotihuacan. Bernal Diaz, who had the curioſity to number the ſteps of their ſtairs, ſays, that the temple of Tezcuco had one hundred and ſeventeen, and that of Cholula one hundred and twenty. We do not know whether that famous temple of Tezcuco was the ſame with Tezcutzinco, ſo celebrated by Valadès in his *Chriſtian Rhetoric*, or the ſame with that renowned tower of nine bodies, erected by the king Nezahualcojotl, to the Creator of heaven. The great temple of Cholula, like many others of that city, was dedicated to their protector Quetzalcoatl. All the old hiſtorians ſpeak with wonder of the number of the temples in Cholula. Cortes wrote to the emperor Charles V. that from the top of one temple he had counted more than four hunded towers of others (*f*). The lofty pyramid raiſed by the Toltecas remains to this day, in that place where there was

(*e*) Andrea de Tapia, an officer belonging to Cortes, and one of them who counted the ſkulls, gave this information to Gomara the hiſtorian, according to his own teſtimony in cap. lxxxii. of his Hiſtory of Mexico.

(*f*) "Certifico a vueſtra Alteza que yo contè deſder una mezquita quatro cientas y tantas "torres en la dicha ciudad (de Cholula) y todas ſon de mezquitas." Letter to Charles V. Oct. 30, 1520. The anonymous conqueror affirms, that he counted one hundred and ninety towers of the temples and palaces. Bernal Diaz ſays, that they exceeded a hundred; but it is probable, that the two authors counted thoſe only which were remarkable for their height. Some other authors have ſaid that theſe towers were as many in number as the days of the year.

BOOK VI. formerly a temple conſecrated to that falſe deity, and now a holy ſanctuary of the mother of the true God; but the pyramid from its great antiquity is ſo covered with earth and buſhes, that it ſeems more like a natural eminence than an edifice. We are ignorant, indeed, of its dimenſions, but its circumference in the lower part is not leſs than half a mile (*g*.) One may aſcend to the top by a path made in a ſpiral direction round the pyramid, and I went up on horſeback in 1744. This is that famous hill about which ſo many fables have been feigned, and which Boturini believed to have been raiſed by the Toltecas as a place of refuge in the event of another deluge like Noah's.

The famous edifices of Teotihuacan, about three miles ſouth from that place, and more than twenty from Mexico, towards Greco, ſtill ſubſiſt: thoſe immenſe buildings which ſerved as a model for the temples of that country, were two temples conſecrated the one to the ſun and the other to the moon, repreſented by two idols of monſtrous bulk, made of ſtone and covered with gold. That of the ſun had a great concavity in the breaſt, and an image of that planet of the pureſt gold fixed in it. The conquerors poſſeſſed themſelves of the gold, the idols were broken by order of the firſt biſhop of Mexico, and the fragments remained in that place till the end of the laſt century, and may, perhaps be there ſtill. The baſe, or inferior body of the temple of the ſun, is twenty-eight perches long, and eighty-ſix broad, and the height of the whole building is in proportion (*h*). That of the moon is eighty-ſix perches long in the baſe, and ſixty-three broad. Each of theſe temples is divided into four bodies, and as many ſtair-caſes, which are arranged in the ſame manner with thoſe of the great temple of Mexico; but cannot now be traced, partly from their ruinous condition, and partly from the great quantity of earth with which they are every where covered. Round theſe edifices are ſcattered ſeveral little hills, which are ſuppoſed to have been as many leſſer temples, dedicated to the other

(*g*) Betancourt ſays, that the height of the pyramid of Cholula was upwards of forty *eſtados*, that is, more than two hundred and five Pariſian feet; but this author has been too ſparing in his meaſure, as that height unqueſtionable exceeds five hundred feet.

(*h*) Gemelli meaſured the length and breadth of thoſe temples, but had no inſtrument to meaſure their height. Cav. Boturini meaſured their height, but when he wrote his work he had not the meaſure by him, yet he thinks he found the temple of the ſun to have been two hundred Caſtilian cubits high, that is, eighty-ſix perches.

planets

planets and ſtars; and from this place being ſo full of religious buildings, antiquity gave it the name of *Teotihuacan*.

The number of temples throughout the whole Mexican empire was very great. Torquemada thought there might be above forty thouſand; but I am perſuaded they would far exceed that number, if we ſhould take the leſſer ones into the account; for there is not an inhabited place without one temple, nor any place of any extent without a conſiderable number.

The architecture of the great temples was for the moſt part the ſame with that of the great temple of Mexico; but there were many likewiſe of a different ſtructure. Many conſiſted of a ſingle body in the form of a pyramid, with a ſtair-caſe; others of ordinary bodies, with ſimilar ſtair-caſes, as appears in the ſubjoined plate, which is copied from one publiſhed by Didaco Valadès in his *Chriſtian Rhetoric* (*i*).

The ſuperſtition of thoſe people not contented with ſuch a great number of temples in their cities, villages, and hamlets, erected many altars upon the tops of the hills, in the woods, and in the ſtreets, not only for the purpoſe of encouraging the idolatrous worſhip of travellers, but for the celebration of certain ſacrifices to the gods of mountains and other ruſtic deities.

The revenues of the great temple of Mexico, like thoſe of the other temples of the court and the empire, were very large. Each temple had its own lands and poſſeſſions, and even its own peaſants to cultivate them. Hence was drawn all that was neceſſary for the maintenance of the prieſts, together with the wood which was conſumed in great quantities in the temples.

SECT. XIII. Revenues of the temples.

The prieſts that were the ſtewards of the temples frequently viſited their poſſeſſions, and thoſe who cultivated them, thought themſelves happy in contributing by their labour to the worſhip of the gods and the ſupport of their miniſters. In the kingdom of Acolhuacan, thoſe nine and twenty cities which provided neceſſaries for the royal palace,

(*i*) Didaco Valadès Franciſcano, after having been employed many years in the converſion of the Mexicans, came to Rome, where he was made procurator-general of his order. A little time after he publiſhed his learned and valuable work in Latin, intitled, *Rhetorica Chriſtiana*, dedicated to pope Gregory the XIIIth, adorned with many repreſentations of Mexican antiquities.

were

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were likewiſe obliged to provide for the temples. There is reaſon to believe that that tract of country, which went under the name of *Teotlalpan* (land of the gods), was ſo named from being among the poſſeſſions of the temples. There were beſides great numbers daily of free-offerings, from the devout of every kind, of proviſions and firſt fruits, which were preſented in returning thanks for ſeaſonable rains and other bleſſings of heaven. Near the temples were the granaries where all the grain and other proviſions, neceſſary for the maintenance of the prieſts, were kept; and the overplus was annually diſtributed to the poor, for whom alſo there were hoſpitals in the larger towns.

SECT. XIV. Number and different ranks of the prieſts.

The number of the prieſts among the Mexicans correſponded with the multitude of gods and temples; nor was the homage which they paid to the deities themſelves much greater than the veneration in which they held their miniſters. We may form ſome conjecture of the immenſe number of prieſts in the Mexican empire, from the number within the area of the great temple, which ſome ancient hiſtorians tell us, amounted to five thouſand. Nor will that calculation appear ſurpriſing, when we conſider that in that place there were four hundred prieſts conſecrated to the ſervice of the god Tezcatzoncatl alone. Every temple, indeed, had a conſiderable number, ſo that I ſhould not think it raſh to affirm, that there could not be leſs than a million of prieſts throughout the empire. Their number could not fail to be increaſed from the great reſpect paid to the prieſthood, and the high opinion they conceived of the office of ſerving in the worſhip of the gods. The great men even vied with one another in conſecrating their children for ſome time to the ſervice of the temples; while the inferior nobility employed theirs in works without, ſuch as carrying wood, feeding and keeping up the fire of the ſtoves, and other things of that kind; all conſidering the honour of ſerving in the worſhip of the gods as the greateſt to which they could aſpire.

There were ſeveral different orders and degrees among the prieſts. The chief of all were the two high prieſts, to whom they gave the names of *Teoteuctli* (divine lord), and *Hueiteopixqui* (great prieſt). That eminent dignity was never conferred but upon ſuch as were diſtinguiſhed for their birth, their probity, and their great knowledge of every thing connected with the ceremonies of their religion. The high-

high-prieſts were the oracles whom the kings conſulted in all the moſt important affairs of the ſtate, and no war was ever undertaken without their approbation. It belonged to them to anoint the king after his election, and to open the breaſt, and tear out the hearts of the human victims, at the moſt ſolemn ſacrifices. The high-prieſt in the kingdom of Acolhuacan was, according to ſome hiſtorians, always the ſecond ſon of the king. Among the Totonacas he was anointed with the elaſtic gum mixed with children's blood, and this they called the *divine unction (i)*. Some authors ſay the ſame of the high-prieſt of Mexico.

From what is ſaid it appears, that the high-prieſts of Mexico were the heads of their religion only among the Mexicans, and not with reſpect to the other conquered nations: theſe, even after being ſubjected to the crown of Mexico, ſtill maintaining their prieſthood independent.

The high-prieſthood was conferred by election; but we are ignorant whether the electors were of the prieſtly order, or the ſame with thoſe who choſe the political head of the empire. The high-prieſts of Mexico were diſtinguiſhed by a tuft of cotton which hung from their breaſt; and at the principal feaſts they were dreſſed in ſplendid habits, upon which were repreſented the inſignia of the god whoſe feaſt they celebrated. On ſolemn feſtivals, the high-prieſt of the Mixtecas was clothed in a ſhort coat, on which the principal events of their mythology was repreſented; above that he had a ſurplice, and over all a large capuchin; on his head he wore plumes of green feathers, curiouſly interwoven with ſmall figures of their gods; at his ſhoulder hung one taſſel of cotton, and another hung at his arm.

Next to this ſupreme dignity of the prieſthood, the moſt reſpectable charge was that of the *Mexicoteohuatzin*, which was conferred by the high-prieſts. The employment of this officer was to attend to the due obſervance of the rites and ceremonies, and to watch over the conduct of thoſe prieſts who had the charge of ſeminaries, and to puniſh them when guilty of a miſdemeanor. In order to enable him to diſcharge all the

(k) Acoſta confounds the divine unction of the high-prieſt with that of the king; but it was totally different; the king did not anoint himſelf with elaſtic gum, but with a particular ſort of ink.

duties

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duties of ſo extenſive an appointment, he was allowed two curates or deputies, the one named the *Huitznahuateohuatzin*, the other the *Tepaneohuatzin*. The *Mexicoteohuatzin* was the ſuperior-general of all the ſeminaries; his chief badge of diſtinction was a little bag of copal, which he always carried along with him.

The *Tlatquimilhitenctli* managed the œconomy of the ſanctuaries, the *Omeyochtli* was the chief compoſer of the hymns which were ſung at feſtivals; the *Epcoacuiltzin* (*l*), the maſter of the ceremonies; the *Tlapixcatzin* the maſter of the chapel, who not only appointed the muſic, but ſuperintended the ſinging and corrected the ſingers. Others, whoſe names we omit, to avoid growing tedious to our readers, were the immediate ſuperiors of the colleges of the prieſts which were conſecrated to different gods (*m*). The name *Teopixqui* was alſo given to the prieſts, which means the guard or miniſter of God.

To every diviſion of the capital, and probably, of every other great city, belonged a prieſt of ſuperior rank, who acted in the quality of rector to that diſtrict, and appointed every act of religion which was to be performed within the bounds of his juriſdiction. All theſe rectors were ſubject to the authority of the *Mexicoteohuatzin*.

SECT. XV. The employments, dreſs, and life of the prieſts.

All the offices of religion were divided among the prieſts. Some were the ſacrificers, others the diviners; ſome were the compoſers of hymns, others thoſe who ſung. Amongſt the ſingers ſome ſung at certain hours of the day, others ſung at certain hours of the night. Some prieſts had the charge of keeping the temple clean, ſome took care of the ornaments of the altars; to others belonged the inſtructing of youth, the correcting of the calendar, the ordering of feſtivals, and the care of the mythological paintings.

Four times a day they offered incenſe to the idols, namely, at day-break, at mid-day, at ſun-ſet, and at mid-night. The laſt offering was made by the prieſt whoſe turn it was to do ſo, and the moſt reſpectable officers of the temple attended at it. To the ſun they made daily new offerings, four times during the day, and five times during

(*l*) Torquemada calls this prieſt *Epqualiztli*, and Hernandez *Epoaquaciuiliztli*; but both of of them are miſtaken.

(*m*) Whoever is deſirous of knowing the other offices and names of the prieſts, may conſult the 8th book of Torquemada, and the account given by Hernandez, which Nieremberg inſerted in his Natural Hiſtory.

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the night. For incenſe they generally made uſe of copal, or ſome other aromatic gum; but on certain feſtivals they employed *Chapopotli*, or bitumen of Judea. The cenſers were commonly made of clay; but they had alſo cenſers of gold. Every day the prieſts, or at leaſt ſome of them, dyed their whole bodies with ink made of the ſoot of the *Ocotl*, which is a ſpecies of pine very aromatic, and over the ink they painted themſelves with ochre or cinnabar, and every evening they bathed in ponds which were within the incloſure of the temple.

The dreſs of the Mexican prieſts was no way different from the dreſs of the common people, except a black cotton mantle, which they wore in the manner of a veil upon their heads; but thoſe who in their monaſteries profeſſed a greater auſterity of life, went always clothed in black, like the common prieſts of other nations of the empire. They never ſhaved, by which means the hair of many of them grew ſo long as to reach to their legs. It was twiſted with thick cotton cords, and bedaubed with ink, forming a weighty maſs not leſs inconvenient to be carried about with them than diſguſting and even horrid to view.

Beſides the uſual unction with ink, another extraordinary and more abominable one was practiſed every time they went to make ſacrifices on the tops of the mountains, or in the dark caverns of the earth. They took a large quantity of poiſonous inſects, ſuch as ſcorpions, ſpiders, and worms, and ſometimes even ſmall ſerpents, burned them over ſome ſtove of the temple, and beat their aſhes in a mortar together with the ſoot of the *Ocotl*, tobacco, the herb *Ololiuhqui*, and ſome live inſects. They preſented this diabolical mixture in ſmall veſſels to their gods, and afterwards rubbed their bodies with it. When thus anointed, they became fearleſs to every danger, being perſuaded they were rendered incapable of receiving any hurt from the moſt noxious reptiles of the earth, or the wildeſt beaſts of the woods. They called it *Teopatli*, or divine medicament, and imagined it to be a powerful remedy for ſeveral diſorders; on which account thoſe who were ſick, and the young children, went frequently to the prieſts to be anointed with it. The young lads who were trained up in the ſeminaries were charged with the collecting of ſuch kind of little animals; and by being accuſtomed at an early age to that kind of employment, they ſoon loſt

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the horror which attends the firſt familiarity with ſuch reptiles. The prieſts not only made uſe of this unction, but had likewiſe a ridiculous ſuperſtitious practice of blowing with their breath over the ſick, and made them drink water which they had bleſſed after their manner. The prieſts of the god *Ixtlilton*, were remarkable for this cuſtom.

The prieſts obſerved many faſts and great auſterity of life; they never were intoxicated with drinking; and ſeldom even taſted wine. The prieſts of Tezcatzoncatl as ſoon as the daily ſinging in praiſe of their god was over, laid a heap of three hundred and three canes on the ground, correſponding to the number of fingers, of which heap only one was bored; every perſon lifted one, and he who happened to take up the cane which was bored, was the only perſon who taſted the wine. All the time that they were employed in the ſervice of the temple, they abſtained from all other women but their wives; they even affected ſo much modeſty and reſerve, that when they met a woman, they fixed their eyes on the ground that they might not ſee her. Any incontinence amongſt the prieſts was ſeverely puniſhed. The prieſt who, at Teohuacan, was convicted of having violated his chaſtity, was delivered up by the prieſts to the people, who at night killed him by the baſtinado. In Ichcatlan, the high-prieſt was obliged to live conſtantly within the temple, and to abſtain from commerce with any woman whatſoever; and if he unluckily failed in any of his duties, he was certain of being torn in pieces, and his bloody limbs were preſented as an example to his ſucceſſor. They poured boiling water on the head of thoſe who, from lazineſs, did not riſe to the nocturnal duties of the temple, or bored their lips and ears, and if they did not correct that, or any other ſuch fault, they were ducked in the lake and baniſhed from the temple during the feſtival, which was made to the god of water in the ſixth month. The prieſts in general lived together in communities, ſubject to ſuperiors who watched over their conduct.

SECT. XVI. The prieſteſſes.

The office and character of a prieſt among the Mexicans was not in its nature perpetual. There were certainly ſome who dedicated their whole lives to the ſervice of the altars; but others engaged in it only for a certain time, to fulfil ſome vow made by their fathers, or as a particular act of devotion. Nor was the prieſthood confined to the male ſex, ſome women being employed in the immediate ſervice of the temples. They offered

offered incenſe to the idols, tended the ſacred fire, ſwept the area, prepared the daily offering of proviſions, and preſented it with their hands to the idols; but they were entirely excluded from the office of ſacrificing, and the higher dignities of the prieſthood. Among the prieſteſſes, ſome were deſtined by their parents from their infancy to the ſervice of the temples; others on account of ſome particular vow which they had made during ſickneſs, or that they might enſure from their gods a good marriage, or the proſperity of their families, entered upon ſuch offices for one or two years.

The conſecration of the firſt was made in the following manner. As ſoon as the girl was born, the parents offered her to ſome god, and informed the rector of that diſtrict of it; he gave notice to the Tepanteohuatzin, who, as we have already mentioned, was the ſuperior general of the ſeminaries. Two months after they carried her to the temple, and put a ſmall broom, and a ſmall cenſer of clay in her little hands, with a little copal in it, to ſhew her deſtination. Every month they repeated the viſit to the temple and the offering, together with the bark of ſome trees for the ſacred fire. When the child attained her fifth year, the parents conſigned her to the Tepanteohuatzin, who lodged her in a female ſeminary, where children were inſtructed in religion, and the proper duties and employments of their ſex. The firſt thing done to thoſe who entered into the ſervice on account of ſome private vow, was the cutting off their hair. Both the latter and the former lived in great purity of manners, ſilence, and retirement, under their ſuperiors, without having any communication with men. Some of them roſe about two hours before midnight, others at midnight, and others at day-break, to ſtir up and keep the fire burning, and to offer incenſe to the idols; and although in this function they aſſembled with the prieſts, they were ſeparated from each other, the men forming one wing and the women another, both under the view of their ſuperiors, who prevented any diſorder from happening. Every morning they prepared the offering of proviſions which was preſented to the idols, and ſwept the lower area of the temple, and the time which was not occupied in theſe, or other religious duties, was employed in ſpinning and weaving beautiful cloths for the dreſs of the idols, and the decoration of the ſanctuaries. Nothing was more

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zealouſly attended to than the chaſtity of theſe virgins. Any treſpaſs of this nature was unpardonable; if it remained an entire ſecret, the female culprit endeavoured to appeaſe the anger of the gods by faſting and auſterity of life; for ſhe dreaded that in puniſhment of her crime her fleſh would rot. When a virgin, deſtined from her infancy to the worſhip of the gods, arrived at the age of ſixteen or eighteen, at which years they were uſually married, her parents ſought for a huſband to her, and after they found one, preſented to the Tepanteohuatzin a certain number of quails in plates curiouſly varniſhed, and a certain quantity of copal, of flowers and proviſions, accompanied with a ſtudied addreſs, in which they thanked him for the care and attention he had ſhewn in the education of their daughter, and demanded his permiſſion to ſettle her in marriage. The Tepanteohuatzin granted the requeſt, in a reply to the addreſs, exhorting his pupil to a perſeverance in virtue, and the fulfillment of all the duties of the married ſtate.

SECT. XVII. Different religious orders.

Amongſt the different orders or congregations both of men and women, who dedicated themſelves to the worſhip of ſome particular gods, that of Quetzalcoatl is worthy to be mentioned. The life led in the colleges or monaſteries of either ſex, which were devoted to this imaginary god, was uncommonly rigid and auſtere. The dreſs of the order was extremely decent; they bathed regularly at midnight, and watched until about two hours before day, ſinging hymns to their god, and obſerving many rules of an auſtere life. They were at liberty to go to the mountains at any hour of the day or night, to ſpill their blood; this was permitted them from a reſpect to the virtue which they were all thought to poſſeſs. The ſuperiors of the monaſteries bore alſo the name of Quetzalcoatl, and were perſons of ſuch high authority, that they viſited none but the king when it was neceſſary. The members of this religious order were deſtined to it from their infancy. The parents of the child invited the ſuperior to an entertainment, who uſually deputed one of his ſubjects. The deputy brought the child to him, upon which he took the boy in his arms, and offered him with a prayer to Quetzalcoatl, and put a collar about his neck, which was to be worn until he was ſeven years old. When the boy completed his ſecond year, the ſuperior made a ſmall inciſion in his breaſt, which, like the collar, was another mark of his deſtination. As

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ſoon as the boy attained his ſeventh year, he entered into the monaſtery, having firſt heard a long diſcourſe from his parents, in which they adverti ſed him of the vow which they had made to Quetzalcoatl, and exhorted him to fulfil it, to behave well, to ſubmit himſelf to his prelate, and to pray to the gods for his parents and the whole nation. This order was called *Tlamacazcajotl*, and the members of it *Tlamacazque*.

Another order which was called *Telpochtliztli*, or the youths, on account of its being compoſed of youths and boys, was conſecrated to Tezcatlipoca. This was alſo a deſtination from infancy, attended with almoſt the ſame ceremonies as that of Quetzalcoatl; however, they did not live together in one community, but each individual had his own home. In every diſtrict of the city they had a ſuperior, who governed them, and a houſe where they aſſembled at ſun-ſet to dance and ſing the praiſes of their god. Both ſexes met at this dance, but without committing the ſmalleſt diſorder, owing to the vigilance of the ſuperiors, and the rigour with which all miſdemeanors were puniſhed.

Among the Totonacas was an order of monks devoted to their goddeſs Centeotl. They lived in great retirement and auſterity, and their life, excepting their ſuperſtition and vanity, was perfectly unimpeachable. None but men above ſixty years of age who were widowers, eſtranged from all commerce with women, and of virtuous life, were admitted into this monaſtery. Their number was fixed, and when any one died another was received in his ſtead. Theſe monks were ſo much eſteemed, that they were not only conſulted by the common people, but likewiſe by the firſt nobility and the high-prieſt. They liſtened to conſultations ſitting upon their heels, with their eyes fixed upon the ground, and their anſwers were received like oracles even by the kings of Mexico. They were employed in making hiſtorical paintings, which they gave to the high-prieſt that he might exhibit them to the people.

SECT. XVIII. Concerning the conſtitution of the Mexican religion.

But the moſt important duty of the prieſthood, and the chief ceremony of the religion of the Mexicans, conſiſted in the ſacrifices which they made occaſionally to obtain any favour from heaven, or in gratitude for thoſe favours which they had already received. This is a ſubject which we would willingly paſs over, if the laws of hiſtory permitted,

mitted, to prevent the diſguſt which the deſcription of ſuch abominable acts of cruelty muſt cauſe to our readers; for although there has hardly been a nation which has not practiſed ſimilar ſacrifices, it would be difficult to find one which has carried them to ſo great an exceſs as the Mexicans appear to have done.

We are ignorant what ſort of ſacrifices may have been practiſed by the ancient Toltecas. The Chechemecas continued long without uſing them, having at firſt neither idols, temples, nor prieſts, nor offering any thing to their gods, the Sun and Moon, but herbs, flowers, fruits, and copal. Thoſe nations never thought of ſacrificing human victims, until the example of the Mexicans baniſhed the firſt impreſſions of nature from their minds. What they report touching the origin of ſuch barbarous ſacrifices we have already explained; namely, that which appears in their hiſtory concerning the firſt ſacrifice of the four Xochimilcan priſoners which they made when in Colhuacan. It is probable, that at the time when the Mexicans were inſulated in the lake, and particularly while they remained ſubject to the dominion of the Tepanecas, the ſacrifice of human victims muſt have happened very ſeldom, as they neither had priſoners, nor could purchaſe ſlaves for ſacrifices. But when they had enlarged their dominions, and multiplied their victories, ſacrifices became frequent and on ſome feſtivals the victims were numerous.

The ſacrifices varied with reſpect to the number, place, and mode, according to the circumſtances of the feſtival. In general the victims ſuffered death by having their breaſts opened; but others were drowned in the lake, others died of hunger ſhut up in caverns of the mountains, and laſtly, ſome fell in the gladiatorian ſacrifice. The cuſtomary place was the temple, in the upper area of which ſtood the altar deſtined for ordinary ſacrifices. The altar of the greater temple of Mexico was a green ſtone (probably jaſper) convex above, and about three feet high, and as many broad, and more than five feet long. The uſual miniſters of the ſacrifice were ſix prieſts, the chief of whom was the *Topiltzin*, whoſe dignity was pre-eminent and hereditary; but at every ſacrifice he aſſumed the name of that god to whom it was made. For the performance of this function, he was clothed in a red habit, ſimilar in make to the ſcapulary of the moderns, fringed with

with cotton; on his head he wore a crown of green and yellow feathers, at his ears hung golden ear-rings and green jewels, (perhaps emeralds), and at his under-lip a pendant of turquoiſe. The other five miniſters were dreſſed in white habits of the ſame make, but embroidered with black; their hair was wrapped up, their heads were bound with leathern thongs, their foreheads armed with little ſhields of paper painted of various colours, and their bodies dyed all over black. Theſe barbarous miniſters carried the victim entirely naked to the upper area of the temple, and after having pointed out to the byſtanders the idol to whom the ſacrifice was made, that they might pay their adoration to it, extended him upon the altar; four prieſts held his legs and arms, and another kept his head firm with a wooden inſtrument made in form of a coiled ſerpent, which was put about his neck; and on account of the altar being convex, the body of the victim lay arched, the breaſt and belly being raiſed up and totally prevented from the leaſt movement. The inhuman Topiltzin then approached, and with a cutting knife made of flint, dexterouſly opened his breaſt and tore out his heart, which, while yet palpitating, he offered to the ſun, and afterwards threw it at the feet of the idol; then taking it up again he offered it to the idol itſelf, and afterwards burned it, preſerving the aſhes with the utmoſt veneration. If the idol was gigantic and hollow, it was uſual to introduce the heart of the victim into its mouth with a golden ſpoon. It was cuſtomary alſo to anoint the lips of the idol and the cornices of the door of the ſanctuary with the victim's blood. If he was a priſoner of war, as ſoon as he was ſacrificed they cut off his head to preſerve the ſkull, and threw the body down the ſtairs to the lower area, where it was taken up by the officer or ſoldier to whom the priſoner had belonged, and carried to his houſe to be boiled and dreſſed as an entertainment for his friends. If he was not a priſoner of war, but a ſlave purchaſed for a ſacrifice, the proprietor carried off the carcaſe from the altar for the ſame purpoſe. They eat only the legs, thighs, and arms, and burned the reſt, or preſerved it for food to the wild beaſts or birds of prey which were kept in the royal palaces. The Otomies, after having killed the victim, tore the body in pieces, which they ſold at market. The Zapotecas ſacrificed men to their

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their gods, women to their goddeſſes, and children to ſome other diminutive deities.

This was the moſt common mode of ſacrifice, but often attended with ſome circumſtances of ſtill greater cruelty, as we ſhall ſee hereafter; other kinds of ſacrifices which they uſed were much leſs frequent. At the feſtival of *Teteoinan*, the woman who repreſented this goddeſs was beheaded on the ſhoulders of another woman. At the feſtival of the arrival of the gods, they put the victims to death by fire. At one of the feſtivals made in honour of Tlaloc, they ſacrificed two children of both ſexes by drowning them in a certain place of the lake. At another feſtival of the ſame god, they purchaſed three little boys of ſix or ſeven years of age, ſhut them up inhumanly in a cavern, and left them to die of fear and hunger.

SECT. XIX. The gladiatorian ſacrifice.

The moſt celebrated ſacrifice among the Mexicans was that called by the Spaniards with much propriety *the gladiatorian*. This was a very honourable death, and only priſoners who were renowned for their bravery were permitted to die by it. Near to the greater temple of large cities, in an open ſpace of ground ſufficient to contain an immenſe croud of people, was a round terrace, eight feet high, upon which was placed a large round ſtone, reſembling a mill-ſtone in figure, but greatly larger, and almoſt three feet high, well poliſhed, with figures cut upon it (*n*). On this ſtone, which was called the *Temalacatl*, the priſoner was placed, armed with a ſhield and a ſhort ſword, and tied by one foot. A Mexican officer or ſoldier, better accoutred in arms, mounted to combat with him. Every one will be able to imagine the efforts made by the deſperate victim to defend his life, and alſo thoſe of the Mexican to ſave his honour and reputation, before the multitude of people that aſſembled at ſuch a ſpectacle. If the priſoner remained vanquiſhed, immediately a prieſt named *Chalchiuhtepehua*, carried him dead or alive to the altar of the common ſacrifices, opened his breaſt, and took out his heart, while the victor was applauded by the aſſembly, and rewarded by the king with ſome military honour. But if the priſoner

(*n*) The form of the edifices repreſented in the plate of the gladiatorian ſacrifice is a mere caprice of the deſigner; there never was any thing elſe than the terrace and the battlements.

conquered ſix different combatants, who came ſucceſſively to fight with him, agreeable to the account given by the conqueror Cortes, he was granted his life, his liberty, and all that had been taken from him, and returned with glory to his native country (*o*). The ſame author relates, that in a battle between the Cholulans and Huexotzincas, the principal lord of Cholula grew ſo warm in the conteſt, that having inadvertently removed to a great diſtance from his own people he was made priſoner in ſpite of his bravery, and conducted to Huexotzinco, where being put upon the gladiatorian ſtone, he conquered ſeven combatants which were oppoſed to him, and gained his liberty; but the Huexotzincas foreſeeing, that on account of his ſingular courage he would become the cauſe of many diſaſters to them if they granted him his liberty, put him to death contrary to univerſal cuſtom; by which act they rendered themſelves eternally infamous among thoſe nations.

SECT. XX. The number of ſacrifices uncertain.

With reſpect to the number of the victims which were annually ſacrificed we can affirm nothing; the opinions of hiſtorians on that head being extremely different (*p*). The number of twenty thouſand, which is conjectured to approach the neareſt to truth, does not appear to us improbable, if we include in it all the victims which were ſacrificed throughout the whole empire; but if that number comprehends, as ſome hiſtorians aſſert, the infants only, or the victims which were ſacrificed on the mountain Tepeyacac, or in the capital, we think it altogether incredible. It is certain, that the number of ſacrifices was

(*o*) Several hiſtorians ſay, that when the firſt combatant was overcome the priſoner became free; but we are rather inclined to credit the Conqueror; for it is not probable, that they would liberate a priſoner for ſo ſmall a riſk who might ſtill prove deſtructive to them, or that they would deprive their gods of a victim ſo acceptable to their cruelty.

(*p*) Zumarraga, the firſt biſhop of Mexico, ſays, in a letter of the 12th of June, 1531, addreſſed to the general chapter of his order, that in that capital alone twenty thouſand human victims were annually ſacrificed. Some authors, quoted by Gomara, affirm, that the number of the ſacrificed amounted to fifty thouſand. Acoſta writes, that there was a certain day of the year on which five thouſand were ſacrificed in different places of the empire; and another day on which they ſacrificed twenty thouſand. Some authors believe, that on the mountain Tepeyacac alone, twenty thouſand were ſacrificed to the goddeſs Tonantzin. Torquemada, in quoting, though unfaithfully, the letter of Zumarraga, ſays, that there were twenty thouſand infants annually ſacrificed. But on the contrary, Las Caſas, in his refutation of the bloody book, wrote by Dr. Sepulveda, reduces the ſacrifices to ſo ſmall a number, that we are left to believe, they amounted not to fifty, or at moſt not to a hundred. We are ſtrongly of opinion, that all theſe authors have erred in the number, Las Caſas by diminution, the reſt by exaggeration of the truth.

BOOK VI. not limited, but always proportioned either to the number of priſoners which were made in war, to the neceſſities of the ſtate, or the nature of the feſtivals, as appears from the dedication of the greater temple of Mexico, on which occaſion the cruelty of the Mexicans exceeded all bounds of belief. It is not, however, to be doubted, that the ſacrifices were very numerous; the conqueſts of the Mexicans having been extremely rapid, and as their aim in war was not ſo much to kill as to make priſoners of the enemy for this purpoſe. If to theſe victims we add the ſlaves which were purchaſed for the ſame end, and many criminals who were condemned to expiate their crimes by the ſacrifice of their lives, we ſhall find the number greatly exceed that computed by Las Caſas, who was too anxious to exculpate the Americans of all the exceſſes of which they were accuſed by the Spaniards (*q*). The ſacrifices multiplied in *Divine* years, and ſtill more in *Secular* years.

The Mexicans were accuſtomed at their feſtivals to clothe the victim in the ſame dreſs and badges in which they dreſſed that god to whom the ſacrifice was made; thus habited, the victim went round the city demanding alms for the temple, accompanied with a guard of ſoldiers. If any one accidentally made his eſcape, the corporal of the guard was ſubſtituted in his ſtead as a puniſhment for his careleſſneſs. They uſed alſo to feed and fatten the victims, as they did ſeveral animals for the table.

The religion of the Mexicans was not confined to theſe ſacrifices; offerings were made of various kinds of animals. They ſacrificed quails and falcons to their god Huitzilopochtli, and hares, rabbits, deer, and coyotos to their god Mixcoatl. They daily made an offering of quails to the ſun. Every day as the ſun was about to riſe, ſeveral prieſts, ſtanding on the upper area of the temple, with their faces towards the eaſt, each with a quail in his hand, ſaluted that luminary's appearance with muſic, and made an offering of the quails after cutting off their heads. This ſacrifice was ſucceeded by the burning of incenſe, with a loud accompaniment of muſical inſtruments.

(*q*) We cannot account why Las Caſas, who, in his writings makes uſe of the teſtimony of Zumarraga, and other churchmen, againſt the conquerors, ſhould afterwards ſo openly contradict them reſpecting the number of the ſacrifices.

In

In acknowledgment of the power of their gods, they alſo made offerings of various kinds of plants, flowers, jewels, gums, and other inanimate ſubſtances. To their gods Tlaloc and Coatlicue they offered the firſt-blown flowers; and to Centeotl, the firſt maize of every year. They made oblations of bread, various paſtes, and ready dreſſed victuals in ſuch abundance, as to be ſufficient to ſupply all the miniſters of the temple. Every morning were ſeen at the foot of the altars innumerable diſhes and porringers of boiling food, that the ſteams ariſing from them might reach the noſtrils of the idols, and nouriſh their immortal gods.

The moſt frequent oblation, however, was that of copal. All daily burned incenſe to their idols; no houſe was without cenſers. The prieſts in the temple, fathers of families in their houſes, and judges in their tribunals, whenever they pronounced ſentence in an important cauſe, whether civil or criminal, offered incenſe to the four principal winds. But incenſe-offering among the Mexicans, and other nations of Anahuac, was not only an act of religion towards their gods, but alſo a piece of civil courteſy to lords and ambaſſadors.

The ſuperſtition and cruelties of the Mexicans were imitated by all the nations which they conquered, or that were contiguous to the empire, without any difference, except that the number of ſacrifices amongſt thoſe nations was leſs, and that particular circumſtances ſometimes attended them. The Tlaſcalans, at one of their feſtivals, fixed a priſoner to a high croſs, and ſhot arrows at him; and upon another occaſion, they tied a priſoner to a low croſs, and killed him by the baſtinado.

SECT. XXI. Inhuman ſacrifices in Quauhtitlan.

The ſacrifices celebrated every fourth year by the Quauhtitlans in honour of the god of fire, were inhuman and dreadful. A day before the feſtival, they planted ſix very lofty trees in the under area of the temple, ſacrificed two ſlaves, ſtripped their ſkins off, and took out the bones of their thighs. The next day two eminent prieſts, clothed themſelves in the bloody ſkins, took the bones in their hands, and deſcended with ſolemn ſteps and diſmal howlings, down the ſtairs of the temple. The people who were aſſembled in crouds below, called out in a loud voice, "Behold there come our gods." As ſoon as they reached the lower area, they began a dance to the ſound of muſical inſtruments, which laſted the greateſt part of the day. In the meanwhile, the people ſacrificed an incredible quantity of quails, the num-

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ber of them being never leſs than eight thouſand. When theſe ſacrifices were over, the prieſts carried ſix priſoners to the tops of the trees, and after tying them there, deſcended; but they had hardly time to reach the ground, before the unhappy victims were pierced with a multitude of arrows. The prieſts mounted again to cut down the dead bodies, and let them drop from the height; immediately their breaſts were opened, and their hearts torn out, according to the cuſtom of thoſe people. The victims as well as the quails were ſhared among the prieſts and nobles of that city, for the banquets which crowned their barbarous and detèſtable feſtival.

SECT. XXII. Auſterities and faſting of the Mexicans.

While they were thus cruel to others, it is not wonderful that they likewiſe practiſed inhumanity towards themſelves. Being accuſtomed to bloody ſacrifices of their priſoners, they alſo failed not to ſhed abundance of their own blood, conceiving the ſtreams which flowed from their victims inſufficient to quench the diabolical thirſt of their gods. It makes one ſhudder to read the auſterities which they exerciſed upon themſelves, either in atonement of their tranſgreſſions, or in preparation for their feſtivals. They mangled their fleſh as if it had been inſenſible, and let their blood run in ſuch profuſion, that it appeared to be a ſuperfluous fluid of the body.

The effuſion of blood was frequent and daily with ſome of the prieſts, to which practice they gave the name of *Tlamacazqui*. They pierced themſelves with the ſharpeſt ſpines of the aloe, and bored ſeveral parts of their bodies, particularly their ears, lips, tongue, and the fat of their arms and legs. Through the holes which they made with theſe ſpines, they introduced pieces of cane, the firſt of which were ſmall pieces, but every time this penitential ſuffering was repeated, a thicker piece was uſed. The blood which flowed from them was carefully collected in leaves of the plant acxojatl (*r*). They fixed the bloody ſpines in little balls of hay, which they expoſed upon the battlements of the walls of the temple, to teſtify the penance which they did for the people. Thoſe who exerciſed ſuch ſeverities upon themſelves within the incloſure of the greater temple of Mexico,

(*r*) Acxojatl is a tree of ſeveral upright ſtems, with long leaves, which are ſtrong and ſymmetrically diſpoſed. They made formerly and ſtill make excellent brooms of this plant.

bathed

bathed themſelves in a pond that was formed there, which from being always tinged with blood was called *Ezapan*. There was a certain fixed number of canes to be made uſe of on this occaſion, which, after being once uſed were preſerved as atteſtations of their penitence. Beſides thoſe and other auſtere practices of which we ſhall treat ſhortly, watching and faſting was very frequent amongſt the Mexicans. A feſtival hardly occurred for which they did not prepare themſelves with faſting for ſome days, more or leſs, according to the preſcriptions of their ritual. From all that is to be inferred from their hiſtory, their faſting conſiſted in abſtaining from fleſh and wine, and in eating but once a day; this ſome did at mid-day, others after that time, and ſome taſted nothing till evening. Faſting was generally accompanied with watching and the effuſion of blood, and then no perſon was permitted to have commerce with any woman, not even with his own wife.

Some faſts were general and obſerved by the whole people; namely, the faſt of five days before the feſtival of Mixcoatl, which was obſerved even by children; the faſt of four days before the feſtival of Tezcatlipoca, and alſo, as we ſuſpect, that which was made previous to the feſtival of the ſun (*s*). During this faſt the king retired into a certain place of the temple, where he watched and ſhed blood, according to the cuſtom of his nation. Any other faſts bound only particular individuals, ſuch as that which was obſerved by the proprietors of victims the day before a ſacrifice. The proprietors of priſoners which were ſacrificed to the god Xipe, faſted twenty days. The nobles as well as the king had a houſe within the precincts of the temple, containing numerous chambers, where they occaſionally retired to do penance. On one of the feſtivals, all thoſe perſons who exerciſed public offices, after their daily duty was over, retired there at evening for this purpoſe. In the third month the Tlamacazqui, or penance-doers watched every night; and in the fourth month they were attended in their duty by the nobility.

In Mixteca, where there were many monaſteries, the firſt-born ſons of lords, before they took poſſeſſion of their eſtates, were ſubjected to a

(*s*) The faſt which was held in honour of the ſun was called *Netonatiuh-ahualo*, or *Netonatiuh-ahualiztli*. Dr. Hernandez ſays, it was held every two hundred, or three hundred days. We ſuſpect that it was kept on the day I *Olin*, which occurred every two hundred and ſixty days.

rigorous

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rigorous penance during a whole year. They conducted the heir with a numerous attendance to a monaſtery, where they ſtripped off his garments, and clothed him in rags daubed over with *olli*, or elaſtic gum, rubbed his face, belly, and back, with ſtinking herbs, and delivered a ſmall lance of *itzli* to him, that he might draw his own blood. They reſtricted him to a very abſtemious diet, ſubjected him to the hardeſt labours, and puniſhed him ſeverely for any failure in duty. At the end of the year, after being waſhed and cleanſed by four girls, with ſweet ſcented water, he was reconducted to his houſe with great pomp and muſic.

In the principal temple of Teohuacan, four prieſts conſtantly reſided, who were famous for the auſterity of their lives. Their dreſs was the ſame with that of the common people; their diet was limited to a loaf of maize of about two ounces in weight, and a cup of *atolli*, or gruel, made of the ſame grain. Every night two of them kept watch, employing their time in ſinging hymns to their gods, in offering incenſe, which they did four times during the night, and in ſhedding their blood upon the ſtones of the temple. Their faſting was continual during the four years which they perſevered in that life, except upon days of feſtival, one of which happened every month, when they were at liberty to eat as much as they pleaſed; but in preparation for every feſtival, they practiſed the uſual auſtere rules, boring their ears with the ſpines of the aloe, and paſſing little pieces of cane through the holes to the number of ſixty, all of which differed in thickneſs in the manner above mentioned. At the end of four years, other four prieſts were introduced to lead the ſame kind of life; and if before the completion of that term any one of them happened to die, another was ſubſtituted in his place, that the number might never be incomplete. Theſe prieſts were ſo high in reſpect and eſteem as to be held in veneration even by the kings of Mexico: but woe unto him who violated his chaſtity; for, if after a ſtrict examination the crime was proved, he was killed by baſtinados, his body was burned, and his aſhes ſcattered to the winds.

Upon occaſion of any public calamity, the Mexican high-prieſt always obſerved a moſt extraordinary faſt. For this purpoſe he retired to a wood, where he conſtructed a hut for himſelf, covered with branches,

branches, which were always freſh and green; as whenever the firſt became dry, new ones were ſpread in their place. Shut up in this hut he paſſed nine or ten months in conſtant prayer and frequent effuſions of blood, deprived of all communication with men, and without any other food than raw maize and water. This faſt was not indiſpenſible, nor did all the high-prieſts obſerve it; nor did thoſe who attempted it ever do it more than once in their lives; and certainly it is not probable, that thoſe who ſurvived ſo rigorous and long an abſtinence, were ever able to repeat it.

SECT. XXIII. Remarkable acts of penitence of the Tlaſcalans.

The faſt obſerved by the Tlaſcalans every divine year, at which period they made a moſt ſolemn feſtival in honour of their god *Camaxtle*, was likewiſe very ſingular. When the time of commencing it was arrived, all the *Tlamacazquis* were aſſembled by their chief *Archcauhtli*, who made them a ſerious and grave exhortation to penitence, and forewarned them if any one of them ſhould find that he was incapable of performing it, that he ſhould declare ſo within five days; for that if, after that ſpace of time was elapſed, and the faſt was once begun, he ſhould happen to fail and renounce the attempt, he would be deemed unworthy of the company of the gods, his prieſthood would be taken from him, and his eſtate ſequeſtered. At the expiration of the five days, which was allowed for the purpoſe of deliberation, the chief, attended by all thoſe who had courage to attempt this penitential duty, the number of whom uſed to exceed two hundred, aſcended the very lofty mountain Matlalcueje, on the top of which was a ſanctuary, conſecrated to the goddeſs of water. The *Archcauhtli* mounted to the top to make his oblation of gems, precious feathers, and copal, while the others waited in the middle of the aſcent, praying their goddeſs to give them ſtrength and courage to go through their penance. They afterwards deſcended from the mountain, and cauſed a number of little knives of itzli, and a great quantity of ſmall rods of different thickneſſes to be made. The labourers upon thoſe inſtruments faſted five days before they began their work, and if any little knife or rod happened to break, it was accounted a bad omen, and the workman was conſidered to have broke the faſt. The Tlamacazqui then began their faſt, which did not laſt leſs than one hundred and ſixty days. The firſt day they bored holes in their tongues, through which they drew the little rods, and notwithſtanding

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ſtanding the exceſſive pain and loſs of blood which they ſuffered, they were obliged all the while to ſing aloud ſongs to their god, and every twenty days this cruel operation was repeated. When the firſt eighty days of the faſt of the prieſts were elapſed, a general faſt, from which even the heads of the republic were not exempted, began with the people, and continued an equally long time. During this period, no perſon was allowed to bathe, nor to eat pepper, which was the uſual ſeaſoning of all their diſhes. To ſuch exceſſes and cruelty did fanaticiſm carry thoſe nations.

SECT. XXIV. The age, century and year of the Mexicans.

All that we have hitherto related does not ſo much make known the religion of the Mexicans, and the extravagance of their horrible ſuperſtition, as the number of their feſtivals, and the rites which were obſerved at them; but before we enter more deeply into this ſubject, it is neceſſary to give ſome account of their mode of dividing time, and the method which they adopted to meaſure days, months, years, and centuries. What we have to communicate on this head has been carefully inveſtigated and certified by intelligent men, who are worthy of the utmoſt credit, who have applied with the utmoſt aſſiduity to this ſtudy, and who have diligently examined the ancient paintings, and obtained information from the beſt inſtructed perſons among the Mexicans and Acolhuans. We are particularly indebted to the religious miſſionaries Motolinia and Sahagun, from whoſe writings Torquemada has taken all that is valuable in his work, and to the very learned Mexican D. Carlo Seguenza, whoſe opinions we have found to be juſt and accurate by the examination which we have made of ſeveral Mexican paintings, in which months, years, and centuries, are diſtinctly repreſented by their proper figures.

The Mexicans, the Acolhuans, and all the other nations of Anahuac, diſtinguiſhed four ages of time by as many ſuns. The firſt named *Atonatiuh*, that is the ſun, or the age of water, commenced with the creation of the world, and continued until the time at which all mankind almoſt periſhed in a general inundation, along with the firſt ſun. The ſecond *Tlaltonatiuh*, the age of earth, laſted from the time of the general inundation until the ruin of the giants, and the great earthquakes, which concluded in like manner the ſecond ſun. The third, *Ehècatonatiuh*, the age of air, laſted from the deſtruction

of

of the giants until the great whirlwinds, in which all mankind periſhed along with the third ſun. The fourth *Tletonatiuh*, the age of fire, began at the laſt reſtoration of the human race, and was to continue as we have already mentioned in their mythology, until the fourth ſun, and the earth were deſtroyed by fire. This age it was ſuppoſed would end at the concluſion of one of their centuries; and thus we may account for theſe noiſy feſtivals in honour of the god of fire, which were celebrated at the beginning of every century, as a thankſgiving for his reſtraining his voracity, and deferring the termination of the world.

The Mexicans, and the other poliſhed nations of Anahuac, uſed the ſame method to compute centuries, years, and months, as the ancient Toltecas. Their century conſiſted of fifty-two years, which were ſubdivided into four periods of thirteen years each, and two centuries formed an age, which was called by them *Huehuetiliztli*, that is, old age, of a hundred and four years (*t*). They gave to the end of the century the name of *Toxiuhmolpia*, which ſignifies, the tying of our years; becauſe by it the two centuries were joined together to form an age. Their years had four names, which were *Tochtli*, rabbet; *Acatl*, cane or reed; *Tecpatl*, flint; and *Calli*, houſe; and of theſe with different numbers their century was compoſed. The firſt year of the century was 1. *Tochtli*, the ſecond, 2. *Acatl*, the third, 3. *Tecpatl*, the fourth, 4. *Calli*, the fifth, 5. *Tochtli*, and ſo on to the thirteenth year, which was 13. *Tochtli*, and terminated the firſt period. They began the ſecond period with 1. *Acatl*, which was ſucceeded by 2. *Tecpatl*, 3. *Calli*, 4. *Tochtli*, until it was completed by 13. *Acatl*. In like manner the third period began with 1. *Tecpatl*, and finiſhed with 13. *Tecpatl*; and the fourth commenced with 1. *Calli*, and terminated together with the century in 13. *Calli*; ſo that there being four names and thirteen numbers, no one year could be confounded with another (*u*).

All

(*t*) Though ſome authors have given the name of century to their age, and that of half century to their century, it is of little conſequence, as their matter of computing years and diſtributing time is not in the leaſt altered by it.

(*u*) Boturini affirms, in contradiction to the general opinion of authors, that they did not begin all their centuries with 1. *Tochtli*, but ſometimes with 1. *Acatl*; 1. *Tecpatl*, or 1. *Calli*. He is miſtaken, however, for it appears both from the beſt informed ancient authors, and the paintings examined by ourſelves, that the Mexican century began always with 1. *Tochtli*. This author ſays alſo, that in the courſe of four centuries the ſame name or character was never

BOOK VI. All this will be more clearly underſtood in the table of the century, which we ſhall afterwards ſubjoin.

The Mexican year conſiſted like ours, of three hundred and ſixty-five days; for although it was compoſed of eighteen months, each of which contained twenty days, which make up only three hundred and ſixty, they added after the laſt month five days, which they called *Nemontemi*, or uſeleſs; becauſe in theſe days they did nothing but receive and return viſits. The year 1 Tochtli, the firſt of their century, began upon the twenty-ſixth day of February (*x*); but every four years the Mexican century anticipated one day, on account of the odd day of our biſſextile, or leap-year; from whence in the laſt years of the Mexican century, the year began on the fourteenth of February, on account of the thirteen days which intervene in the courſe of fifty-two years. But at the expiration of the century, the commencement of the year returned to the twenty-ſixth of February.

The names which they gave their months were taken both from the employments and feſtivals which occurred in them, and alſo from the accidents of the ſeaſon which attended them. Theſe names appear differently arranged among authors; becauſe, in fact their arrangement was not only different among different nations, but even among the the Mexicans themſelves it varied. The following was the moſt common:

1. *Atlacahualco (y).*
2. *Tlacaxipehualiztli.*
3. *Tozoztontli.*
4. *Hueitozoztli.*
5. *Toxcatl.*
6. *Etzalcualiztli.*

ver repeated with the ſame number; but how is it poſſible, that this could happen in the period of two hundred and eight years, while the characters were only four and the numbers uſed but thirteen, as he himſelf allows.

(*x*) Authors differ in opinion reſpecting the day on which the Mexican year commenced. The reaſon of this was unqueſtionably the difference which is occaſioned by our leap years, to which probably thoſe authors did not advert. It may alſo have been the caſe, that ſome of them ſpoke of the aſtronomical year of the Mexicans, and not of the religious, of which we treat.

(*y*) Gomara, Valadès, and other authors make *Tlacaxipehualiztli*, the firſt month of the Mexican year, which in our table is the ſecond. The authors of the edition of the Letters of Cortes, publiſhed at Mexico in 1780, make *Atemoztli* the firſt, which is the 16th in our table. But Motolinia, whoſe authority has moſt weight, has put, as we do, *Atlahualco* for the firſt month; and Torquemada, Betancourt, and Martino di Leon, a Dominican, thinks as he does. To avoid troubling our readers, we omit the ſtrong reaſons which have induced us to adopt our preſent opinion.

7. *Tecuil-*

7. *Tecuilhuitontli.*
8. *Hueitecuilhuitl.*
9. *Tlaxochimaco.*
10. *Xocohuetzi.*
11. *Ochpaniztli.*
12. *Teotleco.*
13. *Tepeilhuitl.*
14. *Quecholli.*
15. *Panquetzalitzli.*
16. *Atemoztli.*
17. *Tititl.*
18. *Izcalli.*

Their month conſiſted as we have already mentioned of twenty days, the names of which are theſe: Sect. XV. The Mexican month.

1. *Cipactli.*
2. *Ehecatl.*
3. *Calli.*
4. *Cuetzpalin.*
5. *Coatl.*
6. *Miquitzli.*
7. *Mazatl.*
8. *Tochtli.*
9. *Atl.*
10. *Itzcuintli.*
11. *Ozomatli.*
12. *Malinalli.*
13. *Acatl.*
14. *Ocelotl.*
15. *Quauhtli.*
16. *Cozcaquahtli (z).*
17. *Olin tonatiuh.*
18. *Tecpatl.*
19. *Quiahutli.*
20. *Xochitl.*

Although the ſigns or characters, which are ſignified by theſe names, ſhould be diſtributed among the twenty days, according to the order above, nevertheleſs in their mode of reckoning, no regard was paid to the diviſion of months, nor that of years, but to periods of thirteen days (ſimilar to thoſe of thirteen years in the century), which run on without interruption from the end of a month or year. The firſt day of the century was 1. *Cipactli*; the ſecond, 2. *Ehecatl*, or wind; the third; 3. *Calli*, or houſe; and ſo on to thirteen, which was 13. *Acatl*, or reed. The 14th day began another period, reckoning 1. *Ocelotl* (tyger), 2. *Quauhtli* (eagle), &c. until the completion of the month 7. *Xochitl* (flower), and in the next month they continued to count 8. *Cipactli*, 9. *Ehecatl*, &c. Twenty of theſe periods made in thirteen months a cycle of two hundred and ſixty days, and during the whole of this time, the ſame ſign or character was not repeated

(z) Cozcaquauhtli is the name of a bird which we deſcribed in our firſt book. Cav. Boturini puts inſtead of it *Temetlati*, or the ſtone uſed to grind maize or cocoas.

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with the ſame number, as will appear from the calendar which we ſhall give hereafter. On the firſt day of the fourteenth month, another cycle commenced in the ſame order of the characters, and of the ſame number of periods, as the firſt. If the year had not, beſides the eighteen months, had the five days called *Nemontemi*, or if the periods had not been continued in theſe days, the firſt day of the ſecond year of the century would have been the ſame with that of the preceding, 1. Cipactli; and in like manner, the laſt day of every year would always have been *Xochitl*; but as the period of thirteen days was continued through the days called Nemontemi, on that account the ſigns or characters changed place, and the ſign *Miquiztli*, which occupied in all the months of the firſt year the ſixth place, occupies the firſt in the ſecond year; and on the other hand, the ſign *Cipactli*, which in the firſt year had occupied the firſt place, has the ſixteenth in the ſecond year. To know what ought to be the ſign of the firſt day of any year, there is the following general rule. Every year *Tochtli* begins with *Cipactli*, every year *Acatl* with *Miquextli*, every year *Tecpatl* with *Ozomatli*, and every year *Calli* with *Cozcaquauhtli*, adding always the number of the year to the ſign of the day; as for example, the year 1. *Tochtli* has for the firſt day 1. *Cipactli*; ſo the 2. *Acatl* has 2. *Miquiztli*; The 3 *Tepactl* has 3. *Ozomatli*, and 4. *Calli* has 4. *Cozcaquauhtli*, &c. *(a)*.

From what we have already ſaid it will appear, that the number thirteen was held in high eſtimation by the Mexicans. The four periods of which the century conſiſted, were each of thirteen years; thirteen months formed their cycle of two hundred and ſixty days; and thirteen days their ſmaller periods, which we have already mentioned. The origin of their eſteem for this number was, according to what Siguenza has ſaid, that thirteen was the number of their greater gods. The number four ſeems to have been no leſs eſteemed amongſt them. As they reckoned four periods of thirteen years each to their century, they alſo reckoned thirteen periods, of four years each, at the expiration of

(*a*) Cav. Boturini ſays, that the year of the Rabbet began uniformly with the day of the Rabbet, the year of the Cane with the day of the Cane, &c. and never with the days which we have mentioned; but we ought to give more faith to Siguenza, who was certainly better informed in Mexican antiquity. The ſyſtem of this gentleman is fantaſtical and full of contradictions.

each

each of which they made extraordinary feſtivals. We have already mentioned both the faſt of four months, and the Nappapohuallatolli, or general audience which was given every four months.

In reſpect to civil government, they divided the month into four periods of five days, and on a certain fixed day of each period their fair or great market was held; but being governed even in political matters by principles of religion in the capital, this fair was kept on the days of the Rabbet, the Cane, the Flint, and the Houſe, which were their favourite ſigns.

The Mexican year conſiſted of ſeventy-three periods of thirteen days, and the century of ſeventy-three periods of thirteen months, or cycles of two hundred and ſixty days.

SECT. XXVI. Intercalary days.

It is certainly not to be doubted, that the Mexican, or Toltecan ſyſtem of the diſtribution of time was extremely well digeſted, though at firſt view it appears rather intricate and perplexed; hence we may infer with confidence, it was not the work of a rude or unpoliſhed people. That however which is moſt ſurpriſing in their mode of computing time, and which will certainly appear improbable to readers who are but little informed with reſpect to Mexican antiquity, is, that having diſcovered the exceſs of a few hours in the ſolar above the civil year, they made uſe of intercalary days to bring them to an equality; but with this difference in regard to the method eſtabliſhed by Julius Cæſar in the Roman calendar, that they did not interpoſe a day every four years, but thirteen days, (making uſe here even of this favourite number) every fifty-two years; which produces the ſame regulation of time. At the expiration of the century they broke, as we ſhall mention hereafter, all their kitchen utenſils, fearing that then alſo the fourth age, the ſun and all the world were to be ended, and the laſt night they performed the famous ceremony of the new fire. As ſoon as they were aſſured by the new fire, that a new century, according to their belief, was granted to them by the gods, they employed the thirteen following days, in ſupplying their kitchen utenſils, in furniſhing new garments, in repairing their temples and houſes, and in making every preparation for the grand feſtivals of the new century. Theſe thirteen days were the intercalary days repreſented in their paintings by blue points; they were not included in the century juſt expired, nor

BOOK VI. in that which was juſt commencing, nor did they continue in them their periods of days which they always reckoned from the firſt day to the laſt day of the century. When the intercalary days were elapſed, they began the new century with the year 1. Tochtli, and the day 1. Cipactli, upon the 26th day of our February, as they did at the beginning of the preceding century. We would not venture to relate theſe particulars, if we were not ſupported by the teſtimony of Dr. Siguenza, who, in addition to his great learning, his critical ſkill and ſincerity, was the perſon who moſt diligently exerted himſelf to illuſtrate theſe points, and conſulted both the beſt inſtructed Mexicans and Tezcucans, and ſtudied their hiſtories and paintings.

Boturini affirms, that a hundred and more years before the Chriſtian era, the Toltecas adjuſted their calendar, by adding one day every four years, and that they continued to do ſo for ſeveral centuries, until the Mexicans eſtabliſhed the method we have mentioned: that the cauſe of the new method was, that two feſtivals concurred upon the ſame day; the one the moveable feſtival of Tezcatlipoca, the other that of Huitzilopochtli, which was fixed; and that the Colhuan nation had celebrated the latter, and paſſed over the former; upon which Tezcatlipoca in anger predicted, that the monarchy of Colhuacan would ſoon be diſſolved; that the worſhip of the ancient gods of the nation would ceaſe, and that it would remain confined to the worſhip of one ſole divinity, which was never ſeen nor underſtood, and ſubjected to the power of certain ſtrangers who would arrive from diſtant countries; that the kings of Mexico being made acquainted with this prediction, ordered, that whenever two feſtivals concurred upon the ſame day, the principal feſtival was to be celebrated on ſuch day, and the other on the day after; and that the day which was uſually added every four years, ſhould be omitted; and that at the end of the century, the thirteen days ſhould be added inſtead of them. But we are not willing to give credit to this account.

Two things muſt appear truly ſtrange in the Mexican ſyſtem, the one is, that they did not regulate their months by the changes of the moon; the other that they uſed no particular character to diſtinguiſh one century from another. But with reſpect to the firſt, we do not mean that their aſtronomical months did not accord with the lunar periods;

periods; becauſe we know that their year was juſtly regulated by the ſun, and becauſe they uſed the ſame name, which was *Metztli*, indifferently for month or moon. The month now mentioned by us is their religious month, according to which they obſerved the celebration of feſtivals, and practiſed divination; not their aſtronomical month, of which we know nothing unleſs that it was divided into two periods, that is, into the period of the *watching*, and into that of the *ſleep* of the moon. We are however perſuaded, that they muſt have made uſe of ſome characters to diſtinguiſh one century from another, as this diſtinction was ſo very eaſy and neceſſary; but we have not been able to aſcertain this upon the authority of any hiſtorian.

SECT. XXVII. Divination.

The diſtribution of the ſigns or characters, both of days and years, ſerved the Mexicans as ſuperſtitious prognoſtics, according to which they predicted the good or bad fortune of infants from the ſign under which they were born; and the happineſs or misfortune of marriages, the ſucceſs of wars, and of every other thing from the day on which they were undertaken or put in execution; and on this account alſo they conſidered not only the peculiar character of every day and year, but likewiſe the ruling character of every period of days or years; for the firſt ſign or character of every period, was the ruling ſign through the whole of it. Of merchants we find, that whenever they wiſhed to undertake any journey, they endeavoured to begin it on ſome day of that period, during which the ſign Coatl (ſerpent) ruled, and then they promiſed themſelves much ſucceſs in their commerce. Thoſe perſons who were born under the ſign *Quauhtli* (eagle), were ſuſpected to prove mockers and ſlanderers, if they were males; if females, loquacious and impudent. The concurrence of the year with the day of the Rabbet was eſteemed the moſt fortunate ſeaſon.

SECT. XXVIII. Figures of the century, the year, and month.

To repreſent a month they painted a circle or wheel, divided into twenty figures ſignifying twenty days, as appears in the plate we have given, which is a copy from one publiſhed by Valadès, in his *Rettorica Criſtiana*, and the only one hitherto publiſhed. To repreſent the year they painted another, which they divided into eighteen figures of the eighteen months, and frequently painted within the wheel the image of the moon. The repreſentation which we have given of this image, was taken from that publiſhed by Gemelli, which was a copy from an ancient

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ancient painting in the poſſeſſion of Dr. Siguenza (*b*). The century was repreſented by a wheel divided into fifty-two figures, or rather by four figures which were thirteen times deſigned. They uſed to paint a ſerpent twiſted about the wheel, which pointed out by four twiſts of its body the four principal winds, and the beginnings of the four periods of thirteen years. The wheel which we here preſent, is a copy of two others, one of which was publiſhed by Valadès, and the other by Gemelli, within which we have repreſented the ſun, as was generally done by the Mexicans. In another place we ſhall explain the figures of theſe wheels in order to ſatisfy our curious readers.

SECT. XXIX. Years and months of the Chiapaneſe.

The method adopted by the Mexicans to compute months, years, and centuries, was, as we have already mentioned, common to all the poliſhed nations of Anahuac, without any variation among them except in the names and figures (*c*). The Chiapaneſe, who, among the tributaries to the crown of Mexico, were the moſt diſtant from the capital; inſtead of the names and the figures of the Rabbet, the Cane, Flint, and Houſe, made uſe of the names *Votan*, *Lambat*, *Been*, and *Chinan*, and inſtead of the names of the Mexican days, they adopted the names of twenty illuſtrious men among their anceſtors, among which the four names above mentioned, occupied the ſame place that the names Rabbet, Cane, Flint, and Houſe, held amongſt the Mexican days. The Chiapaneſe names of the twenty days of the month were the following:

1. *Mox.*
2. *Igh.*
3. *VOTAN.*
4. *Ghanan.*
5. *Abagh.*
6. *Tox.*
7. *Mexic.*
8. *LAMBAT.*
9. *Mòlo, or Mùlu.*
10. *Elah.*
11. *Batz.*
12. *Enoh.*

(*b*) Three copies of the Mexican year have been publiſhed. The firſt that of Valadès, the ſecond that of Siguenza, publiſhed by Gemelli, and the third that of Boturini, publiſhed at Mexico, in 1770. In that of Siguenza, within the wheel of the century, appears that of the year; and in that of Valadès, within both wheels, that of the month is repreſented. We have ſeparated them to make them more intelligible.

(*c*) Boturini ſays, that the Indians of the dioceſe of Guaxaca made their year conſiſt of thirteen months; but it muſt have been their aſtronomical or civil year, and not their religious year.

13. *BEEN.*

Mexican Century.



13. *BEEN.*
14. *Hix.*
15. *Tziquin.*
16. *Chabin*
17. *Chix.*
18. *CHINAX.*
19. *Cabogh.*
20. *Aghual.*

There was no month in which the Mexicans did not celebrate ſome feſtival or other, which was either fixed and eſtabliſhed to be held on a certain day of the month, or moveable, from being annexed to ſome ſigns which did not correſpond with the ſame days in every year. The principal moveable feſtivals, according to Boturini, were ſixteen in number, among which the fourth was that of the god of wine, and the thirteenth, that of the god of fire. With reſpect to thoſe feſtivals which were fixed, we ſhall mention as conciſely as poſſible, as much as we judge will be ſufficient to convey a competent idea of the religion and the ſuperſtitious diſpoſition of the Mexicans.

SECT. XXX. Feſtivals of the four firſt months.

On the ſecond day of the firſt month, they made a great feſtival to Tlaloc, accompanied with ſacrifices of children, which were purchaſed for that purpoſe, and a gladiatorian ſacrifice; theſe children, which were purchaſed, were not ſacrificed all at once, but ſucceſſively ſo, in the courſe of three months, which correſponded to thoſe of March and April, to obtain from this god the rains which were neceſſary for their maize.

On the firſt day of the ſecond month, which, in the firſt year of their century, correſponded to the 18th of March (*d*), they made a moſt ſolemn feſtival to the god Xipe, the ſacrifices offered at which were extremely cruel. They dragged the victims by their hair to the upper area of the temple, where, after they were ſacrificed in the uſual manner, they ſkinned them, and the prieſts clothed themſelves in their ſkins, and appeared for ſome days in theſe bloody coverings. The owners of priſoners that were ſacrificed, were bound to faſt for twenty days, after which they made great banquets, at which they dreſſed the fleſh of the victims. The ſtealers of gold or ſilver were ſacrificed along with priſoners, the law of the kingdom having ordained that puniſhment for them. The circumſtance of ſkinning the

(*d*) Whenever we mention the correſpondence of the Mexican months with ours, it is to be underſtood of thoſe of the firſt year of their century.

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victims, obtained to this month the name of *Tlacaxipehualiztli*, or the ſkinning of men. At this feſtival, the military went through ſeveral exerciſes of arms and practices of war, and the nobles celebrated with ſongs the glorious actions of their anceſtors. In Tlaſcala, the nobles, as well as the plebeians had dances, at which they were all dreſſed in ſkins of animals, and embroidery of gold and ſilver. On account of theſe dances, which were common to all ranks of people, they gave the feſtival as well as the month the name of *Coailhuitl*, or the general feſtival.

In the third month, which began on the 7th of April, the ſecond feſtival of Tlaloc was celebrated with the ſacrifice of ſome children. The ſkins of the victims, which were ſacrificed to the god Xipe, in the preceding month, were carried in proceſſion to a temple called *Jopico*, which was within the incloſure of the greater temple, and there depoſited in a cave. In this ſame month the *Xochimanqui*, or thoſe who traded in flowers, celebrated the feſtival of their goddeſs Coatlicue, and preſented her garlands of flowers curiouſly woven. But before this offering was made, no perſon was allowed to ſmell theſe flowers. The miniſters of the temples watched every night of this month, and on that account made great fires; hence the month took the name of *Tozoztonli*, or little watch.

The fourth month was called *Hueitozoztli*, or great watch; becauſe, during this month, not only the prieſts, but alſo the nobility and populace, kept watch. They drew blood from their ears, eyebrows, noſe, tongue, arms, and thighs, to expiate the faults committed by their ſenſes, and expoſed at their doors leaves of the ſword-graſs, coloured with blood, but with no other intention, probably, than to make oſtentation of their penance. In this manner they prepared themſelves for the feſtival of the goddeſs Centeotl, which was celebrated with ſacrifices of human victims and animals, particularly of quails, and with many warlike exerciſes, which they performed before the temple of this goddeſs. Little girls carried ears of maize to the temple, and after offering them to that falſe divinity, carried them to granaries, in order that theſe ears, thus hallowed, might preſerve all the reſt of the grain from any deſtructive inſect. This month commenced on the 27th of April.

The

SECT. XXXI. Grand feſtival of the god Tezcatlipoca.

The fifth month, which began upon the 17th of May, was almoſt wholly feſtival. The firſt, which was one of the four principal feſtivals of the Mexicans, was that which they made in honour of their great god Tezcatlipoca. Ten days before it a prieſt dreſſed himſelf in the ſame habit and badges which diſtinguiſhed that god, and went out of the temple with a bunch of flowers in his hands, and a little flute of clay which made a very ſhrill ſound. Turning his face firſt towards the eaſt, and afterwards to the other three principal winds, he ſounded the flute loudly, and then taking up a little duſt from the earth with his finger, he put it to his mouth and ſwallowed it. Upon hearing the ſound of the flute, all kneeled down; criminals were thrown into the utmoſt terror and conſternation, and with tears implored that god to grant a pardon to their tranſgreſſions, and hinder them from being diſcovered and detected; warriors prayed to him for courage and ſtrength againſt the enemies of the nation, ſucceſsful victories, and a multitude of priſoners for ſacrifices; and all the reſt of the people, uſing the ſame ceremony of taking up and eating the duſt, ſupplicated with fervour the clemency of the gods. The ſound of the little flute was repeated every day until the feſtival. One day before it, the lords carried a new habit to the idol, which the prieſts immediately put upon it, and kept the old one as a relique in ſome repoſitory of the temple; they adorned the idol with particular enſigns of gold and beautiful feathers, and raiſed up the tapeſtry, which always covered the entrance of the ſanctuary, that the image of their god might be ſeen and adored by the multitude. When the day of the feſtival arrived, the people flocked to the lower area of the temple. Some prieſts painted black, and dreſſed in a ſimilar habit with the idol, carried it aloft upon a litter, which the youths and virgins of the temple, bound with thick cords of wreaths of criſp maize, and put one of theſe wreaths round the neck, and a garland on the head of the idol. This cord, the emblem of drought, which they deſired to prevent, was called *Toxcatl*, which name was likewiſe given to the month on account of this ceremony. All the youths and virgins of the temple, as well as the nobles of the court, carried ſimilar wreaths about their necks and in their hands. Then followed a proceſſion through the lower area of the temple, where flowers and odoriferous herbs were

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ſcattered; two prieſts offered incenſe to the idol, which two others carried upon their ſhoulders. In the mean while the people kept kneeling, ſtriking their backs with thick knotted cords. When the proceſſion finiſhed, and alſo their diſcipline, they carried back the idol to the altar, and made abundant offerings to it of gold, gems, flowers, feathers, animals, and proviſions, which were prepared by the virgins and other women, who, on account of ſome particular vow, aſſiſted for that day in the ſervice of the temple. Theſe proviſions were carried in proceſſion by the ſame virgins, who were led by a reſpectable prieſt, dreſſed in a ſtrange fantaſtical habit, and laſtly the youths carried them to the habitations of the prieſts for whom they had been prepared.

Afterwards they made the ſacrifice of the victim repreſenting the god Tezcatlipoca. This victim was the handſomeſt and beſt ſhaped youth of all the priſoners. They ſelected him a year before the feſtival, and during that whole time he was always dreſſed in a ſimilar habit with the idol; he was permitted to go round the city, but always accompanied by a ſtrong guard, and was adored every where, as the living image of that ſupreme divinity. Twenty days before the feſtival, this youth married four beautiful girls, and on the five days preceding the feſtival, they gave him ſumptuous entertainments, and allowed him all the pleaſures of life. On the day of the feſtival, they led him with a numerous attendance to the temple of Tezcatlipoca, but before they came there they diſmiſſed his wives. He accompanied the idol in the proceſſion, and when the hour of ſacrifice was come, they ſtretched him upon the altar, and the high prieſt with great reverence opened his breaſt and pulled out his heart. His body was not, like the bodies of other victims, thrown down the ſtairs, but carried in the arms of the prieſts and beheaded at the bottom of the temple. His head was ſtrung up in the *Tzompantli*, among the reſt of the ſkulls of the victims which were ſacrificed to Tezcatlipoca, and his legs and arms were dreſſed and prepared for the tables of the lords. After the ſacrifice, a grand dance took place of the collegiate youths and nobles who were preſent at the feſtival. At ſun-ſet, the virgins of the temple made a new offering of bread baked with honey. This bread, with ſome other things unknown to us, was put before the altar of Tezcatlipoca,

and

and was deſtined to be the reward of the youths who ſhould be the victors in the race which they made down the ſtairs of the temple; they were alſo rewarded with a garment, and received the praiſe and applauſe of the prieſts as well as the people who were ſpectators. The feſtival was concluded by diſmiſſing from the ſeminaries all the youths and virgins who were arrived at an age fit for marriage. The youths who remained, mocked the others with ſatirical and humorous raillery, and threw at them handfuls of ruſhes and other things, upbraiding them with leaving the ſervice of god for the pleaſures of matrimony; the prieſts always granting them indulgence in this emanation of youthful vivacity.

SECT. XXXII. The grand feſtival of Huitzilopochtli.

In this ſame fifth month, the firſt feſtival of Huitzilopochtli was celebrated. The prieſts made a ſtatue of this god of the regular ſtature of a man; they made the fleſh of a heap of *Tzohualli*, which is a certain eatable plant, and the bones of the wood *Mizquitl*. They dreſſed it in cotton with a mantle of feathers; put on its head a ſmall paraſol of paper, adorned with beautiful feathers, and above that a bloody little knife of flint-ſtone, upon its breaſt a plate of gold, and on its garment were ſeveral figures repreſenting bones of the dead, and the image of a man torn in pieces; by which they intended to ſignify either the power of this god in battle, or the terrible revenge, which, according to their mythology, he took againſt thoſe who conſpired againſt the honour and life of his mother. They put this ſtatue in a litter made on four wooden ſerpents, which four principal officers of the Mexican army bore from the place where the ſtatue was formed, into the altar where it was placed. Several youths forming a circle, and joining themſelves together by means of arrows, which they laid hold of with their hands, the one by the head, the other by the point, carried before the litter a piece of paper more than fifteen perches long, on which, probably, the glorious actions of that falſe divinity were repreſented, and which they ſung to the ſound of muſical inſtruments.

When the day of the feſtival was arrived, in the morning they made a great ſacrifice of quails, which after their heads were twiſted off, they threw at the foot of the altar. The firſt who made this ſacrifice was the king, after him the prieſts, and laſtly, the people. Of this great profuſion

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fuſion of quails, one part was dreſſed for the king's table, and thoſe of the prieſts, and the remainder was reſerved for another occaſion. Every perſon who was preſent at the feſtival, carried a clay cenſer, and a quantity of bitumen of Judea, to burn in offering to their god, and all the coal which was made uſe of was afterwards collected in a large ſtove called *Tlexictli*. On account of this ceremony they called this feſtival the *incenſing of Huitzilopochtli*. Immediately after followed the dance of the virgins and prieſts. The virgins dyed their faces, their arms were adorned with red feathers, on their heads they wore garlands of criſp leaves of maize, and in their hands they bore canes which were cleft, with little flags of cotton or paper in them. The faces of the prieſts were dyed black, their foreheads bound with little ſhields of paper, and their lips daubed with honey, they covered their natural parts with paper, and each held a ſceptre, at the extremity of which was a flower made of feathers, and above that another tuft of feathers. Upon the edge of the ſtove two men danced, bearing on their backs certain cages of pine. The prieſts in the courſe of their dancing, from time to time, touched the earth with the extremity of their ſceptres, as if they reſted themſelves upon them. All theſe ceremonies had their particular ſignification, and the dance on account of the feſtival at which it took place was called *Toxcachocholla*. In another ſeparate place, the court and military people danced. The muſical inſtruments, which in ſome dances were placed in the centre, on this occaſion were kept without and hid, ſo that the ſound of them was heard but the muſicians were unſeen.

One year before this feſtival, the priſoner who was to be ſacrificed to Huitzilopochli, to which priſoner they gave the name of *Ixteocale*, which ſignifies, *Wiſe Lord of Heaven*, was ſelected along with the victim for Tezcatlipoca. Both of them rambled about the whole year; with this difference however, that the victim of Tezcatlipoca was adored, but not that of Huitzilopochtli. When the day of the feſtival was arrived, they dreſſed the priſoner in a curious habit of painted paper, and put on his head a mitre made of the feathers of an eagle, with a plume upon the top of it. He carried upon his back a ſmall net, and over it a little bag, and in this dreſs he mingled himſelf in the dance of the courtiers. The moſt ſingular thing reſpecting this priſoner was,

was, that although he was doomed to die on that day, yet he had the liberty of fixing the hour of the ſacrifice himſelf. Whenever he choſe he preſented himſelf to the prieſts, in whoſe arms, and not upon the altar, the ſacrificer broke his breaſt, and pulled out his heart. When the ſacrifice was ended, the prieſts began a great dance, which continued all the remainder of the day, excepting ſome intervals, which they employed to repeat the incenſe-offerings. At this ſame feſtival, the prieſts made a ſlight cut on the breaſt and on the belly of all the children of both ſexes which were born within one preceding year. This was the ſign or character, by which the Mexican nation ſpecially acknowledged itſelf conſecrated to the worſhip of its protecting god; and this is alſo the reaſon why ſeveral authors have believed, that the rite of circumciſion was eſtabliſhed among the Mexicans (*e*). But if poſſibly the people of Yucatan and the Totonacas

(*e*) F. Acoſta ſays, that "i Meſſicani *ſacrificavano* ne' lor fanciulli e l' orechie e il membro genitale nel che in qualche maniera contra fiacevano la circonciſione de' Giudei." But if this author ſpeaks of the true Mexicans, that is, the deſcendants of the ancient Aztecas who founded the city of Mexico, whoſe hiſtory we write, his aſſertion is abſolutely falſe; for after the moſt diligent ſearch and enquiry, there is not the ſmalleſt veſtige of ſuch a rite to be found among them. If he ſpeaks of the Totonacas, who, by having been ſubjects of the king of Mexico, are, by ſeveral authors, called Mexicans, it is true, that they made ſuch an inciſion on children.

The indecent and lying author of the work, entitled, "*Recherches Philoſophiques ſur les Americains*," adopts the account given by Acoſta, and makes a long diſcourſe on the origin of circumciſion, which he believes to have been invented by the Egyptians, or the Ethiopians, to preſerve themſelves, as he ſays, from worms, which trouble inhabitants of the torrid zone who are not circumciſed. He affirms, that the Hebrews learned it from the Egyptians, and that at firſt it was a mere phyſical remedy, but was afterwards by fanaticiſm conſtituted a religious ceremony: that the heat of the torrid zone is the cauſe of this diſorder, and that the Mexicans, and other nations of America, in order to free themſelves from it, adopted circumciſion. But leaving aſide the falſeneſs of his principles, and his fondneſs to diſcuſs minutely every ſubject which has any connexion with obſcene pleaſures, that we may attend to that only which concerns our hiſtory, we aſſert that no traces of the practice of circumciſion have ever been found among the Mexicans, or among the nations ſubjected by them, except the Totonacas; nor did we ever hear of any ſuch diſtemper of worms in theſe countries, though they are all ſituated under the torrid zone, and we viſited for thirteen years all kinds of ſick perſons. Beſides, if heat is the cauſe of ſuch a diſtemper, it ought to have been more frequent in the native country of that author than in the inland provinces of Mexico, where the climate is more temperate. M. Maller, who is quoted by the ſame author, made no leſs a miſtake; in his Diſcourſe on Circumciſion, inſerted in the Encyclopædia, he, from not having underſtood the expreſſions of Acoſta, believed that they cut the ears and the parts of generation, of all the Mexican children entirely off; in wonder at which he aſks, if it was poſſible that many of them could remain alive after ſo cruel an operation? But if we had believed what M. Maller believed, we would rather have aſked how there came to be any Mexicans

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nacas uſed this rite, it was never practiſed by the Mexicans, or any other nation of the empire.

SECT. XXXIII. The feſtivals of the ſixth, ſeventh, eighth, and ninth months.

In the ſixth month, which began upon the ſixth of June, the third feſtival of the god Tlaloc was celebrated. They ſtrewed the temple in a curious manner with ruſhes from the lake of Citlaltepec. The prieſts who went to fetch them, committed various hoſtilities upon all paſſengers whom they met in their way, plundering them of every thing they had about them, and ſometimes even ſtripping them quite naked, and beating them if they made any reſiſtance. With ſuch impunity were theſe prieſts, turned aſſaſſins, favoured, that they not only robbed the common people, but even carried off the royal tributes from the collectors of them, if they chanced to meet with them, no private perſons being allowed to make complaint againſt them, nor the king to puniſh them for ſuch enormities. On the day of the feſtival, they all eat a certain kind of gruel which they called *Etzalli*, from which the month took the name of *Etzalqualiztli*. They carried to the temple a vaſt quantity of painted paper and claſtic gum, with which they beſmeared the paper and the cheeks of the idol. After this ridiculous ceremony, they ſacrificed ſeveral priſoners who were clothed in habits the ſame with that of the god Tlaloc, and his companions, and in order to complete the ſcene of their cruelty, the prieſts, attended by a great croud of people, went in veſſels to a certain place of the lake, where in former times there was a whirlpool, and there ſacrificed two children of both ſexes, by drowning them, along with the hearts of the priſoners who had been ſacrificed at this feſtival, in order to obtain from their gods the neceſſary rains for their fields. Upon this occaſion, thoſe miniſters of the temple, who, in the courſe of that year, had either been negligent in office, or convicted of ſome high miſdemeanor which was not, however, deſerving of capital puniſhment, were ſtripped of their prieſthood, and received a chaſtiſement ſimilar to the trick which is practiſed on ſeamen the firſt time they paſs the

cans at all in the world? That no future miſtakes may be committed by thoſe who read the ancient Spaniſh hiſtorians of America, it is neceſſary to be obſerved, that when theſe hiſtorians ſay that the Mexicans, or other nations *perforated* the tongue, the ears, or any other member of the body, all they mean by it is, that they made ſome ſlight inciſion in theſe members, and drew ſome blood from them.

line, but more ſevere, as by being repeatedly ducked in the water they were at laſt ſo exhauſted, it became neceſſary to carry them home to their houſes to be recovered.

In the ſeventh month, which began upon the 26th of June, the feſtival of Huixtocihuatl, the goddeſs of ſalt, was celebrated. A day before the feſtival there was a great dance of women, who danced in a circle, joined to each other by ſtrings or cords of different flowers, and wearing garlands of wormwood on their heads. A female priſoner, clothed in the habit of the idol of that goddeſs, was placed in the centre of the circle. The dancing was accompanied with ſinging, in both of which two old reſpectable prieſts took the lead. This dance continued the whole night, and in the morning after, the dance of the prieſts began, and laſted the whole day, without any other interruption than the ſacrifice of priſoners. The prieſts wore decent garments, and held in their hands thoſe beautiful yellow flowers which the Mexicans called *Cempoalxochitl*, and many Europeans *Indian Carnations*; at ſun-ſet they made the ſacrifice of the female priſoner, and concluded the feſtival with ſumptuous banquets.

During the whole of this month the Mexicans made great rejoicings. They wore their beſt dreſſes; dances and amuſements in their gardens were frequent; the poems which they ſang were all on love, or ſome other equally pleaſing ſubject. The populace went a hunting in the mountains, and the nobles uſed warlike exerciſes in the field, and ſometimes in veſſels upon the lake. Theſe rejoicings of the nobility procured to this month the name of *Tecuilhuitl*, the feſtival of the lords, or of *Tecuilhuitontli*, the ſmall feſtival of the lords, as it was truly ſo, in compariſon of the feſtival of the following month.

In the eighth month, which began upon the 16th day of July, they made a ſolemn feſtival to the goddeſs *Centeotl*, under the name of *Xilonen*; for as we have already mentioned, they changed the name according to the ſtate of the maize. On this feſtival they called her *Xilonen*; becauſe the ear of maize, while the grain was ſtill tender, was called *Xilotl*. The feſtival continued eight days, during which there was conſtant dancing in the temple of that goddeſs. On ſuch days, the king and the nobles gave away meat and drink to the populace, both of which were placed in rows in the under area of the temple, and there

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the *Chiampinolli*, which was one of their moſt common drinks, was given, and alſo the *Tamalli*, which was paſte of maize, made into ſmall rolls, and alſo other proviſions, of which we ſhall treat hereafter. Preſents were made to the prieſts, and the nobles invited each other reciprocally to entertainments, and preſented each other with gold, ſilver, beautiful feathers, and curious animals. They ſung the glorious actions of their anceſtors, and boaſted of the nobleneſs and antiquity of their families. At ſun-ſet, when the feaſting of the populace was ended, the prieſts had their dance which continued four hours, and on that account there was a ſplendid illumination in the temple. The laſt day was celebrated with the dance of the nobility and the military, among whom danced alſo a female priſoner, who repreſented that goddeſs, and was ſacrificed after the dance along with the other priſoners. Thus the feſtival, as well as the month, had the name of *Hueitecuilhuitl*, that is, the great feſtival of the lords.

In the ninth month, which began on the 5th of Auguſt, the ſecond feſtival of Huitzilopochtli was kept; on which, beſides the uſual ceremonies, they adorned all the idols with flowers; not only thoſe which were worſhipped in the temples, but likewiſe thoſe which they had for private devotion in their houſes; from whence the month was called *Tlaxochimaco*. The night preceding the feſtival was employed in preparing the meats which they eat next day with the greateſt jubilee. The nobles of both ſexes danced together, the arms of the one reſting on the ſhoulders of the other. This dance, which laſted until the evening, finiſhed with the ſacrifice of ſome priſoners. In this month alſo the feſtival of Jacateuctli, the god of commerce, was held, accompanied with ſacrifices.

SECT. XXXIV. Feſtivals of the tenth, eleventh, twelfth, and thirteenth months.

In the tenth month, the beginning of which was on the 25th of Auguſt, they kept the feſtival of *Xiuhteuctli*, god of fire. In the preceding months, the prieſts brought out of the woods a large tree, which they fixed in the under area of the temple. The day before the feſtival they ſtript off its branches and bark, and adorned it with painted paper, and from that time it was reverenced as the image of Xiuhteuctli. The owners of the priſoners which were to be ſacrificed on this occaſion, dyed their bodies with red ochre, to reſemble in ſome meaſure the colour of fire, and were dreſſed in their beſt garments.

They

They went to the temple, accompanied by their priſoners, and paſſed the whole night in ſinging and dancing with them. The day of the feſtival being arrived, and alſo the hour of the ſacrifice, they tied the hands and feet of the victims, and ſprinkled the powder of *Jaubtli* (*f*) in their faces, in order to deaden their ſenſes, that their torments might be leſs painful. Then they began the dance, each with his victim upon his back, and one after the other threw them into a large fire kindled in the area, from which they ſoon after drew them with hooks of wood, to complete the ſacrifice upon the altar in the ordinary way. The Mexicans gave to this month the name of *Xocbuetzi*, which ſignifies the maturity of the fruits. The Tlaſcalans called the ninth month *Miccailhuitl*, or the feſtival of the dead; becauſe in it they made oblations for the ſouls of the deceaſed; and the tenth month *Hueimiccailhuitl*, or the grand feſtival of the dead; becauſe in that they wore mourning, and made lamentation for the death of their anceſtors.

Five days before the commencement of the eleventh month, which began on the 14th of September, all feſtivals ceaſed. During the firſt eight days of the month, was a dance, but without muſic or ſinging; every one directing his movements according to his own pleaſure. After this period was elapſed, they clothed a female priſoner in the habit of Teteoinan, or the mother of the gods, whoſe feſtival was celebrating; the priſoner was attended by many women, and particularly by the midwives, who for four whole days employed themſelves to amuſe and comfort her. When the principal day of the feſtival was arrived, they led this woman to the upper area of the temple of that goddeſs, where they ſacrificed her; but this was not performed in the uſual mode, nor upon the common altar where other victims were ſacrificed, for they beheaded her upon the ſhoulders of another woman, and ſtripped her ſkin of, which a youth, with a numerous attendance, carried to preſent to the idol of Huitzilopochtli, in memory of the inhuman ſacrifice which their anceſtors had made of the princeſs

(*f*) The *Jaubtli* is a plant whoſe ſtem is about a cubit long, its leaves are ſimilar to thoſe of the willow, but indented, its flowers are yellow and the roots thin. The flowers, as well as the other parts of the plant, have the ſame ſmell and taſte as thoſe of the aniſe. It is very uſeful in medicine, and the Mexican phyſicians applied it in different diſtempers; it was alſo made uſe of for many ſuperſtitious ends.

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of Colhuacan; but before it was preſented, they ſacrificed in the uſual mode four priſoners, in memory, as is probable, of the four Xochimilcan priſoners which they had ſacrificed during their captivity in Colhuacan. In this month they made a review of their troops, and enliſted thoſe youths who were deſtined to the profeſſion of arms, and who, in future were to ſerve in war when there ſhould be occaſion. All the nobles and the populace ſwept the temples, on which account this month took the name of *Ochpaniztli*, which ſignifies, *a ſweeping*. They cleaned and mended the ſtreets, and repaired the aqueducts and their houſes, all which labours were attended with many ſuperſtitious rites.

In the twelfth month, which began upon the 4th of October, they cebrated the feſtival of the arrival of the gods, which they expreſſed by the word *Teotleco*, which name alſo they gave to both the month and the feſtival. On the 16th day of this month, they covered all the temples, and the corner ſtones of the ſtreets of the city with green branches. On the 18th, the gods, acording to their accounts, began to arrive, the firſt of whom was the great god Tezcatlipoca. They ſpread before the door of the ſanctuary of this god a mat made of the palm-tree, and ſprinkled upon it ſome powder of maize. The high-prieſt ſtood in watch all the preceding night, and went frequently to look at the mat, and as ſoon as he diſcovered any footſteps upon the powder, which had been trod upon, no doubt, by ſome other deceitful prieſt, he began to cry out, "*Our great god is now arrived.*" All the other prieſts, with a great croud of people, repaired there to adore him, and celebrate his arrival with hymns and dances, which were repeated all the reſt of the night. On the two days following, other gods ſucceſſively arrived, and on the twentieth and laſt day, when they believed that all their gods were come, a number of youths dreſſed in the form of various monſters, danced around a large fire, into which, from time to time, they threw priſoners, who were there conſumed as burnt ſacrifices. At ſun-ſet they made great entertainments, at which they drank more than uſual, imagining, that the wine with which they filled their bellies, would ſerve to waſh the feet of their gods. To ſuch exceſſes did the barbarous ſuperſtition of thoſe people lead! Nor was the ceremony which they practiſed, in order to preſerve their children

children from the evil which they dreaded from one of their gods, leſs extravagant: this was the cuſtom of ſticking a number of feathers on their ſhoulders, their arms, and legs, by means of turpentine.

In the thirteenth month, which began on the 24th of October, the feſtival of the gods of water and the mountains, was celebrated. The name *Tepeilhuitl*, which was given to this month, ſignified only the feſtival of the mountains. They made little mountains of paper, on which they placed ſome little ſerpents made of wood, or of roots of trees, and certain ſmall idols called *Ehecatotontin*, covered with a particular paſte. They put both upon the altars and worſhipped them, as the images of the gods of the mountains, ſung hymns to them, and preſented copal and meats to them. The priſoners who were ſacrificed at this feſtival were five in number, one man and four women; to each of which a particular name was given, alluding, probably, to ſome myſtery of which we are ignorant. They clothed them in painted paper, which was beſmeared with elaſtic gum, and carried them in proceſſion in litters, after which they ſacrificed them in the uſual manner.

SECT. XXXV. The feſtivals of the five laſt months.

In the fourteenth month, which commenced on the 13th of November, was the feſtival of Mixcoatl, goddeſs of the chace. It was preceded by four days of rigid and general faſting, accompanied with the effuſion of blood, during which time they made arrows and darts for the ſupply of their arſenals, and alſo certain ſmall arrows which they placed together with pieces of pine, and ſome meats, upon the tombs of their relations, and after one day burned them. When the faſt was over, the inhabitants of Mexico and Tlatelolco went out to a general chace in one of the neighbouring mountains, and all the animals which they caught were brought, with great rejoicings to Mexico, where they were ſacrificed to Mixcoatl; the king himſelf was preſent not only at the ſacrifice, but likewiſe at the chace. They gave to this month the name of *Quecholli*, becauſe at this ſeaſon the beautiful bird which went amongſt them by that name, and by many called *flamingo*, made its appearance on the banks of the Mexican lake.

In the fifteenth month, the beginning of which was on the 3d day of December, the third and principal feſtival of Huitzilopochtli and his brother, was celebrated. On the firſt day of the month, the prieſts formed two ſtatues of thoſe two gods, of different ſeeds paſted together,

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ther, with the blood of children that had been ſacrificed, in which in the place of bones they ſubſtituted pieces of the wood of acacia. They placed theſe ſtatues upon the principal altar of the temple, and during the whole of that night the prieſts kept watch. The day following, they gave their benediction to the ſtatues, and alſo to a ſmall quantity of water which was preſerved in the temple for the purpoſe of being ſprinkled on the face of any new king of Mexico, and of the general of their armies after their election; but the general, beſides being beſprinkled, was required to drink it. As ſoon as the ſtatues were conſecrated by this benediction, the dance of both ſexes began, and continued all the month for three or four hours every day. During the whole of the month a great deal of blood was ſhed; and four days before the feſtival, the maſters of the priſoners which were to be ſacrificed, and which were ſelected for the occaſion, obſerved a faſt, and had their bodies painted of various colours. In the morning of the twentieth day, on which the feſtival was held, a grand and ſolemn proceſſion was made. A prieſt bearing a ſerpent of wood, which he raiſed high up in his hands, called *Ezpamitl*, and which was the badge of the gods of war, went firſt, with another prieſt bearing a ſtandard, ſuch as they uſed in their armies. After them came a third prieſt, who carried the ſtatue of the god Painalton, the vicar of Huitzilopochtli. Then came the victims after the other prieſts, and laſtly, the people. The proceſſion ſet out from the greater temple, towards the diſtrict of *Teotlachco*, where it ſtopped, while two priſoners of war, and ſome purchaſed ſlaves, were ſacrificed; they proceeded next to Tlatelolco, Popotla, and Chapoltepec, from whence they returned to the city, and after having paſſed through other diſtricts, re-entered the temple.

This circuit of nine or ten miles, which they performed, conſumed the greateſt part of the day, and at all the places where they ſtopped, they ſacrificed quails, and, probably, ſome priſoners alſo. When they arrived at the temple, they placed the ſtatue of Painalton, and the ſtandard, upon the altar of Huitzilopochtli; the king offered incenſe to the two ſtatues of ſeeds, and then ordered another proceſſion to be made round the temple, at the concluſion of which they ſacrificed the reſt of the priſoners and ſlaves. Theſe ſacrifices were made at the cloſe of day. That night the prieſts kept watch, and the next morning they carried

carried the ſtatue in paſte of Huitzilopochtli to a great hall, which was within the precincts of the temple, and there in the preſence only of the king, four principal prieſts, and four ſuperiors of the ſeminaries, the prieſt Quetzalcoatl, who was the chief of the Tlamacazqui, or penance-doers, threw a dart at the ſtatue, which pierced it through and through. They then ſaid, that their god was dead. One of the principal prieſts cut out the heart of the ſtatue, and gave it to the king to eat. The body was divided in two parts; one of which was given to the people of Tlatelolco, and the other to the Mexicans. The ſhare was again divided into four parts, for the four quarters of the city, and each of theſe four parts into as many minute particles as there were men in each quarter. This ceremony they expreſſed by the word *Teocualo*, which ſignifies, the god to be eat. The women never taſted this ſacred paſte, probably, becauſe they had no concern with the profeſſion of arms. We are ignorant, whether or not they made the ſame uſe of the ſtatue of Tlacahuepan. The Mexicans gave to this month the name of *Panquetzaliztli*, which ſignifies, the raiſing of the ſtandard, alluding to the one which they carried in the above proceſſion. In this month they employed themſelves in renewing the boundaries, and repairing the incloſures of their fields.

In the ſixteenth month, which began upon the 23d of December, the fifth and laſt feſtival of the gods of water, and the mountains, took place. They prepared for it with the uſual auſterities, by making oblations of copal and other aromatic gums. They formed little figures of the mountains, which they conſecrated to thoſe gods, and certain little idols made of the paſte of various eatable ſeeds, of which when they had worſhipped them, they opened the breaſts, and cut out the hearts, with a weaver's ſhuttle, and afterwards cut off their heads, in imitation of the rites of the ſacrifices. The body was divided by the heads of families amongſt their domeſtics, in order that by eating them they might be preſerved from certain diſtempers, to which thoſe perſons who were negligent of worſhip to thoſe deities conceived themſelves to be ſubject. They burned the habits in which they had dreſſed the ſmall idols, and preſerved the aſhes with the utmoſt care in their oratories, and alſo the veſſels in which the images had been formed. Beſides theſe rites, which were uſually obſerved in private houſes, they made

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made ſome ſacrifices of human victims in the temple. For four days preceding the feſtival, a ſtrict faſt was obſerved, accompanied with the effuſion of blood. This month was called *Atemoztli*, which ſignifies the deſcent of the water, for a reaſon which we will immediately mention *(g)*.

In the ſeventeenth month, which began upon the 12th of January, they celebrated the feſtival of the goddeſs Ilamateuctli. A female priſoner was ſelected to repreſent her, and was clothed in the habit of her idol. They made her dance alone to a tune which ſome old prieſts ſung to her, and ſhe was permitted to expreſs her affliction at her approaching death, which, however, was eſteemed a bad omen from other victims. At ſun-ſet, on the day of the feſtival, the prieſts adorned with the enſigns of various gods, ſacrificed her in the uſual manner, and afterwards cut off her head, when one of the prieſts, taking it in his hand, began a dance, in which he was joined by the reſt. The prieſts, during this feſtival, made a race down the ſtairs of the temple; and the following day the populace entertained themſelves with a game ſimilar to the Lupercalia of the Romans; for running through the ſtreets, they beat all the women they met with little bags of hay. In this ſame month they kept the feſtival of Mictlanteuctli, god of hell, on which they made a nocturnal ſacrifice of a priſoner, and alſo the ſecond feſtival of Jacateuctli, god of the merchants. The name *Tititl*, which they gave to this month, ſignifies the conſtringent power of the ſeaſon which the cold occaſions *(h)*.

In the eighteenth and laſt month, which began on the firſt of February, the ſecond feſtival of the god of fire was held. On the 10th day of this month, the whole of the Mexican youth went out to the chace, not only of wild beaſts in the woods, but alſo to catch the birds of the lake. On the ſixteenth, the fire of the temple and private houſes was extinguiſhed, and they kindled it anew before the idol of that

(g) Martino di Leone, a Dominican, makes *Atemoztli* ſignify, the altar of the gods; but the name of the altar is *Teomomoztli*, not *Atemoztli*. Boturini pretends that the name is a contraction of *Ateomomoztli*, but ſuch contractions obtained not among the Mexicans; beſides the figure of this month which repreſents water falling obliquely upon the ſteps of an edifice, expreſſes exactly the deſcent of water ſignified by the word *Atemoztli*.

(h) The above author ſays, that *Tititl* ſignifies our belly; but all thoſe who underſtand the Mexican language know that ſuch a name would be a ſolecism.

god,

god, which they adorned on the occaſion, with gems and beautiful feathers. The hunters preſented all their ſpoils to the prieſts, one part of which was conſumed in burnt-offerings to their gods, and the other was ſacrificed, and afterwards dreſſed for the tables of the nobility and prieſts. The women made oblations of *Tamalli*, which they afterwards diſtributed among the hunters. One of the ceremonies obſerved upon this occaſion was that of boring the ears of all the children of each ſex, and putting ear-rings in them. But the greateſt ſingularity attending this feſtival was that not a ſingle human victim was ſacrificed at it.

They celebrated likewiſe in this month the ſecond feſtival of the mother of the gods, reſpecting which, however, we know nothing except the ridiculous cuſtom of lifting up the children by the ears into the air, from a belief that they would thereby become higher in ſtature. With regard to the name *Izcalli*, which they gave to this month, we are unable to give any explanation (*i*).

After the eighteen months of the Mexican year were completed on the 20th of February, upon the 21ſt the five days called *Nemontemi* commenced, during which days no feſtival was celebrated, nor any enterpriſe undertaken, becauſe they were reckoned *dies infauſti*, or unlucky days. The child that happened to be born on any of theſe days, if it was a boy, got the name of *Nemoquichtli*, uſeleſs man; if ſhe was a girl, received the name of *Nencihuatl*, uſeleſs woman.

Among the feſtivals annually celebrated, the moſt ſolemn were thoſe of *Teoxihuitl*, or divine years, of which kind were all thoſe years which had the rabbit for their denominative character. The ſacrifices were on ſuch occaſions more numerous, the oblations more abundant, and the dances more ſolemn, eſpecially in Tlaſcala, in Huexotzinco, and Cholula. In like manner, the feſtivals at the beginning of every period of thirteen years, were attended with more pomp and gravity; that is, in the years 1 *Tochtli*, 1 *Acatl*, 1 *Tecpatl*, and 1 *Calli*.

But the feſtival which was celebrated every fifty-two years, was by far the moſt ſplendid and moſt ſolemn, not only among the Mexicans, but

SECT. XXXVI. Secular feſtival.

(*i*) *Izcalli* ſignifies, Behold the houſe. The interpretations given by Torquemada and Leone are too violent.

BOOK VI. likewiſe among all the nations of that empire, or who were neighbouring to it. On the laſt night of their century, they extinguiſhed the fire of all the temples and houſes, and broke their veſſels, earthen pots, and all other kitchen utenſils, preparing themſelves in this manner for the end of the world, which at the termination of each century they expected with terror. The prieſts, clothed in various dreſſes and enſigns of their gods, and accompanied by a vaſt croud of people, iſſued from the temple out of the city, directing their way towards the mountain *Huixachtla*, near to the city of Iztapalapan, upwards of ſix miles diſtant from the capital. They regulated their journey in ſome meaſure by obſervation of the ſtars, in order that they might arrive at the mountain a little before midnight, on the top of which the new fire was to be kindled. In the mean while, the people remained in the utmoſt ſuſpence and ſolicitude, hoping on the one hand to find from the new fire a new century granted to mankind, and fearing on the other hand, the total deſtruction of mankind, if the fire, by divine interference, ſhould not be permitted to kindle. Huſbands covered the faces of their pregnant wives with the leaves of the aloe, and ſhut them up in granaries; becauſe they were afraid that they would be converted into wild beaſts and would devour them. They alſo covered the faces of children in that way, and did not allow them to ſleep, to prevent their being transformed into mice. All thoſe who did not go out with the prieſts, mounted upon terraces, to obſerve from thence the event of the ceremony. The office of kindling the fire on this occaſion belonged excluſively to a prieſt of *Copolco*, one of the diſtricts of the city. The inſtruments for this purpoſe were, as we have already mentioned, two pieces of wood, and the place on which the fire was produced from them, was the breaſt of ſome brave priſoner whom they ſacrificed. As ſoon as the fire was kindled, they all at once exclaimed with joy; and a great fire was made on the mountain that it might be ſeen from afar, in which they afterwards burned the victim whom they had ſacrificed. Immediately they took up portions of the ſacred fire, and ſtrove with each other who ſhould carry it moſt ſpeedily to their houſes. The prieſts carried it to the greater temple of Mexico, from whence all the inhabitants of that capital were ſupplied with it. During the thirteen days which followed the renewal of the fire, which

which were the intercalary days, interpoſed between the paſt and enſuing century to adjuſt the year with the courſe of the ſun, they employed themſelves in repairing and whitening the public and private buildings, and in furniſhing themſelves with new dreſſes and domeſtic utenſils, in order that every thing might be new, or at leaſt appear to be ſo, upon the commencement of the new century. On the firſt day of that year, and of that century, which as we have already mentioned, correſponded to the 26th of February, for no perſon was it lawful to taſte water before mid-day. At that hour the ſacrifices began, the number of which was ſuited to the grandeur of the feſtival. Every place reſounded with the voice of gladneſs and mutual congratulations on account of the new century which heaven had granted to them. The illuminations made during the firſt nights were extremely magnificent; their ornaments of dreſs, their entertainments, dances, and public games, were ſuperiorly ſolemn. Amongſt the laſt, amidſt an immenſe concourſe of people, and the moſt lively demonſtrations of joy, the game of the flyers, which we ſhall deſcribe in another place, was exhibited; in which the number of flyers were four, and the number of turns which each made in his flight, thirteen, which ſignified the four periods of thirteen years, of which the century was compoſed.

What we have hitherto related concerning the feſtivals of the Mexicans, clearly evinces their ſuperſtitious character; but it will appear ſtill more evident from the account we are now to give of the rites which they obſerved upon the birth of children, at their marriages, and at funerals.

See XXXVII. Rites obſerved upon the birth of children.

As ſoon as a child was born, the midwife, after cutting the navel-ſtring, and burying the ſecundine, bathed it, ſaying theſe words; *Receive the water; for the goddeſs* Chalchiuhcueje *is thy mother. May this bath cleanſe the ſpots which thou bearеſt from the womb of thy mother, purify thy heart and give thee a good and perfect life.* Then addreſſing her prayer to that goddeſs, ſhe demanded in ſimilar words the ſame favour from her; and taking up the water again with her right hand, ſhe blew upon it, and wet the mouth, head, and breaſt of the child with it, and after bathing the whole of its body, ſhe ſaid: *May the inviſible God deſcend upon this water, and cleanſe thee of every ſin*

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and impurity, and free thee from evil fortune: and then turning to the child, ihe ſpoke to it thus: *Lovely child, the gods* Ometeuctli *and* Omecihuatl *have created thee in the higheſt place of heaven, in order to ſend thee into the world; but know that the life on which thou art entering is ſad, painful, and full of uneaſineſs and miſeries: nor will thou be able to eat thy bread without labour: May God aſſiſt thee in the many adverſities which await thee.* This ceremony was concluded with congratulations to the parents and relations of the child. If it was the ſon of the king, or of any great lord, the chief of his ſubjects came to congratulate the father, and to wiſh the higheſt proſperity to his child (*k*).

When the firſt bathing was done, the diviners were conſulted concerning the fortune of the child, for which purpoſe they were informed of the day and hour of its birth. They conſidered the nature of the ſign of that day, and the ruling ſign of that period of thirteen days to which it belonged, and if it was born at midnight, two ſigns concurred, that is, the ſign of the day which was juſt concluding, and that of the day which was juſt beginning. After having made their obſervations, they pronounced the good or bad fortune of the child. If it was bad, and if the fifth day after its birth-day, on which the ſecond bathing was uſually performed, was one of the *dies infauſti*, the ceremony was poſtponed until a more favourable occaſion. To the ſecond bathing, which was a more ſolemn rite, all the relations and friends, and ſome young boys were invited; and if the parents were in good circumſtances, they gave great entertainments, and made preſents of apparel to all the gueſts. If the father of the child was a military perſon, he prepared for this ceremony a little bow, four arrows, and a little habit, reſembling in make that which the child, when grown up, would wear. If he was a countryman, or an artiſt,

(*k*) In Guatemala, and other ſurrounding provinces, the births of male children were celebrated with much ſolemnity and ſuperſtition. As ſoon as the ſon was born a turkey was ſacrificed. The bathing was performed in ſome fountain, or river, where they made oblations of copal, and ſacrifices of parrots. The navel ſtring was cut upon an ear of maize, and with a new knife, which was immediately after caſt into the river. They ſowed the ſeeds of that ear, and attended to its growth with the utmoſt care, as if it had been a ſacred thing. What was reaped from this ſeed was divided into three parts; one of which was given to the diviner; of another part they made pap for the child, and the reſt was preſerved until the ſame child ſhould be old enough to be able to ſow it.

he

he prepared ſome inſtruments belonging to his art, proportioned in ſize to the infancy of the child. If the child was a girl, they furniſhed a little habit, ſuitable to her ſex, a ſmall ſpindle, and ſome other little inſtruments for weaving. They lighted a great number of torches, and the midwife taking up the child, carried it through all the yard of the houſe, and placed it upon a heap of the leaves of ſword graſs, cloſe by a baſon of water, which was prepared in the middle of the yard, and then undreſſing it, ſaid: *My child, the gods* Omemeteuctli *and* Omecihuatl, *lords of heaven, have ſent thee to this diſmal and calamitous world. Receive this water which is to give thee life.* And after wetting its mouth, head, and breaſt, with forms ſimilar to thoſe of the firſt bathing, ſhe bathed its whole body, and rubbing every one of its limbs, ſaid, *Where art thou ill Fortune? In what limb art thou hid? Go far from this child.* Having ſpoke this, ſhe raiſed up the child to offer it to the gods, praying them to adorn it with every virtue. The firſt prayer was offered to the two gods before named, the ſecond to the goddeſs of water, the third to all the gods together, and the fourth to the ſun and the earth. *You ſun*, ſhe ſaid, *father of all things that live upon the earth, our mother, receive this child, and protect him as your own ſon; and ſince he is born for war* (if his father belonged to the army), *may he die in it, defending the honour of the gods; ſo may he enjoy in heaven the delights which are prepared for all thoſe who ſacrifice their lives in ſo good a cauſe.* She then put in his little hands the inſtruments of that art which he was to exerciſe, with a prayer addreſſed to the protecting god of the ſame. The inſtruments of the military art were buried in ſome fields, where, in future, it was imagined the boy would fight in battle, and the female inſtruments were buried in the houſe itſelf, under the ſtone for grinding maize. On this ſame occaſion, if we are to credit Boturini, they obſerved the ceremony of paſſing the boy four times through the fire.

Before they put the inſtruments of any art into the hands of the child, the midwife requeſted the young boys who had been invited, to give him a name, which was generally ſuch a name as had been ſuggeſted to them by the father. The midwife then clothed him, and laid him in the *cozcli*, or cradle, praying Joalticitl, the goddeſs of cradles, to warm

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warm him and guard him in her boſom, and Joalteuctli, god of the night, to make him ſleep.

The name which was given to boys, was generally taken from the ſign of the day on which they were born (a rule particularly practiſed among the Mixtecas), as *Nahuixochitl*, or IV Flower, *Macuilcoatl*, or V Serpent, and *Ometalli*, or II Houſe. At other times the name was taken from circumſtances attending the birth; as for inſtance, one of the four chiefs who governed the republic of Tlaſcala, at the time of the arrival of the Spaniards, received the name of *Citlalpopoca*, ſmoking ſtar; becauſe he was born at the time of a comet's appearance in the heavens. The child born on the day of the renewal of the fire, had the name of *Molpilli*, if it was a male; if a female ſhe was called *Xiuhnenetl*, alluding in both names to circumſtances attending the feſtival. Men had in general the names of animals; women thoſe of flowers; in giving which, it is probable, they paid regard both to the dream of the parents, and the counſel of diviners. For the moſt part they gave but one name to boys; afterwards it was uſual for them to acquire a ſurname from their actions, as Montezuma I. on account of his bravery was given the ſurnames of *Ilhuacamina* and *Tlacaeli*.

When the religious ceremony of bathing was over, an entertainment was given, the quality and honours of which correſponded with the rank of the giver. At ſuch ſeaſons of rejoicing, a little exceſs in drinking was permitted, as the diſorderlineſs of drunken perſons extended not beyond private houſes. The torches were kept burning till they were totally conſumed, and particular care was taken to keep up the fire all the four days, which intervened between the firſt and ſecond ceremony of bathing, as they were perſuaded that an omiſſion of ſuch a nature would ruin the fortune of the child. Theſe rejoicings were repeated when they weaned the child, which they commonly did at three years of age *(l)*.

SECT. XXXVIII. Nuptial rites.

With reſpect to the marriages of the Mexicans, although in them, as well as in all their cuſtoms, ſuperſtition had a great ſhare, nothing, however, attended them which was repugnant to decency or honour. Any marriage between perſons related in the firſt degree of conſan-

(*l*) In Guatemala it was uſual to make rejoicings as ſoon as the child began to walk, and for ſeven years they continued to celebrate the anniverſary of its birth.

guinity

guinity or alliance, was ſtrictly forbid, not only by the laws of Mexico, but alſo by the laws of Michuacan, unleſs it was between couſins (*m*). The parents were the perſons who ſettled all marriages, and none were ever executed without their conſent. When a ſon arrived at an age capable of bearing the charges of that ſtate, which in men was from the age of twenty to twenty-two years, and in women from ſixteen to eighteen, a ſuitable and proper wife was ſingled out for him; but before the union was concluded on, the diviners were conſulted, who, after having conſidered the birth-day of the youth, and of the young girl intended for his bride, decided on the happineſs or unhappineſs of the match. If from the combination of ſigns attending their births, they pronounced the alliance unpropitious, that young maid was abandoned, and another ſought. If, on the contrary, they predicted happineſs to the couple, the young girl was demanded of her parents by certain women amongſt them called *Cihuatlanque*, or ſolicitors, who were the moſt elderly and reſpectable amongſt the kindred of the youth. Theſe women went the firſt time at midnight to the houſe of the damſel, carried a preſent to her parents, and demanded her of them in a humble and reſpectful ſtyle. The firſt demand, was, according to the cuſtom of that nation, infallibly refuſed, however advantageous and eligible the marriage might appear to the parents, who gave ſome plauſible reaſons for their refuſal. After a few days were paſt, thoſe women returned to repeat their demand, uſing prayers and arguments alſo, in order to obtain their requeſt, giving an account of the rank and fortune of the youth, and of what he would make the dowry of his wife, and alſo gaining information of that which ſhe could bring to the match on her part. The parents replied to this ſecond requeſt,

(*m*) In the ivth book, tit. 2. of the third provincial council of Mexico, it is ſuppoſed that the Gentiles of that new world married with their ſiſters; but it ought to be underſtood, that the zeal of thoſe fathers was not confined in its exertions to the nations of the Mexican empire, amongſt whom ſuch marriages were not ſuffered, but extended to the barbarous Chechemecas, the Panuchefe, and to other nations, which were extremely uncivilized in their cuſtoms. There is not a doubt, that the council alluded to thoſe barbarians, who were then (in 1585), in the progreſs of their converſion to Chriſtianity, and not to the Mexicans and the nations under ſubjection to them, who many years before the council were already converted. Beſides, in the interval of four years, between the conqueſt of the Spaniards and the promulgation of the goſpel, many abuſive practices had been introduced among thoſe nations never before tolerated under their kings, as the religious miſſionaries employed in their converſion ſtated.

that

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that it was neceſſary to conſult their relations and connections, and to find out the inclinations of their daughter, before they could come to any reſolution. Theſe female ſolicitors returned no more; as the parents themſelves conveyed, by means of other women of their kindred, a deciſive anſwer to the party.

A favourable anſwer being at laſt obtained, and a day appointed for the nuptials, the parents, after exhorting their daughter to fidelity and obedience to her huſband, and to ſuch a conduct in life as would do honour to her family, conducted her with a numerous company and muſic, to the houſe of her father-in-law; if noble, ſhe was carried in a litter. The bridegroom, and the father and mother-in-law, received her at the gate of the houſe, with four torches borne by four women. At meeting, the bride and bridegroom reciprocally offered incenſe to each other; then the bridegroom taking the bride by the hand, led her into the hall, or chamber which was prepared for the nuptials. They both ſate down upon a new and curiouſly wrought mat, which was ſpread in the middle of the chamber, and cloſe to the fire which was kept lighted. Then a prieſt tied a point of the *huepilli*, or gown of the bride, with the *tilmatli*, or mantle of the bridegroom, and in this ceremony the matrimonial contract chiefly conſiſted. The wife now made ſome turns round the fire, and then returning to her mat, ſhe, along with her huſband, offered copal to their gods, and exchanged preſents with each other. The repaſt followed next. The married pair eat upon the mat, giving mouthfuls to each other alternately and to the gueſts in their places. When thoſe who had been invited were become exhilarated with wine, which was freely drank on ſuch occaſions, they went out to dance in the yard of the houſe, while the married pair remained in the chamber, from which, during four days, they never ſtirred, except to obey the calls of nature, or to go to the oratory at midnight to burn incenſe to the idols, and to make oblations of eatables. They paſſed theſe four days in prayer and faſting, dreſſed in new habits, and adorned with certain enſigns of the gods of their devotion, without proceeding to any act of leſs decency, fearing that otherwiſe the puniſhment of heaven would fall upon them. Their beds on theſe nights were two mats of ruſhes, covered with ſmall ſheets, with certain feathers, and a gem of *Chalchihuitl* in the middle of

of them. At the four corners of the bed green canes and ſpines of the aloe were laid, with which they were to draw blood from their tongues and their ears in honour of their gods. The prieſts were the perſons who adjuſted the bed to ſanctify the marriage; but we know nothing of the myſtery of the canes, the feathers, and the gem. Until the fourth night the marriage was not conſummated; they believed it would have proved unlucky, if they had anticipated the period of conſummation. The morning after they bathed themſelves and put on new dreſſes, and thoſe who had been invited, adorned their heads with white, and their hands and feet with red feathers. The ceremony was concluded by making preſents of dreſſes to the gueſts, which were proportioned to the circumſtances of the married pair; and on that ſame day they carried to the temple the mats, ſheets, canes, and the eatables which had been preſented to the idols.

The forms which we have deſcribed, in the marriages of the Mexicans were not ſo univerſal through the empire, but that ſome provinces obſerved other peculiarities. In Ichcatlan, whoever was deſirous of marrying preſented himſelf to the prieſts, by whom he was conducted to the temple, where they cut off a part of his hair before the idol which was worſhipped there, and then pointing him out to the people, they began to exclaim, ſaying, *this man wiſhes to take a wife*. Then they made him deſcend, and take the firſt free woman he met, as the one whom heaven deſtined to him. Any woman who did not like to have him for a huſband, avoided coming near to the temple at that time, that ſhe might not ſubject herſelf to the neceſſity of marrying him: this marriage was only ſingular therefore in the mode of ſeeking for a wife.

Among the Otomies, it was lawful to uſe any free woman before they married her. When any perſon was about to take a wife, if on the firſt night he found any thing about his wife which was diſagreeable to him, he was permitted to divorce her the next day; but if he ſhewed himſelf all that day content with having her, he could not afterwards abandon her. The contract being thus ratified, the pair retired to do penance for paſt offences twenty or thirty days, during which period they abſtained from moſt of the pleaſures of the ſenſes, drew blood from themſelves, and frequently bathed.

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Among the Miztecas, beſides the ceremony of tying the married pair together by the end of their garments, they cut off a part of their hair, and the huſband carried his wife for a little time upon his back.

They permitted polygamy in the Mexican empire. The kings and lords had numerous wives; but it is probable, that they obſerved all the ceremonies with their principal wives only, and that with the reſt the eſſential rite of tying their garments together was ſufficient.

The Spaniſh theologiſts and canoniſts, who went to Mexico immediately after the conqueſt, being unacquainted with the cuſtoms of thoſe people, raiſed doubts about their marriages; but when they had learnt the language, and properly examined that and other points of importance, they acknowledged ſuch marriages to be juſt and lawful. Pope Paul III. and the provincial council of Mexico, ordered, in conformity to the ſacred canons, and the uſage of the church, that all thoſe who were willing to embrace Chriſtianity, ſhould keep no other wife but the one whom they had firſt married.

SECT. XXXIII. Funeral rites.

However ſuperſtitious the Mexicans were in other matters, in the rites which they obſerved at funerals they exceeded themſelves. As ſoon as any perſon died, certain maſters of funeral ceremonies were called, who were generally men advanced in years. They cut a number of pieces of paper, with which they dreſſed the dead body, and took a glaſs of water with which they ſprinkled the head, ſaying, that that was the water uſed in the time of their life. They then dreſſed it in a habit ſuitable to the rank, the wealth, and the circumſtances attending the death of the party. If the deceaſed had been a warrior, they clothed him in the habit of Huitzilopochtli; if a merchant, in that of Jacatuctli; if an artiſt, in that of the protecting god of his art or trade: one who had been drowned was dreſſed in the habit of Tlaloc; one who had been executed for adultery, in that of Tlazolteotl; and a drunkard in the habit of Tezcatzoncatl, god of wine. In ſhort, as Gomara has well obſerved, they wore more garments after they were dead than while they were living.

With the habit they gave the dead a jug of water, which was to ſerve on the journey to the other world, and alſo at ſucceſſive different times, different pieces of paper, mentioning the uſe of each. On conſigning the firſt piece to the dead, they ſaid: *By means of this you will*

live

paſs without danger between the two mountains which fight againſt each other. With the ſecond they ſaid: *By means of this you will walk without obſtruction along the road which is defended by the great ſerpent.* With the third: *By this you will go ſecurely through the place, where there is the crocodile* Xochitonal. The fourth was a ſafe paſſport through the eight deſerts; the fifth through the eight hills; and the ſixth was given in order to paſs without hurt through the ſharp wind; for they pretended that it was neceſſary to paſs a place called *Itzehecayan*, where a wind blew ſo violently as to tear up rocks, and ſo ſharp that it cut like a knife; on which account they burned all the habits which the deceaſed had worn during life, their arms, and ſome houſhold goods, in order that the heat of this fire might defend them from the cold of that terrible wind.

One of the chief and moſt ridiculous ceremonies at funerals was the killing a *techichi*, a domeſtic quadruped, which we have already mentioned, reſembling a little dog, to accompany the deceaſed in their journey to the other world. They fixed a ſtring about its neck, believing that neceſſary to enable it to paſs the deep river of *Chiuhnahuapan*, or New Waters. They buried the techichi, or burned it along with the body of its maſter, according to the kind of death of which he died. While the maſters of the ceremonies were lighting up the fire in which the body was to be burned, the other prieſts kept ſinging in a melancholy ſtrain. After burning the body, they gathered the aſhes in an earthen pot, amongſt which, according to the circumſtances of the deceaſed, they put a gem of more or leſs value; which they ſaid would ſerve him in place of a heart in the other world. They buried this earthen pot in a deep ditch, and fourſcore days after made oblations of bread and wine over it.

Such were the funeral rites of the common people; but at the death of kings, and that of lords, or perſons of high rank, ſome peculiar forms were obſerved that are worthy to be mentioned. When the king fell ſick, ſays Gomara, they put a mark on the idol of Huitzilopochtli, and alſo one on the idol of Tezcatlipoca, which they never took off until the king was either dead or recovered; but it is certain, that the idol of Huitzilopochtli had always two marks, not one. As ſoon as a king of Mexico happened to die, his death was publiſhed in great

BOOK VI. form, and all the lords who reſided at court, and alſo thoſe who were but a little diſtant from it were informed of the event, in order that they might be preſent at the funeral. In the mean time they laid the royal corpſe upon beautiful curiouſly wrought mats, which was attended and watched by his domeſtics. Upon the fourth or fifth day after, when the lords were arrived, who brought with them rich dreſſes, beautiful feathers, and ſlaves to be preſented, to add to the pomp of the funeral, they clothed the corpſe in fifteen, or more, very fine habits of cotton of various colours, ornamented it with gold, ſilver, and gems, hung an emerald at the under lip, which was to ſerve in place of a heart, covered the face with a maſk, and over the habits were placed the enſigns of that god, in whoſe temple or area the aſhes were to be buried. They cut off ſome of the hair, which, together with ſome more which had been cut off in the infancy of the king, they preſerved in a little box, in order to perpetuate, as they ſaid, the memory of the deceaſed. Upon the box they laid an image of the deceaſed, made of wood, or of ſtone. Then they killed the ſlave who was his chaplain, who had had the care of his oratory, and all that belonged to the private worſhip of his gods, in order that he might ſerve him in the ſame office in the other world.

The funeral proceſſion came next, accompanied by all the relations of the deceaſed, the whole of the nobility, and the wives of the late king, who teſtified their ſorrow by tears and other demonſtrations of grief. The nobles carried a great ſtandard of paper, and the royal arms and enſigns. The prieſts continued ſinging, but without any muſical inſtrument. Upon their arrival at the lower area of the temple, the high-prieſt, together with their ſervants, came out to meet the royal corpſe, which, without delay, they placed upon the funeral pile, which was prepared there for that purpoſe of odoriferous reſinous woods, together with a large quantity of copal, and other aromatic ſubſtances. While the royal corpſe, and all its habits, the arms and enſigns were burning, they ſacrificed at the bottom of the ſtairs of the temple a great number of ſlaves of thoſe which belonged to the deceaſed, and alſo of thoſe which had been preſented by the lords. Along with the ſlaves, they likewiſe ſacrificed ſome of the irregularly formed men, whom the king had collected in his palaces for his entertainment, in order that

that they might give him the ſame pleaſure in the other world; and for the ſame reaſon they uſed alſo to ſacrifice ſome of his wives (*n*). The number of the victims was proportioned to the grandeur of the funeral, and amounted ſometimes, as ſeveral hiſtorians affirm, to two hundred. Among the other ſacrifices the techichi was not omitted; they were firmly perſuaded, that without ſuch a guide it would be impoſſible to get through ſome dangerous ways which led to the other world.

The day following the aſhes were gathered, and the teeth which remained entire; they ſought carefully for the emerald which had been hung to the under lip, and the whole were put into the box with the hair, and they depoſited the box in the place deſtined for his ſepulchre. The four following days they made oblations of eatables over the ſepulchre; on the fifth, they ſacrificed ſome ſlaves, and alſo ſome others on the twentieth, fortieth, ſixtieth, and eightieth day after. From that time forward, they ſacrificed no more human victims; but every year they celebrated the day of the funeral with ſacrifices of rabbits, butterflies, quails, and other birds, and with oblations of bread, wine, copal flowers, and certain little reeds filled with aromatic ſubſtances, which they called *acajetl*. This anniverſary was held for four years.

The bodies of the dead were in general burned; they buried the bodies entire of thoſe only who had been drowned, or had died of dropſy, and ſome other diſeaſes; but what was the reaſon of theſe exceptions we know not.

SECT. XI. Their ſepulchres.

There was no fixed place for burials. Many ordered their aſhes to be buried near to ſome temple or altar, ſome in the fields, and others in thoſe ſacred places of the mountains where ſacrifices uſed to be made. The aſhes of the kings and lords, were, for the moſt part, depoſited in the towers of the temples (*o*), eſpecially in thoſe of the

(*n*) Acoſta ſays (lib. v. cap. 8.) that at the funerals of lords, all the members of his family were ſacrificed. But this is groſſly falſe and in itſelf incredible; for had this been the caſe, the nobles of Mexico would have ſoon been exterminated. There is no record in the Hiſtory of Mexico, that at the death of the king of Mexico, any of his brothers were ſacrificed, as this author would intimate. How is it poſſible they could practiſe ſuch cruelty when the new king was uſually elected from among the brothers of the deceaſed.

(*o*) Solis, in his Hiſtory of the Conqueſt of Mexico, affirms, that the aſhes of the kings were depoſited in Chapoltepec; but this is falſe, and contradicts the report of the conqueror Cortes, in his panegyric he wrote, of Bernal Diaz, and other eye-witneſſes of the contrary.

greater

BOOK VI. greater temple. Close to Teotihuacan, where there were many temples, there were alſo innumerable ſepulchres. The tombs of thoſe whoſe bodies had been buried entire, agreeable to the teſtimony of the anonymous conqueror who ſaw them, were deep ditches, formed with ſtone and lime, within which they placed the bodies in a ſitting poſture upon *icpalli*, or low ſeats, together with the inſtruments of their art or profeſſion. If it was the ſepulchre of any military perſon, they laid a ſhield and ſword by him; if of a woman, a ſpindle, a weaver's ſhuttle, and a *xicalli*, which was a certain naturally formed veſſel, of which we ſhall ſay more hereafter. In the tombs of the rich they put gold and jewels, but all were provided with eatables for the long journey which they had to make. The Spaniſh conquerors, knowing of the gold which was buried with the Mexican lords in their tombs, dug up ſeveral, and found conſiderable quantities of that precious metal. Cortes ſay in his letters, that at one entry which he made into the capital, when it was beſieged by his army, his ſoldiers found fifteen hundred *Caſtellanos (p)*, that is, two hundred and forty ounces of gold, in one ſepulchre, which was in the tower of a temple. The anonymous conqueror ſays alſo, that he was preſent at the digging up of another ſepulchre, from which they took about three thouſand Caſtellanos.

The caves of the mountains were the ſepulchres of the ancient Chechemecas; but, as they grew more civilized, they adopted in this and other rites, the cuſtoms of the Acolhuan nation, which were nearly the ſame with thoſe of the Mexicans.

The Miztecas retained in part the ancient uſage of the Chechemecas, but in ſome things they were ſingular in their cuſtoms. When any of their lords fell ſick, they offered prayers, vows, and ſacrifices for the recovery of his health. If it was reſtored, they made great rejoicings. If he died, they continued to ſpeak of him as if he was ſtill alive, and conducted one of his ſlaves to the corpſe, dreſſed him in the habits of his maſter, put a maſk upon his face, and for one whole day, paid him all the honours which they had uſed to render to

(*p*) The Spaniſh goldſmiths divide the pound weight of gold into two *Marcks*, or into ſixteen ounces, or a hundred *Caſtellanos*; conſequently, an ounce contains 6¼ *Caſtellanos*.

the

the deceaſed. At midnight, four prieſts carried the corpſe to be buried in a wood, or in ſome cavern, particularly in that one where they believed the gate of paradiſe was, and at their return they ſacrificed the ſlave, and laid him, with all the ornaments of his tranſitory dignity, in a ditch; but without covering him with earth.

Every year they held a feſtival in honour of their laſt lord, on which they celebrated his birth, not his death, for of it they never ſpoke.

The Zapotecas, their neighbours embalmed the body of the principal lord of their nation. Even from the time of the firſt Chechemecan kings aromatic preparations were in uſe among thoſe nations to preſerve dead bodies from ſpeedy corruption; but we do not know that theſe were very frequent.

We have now communicated all that we know concerning the religion of the Mexicans. The weakneſs of their worſhip, the ſuperſtition of their rites, the cruelty of their ſacrifices, and the rigour of their auſterities, will the more forcibly manifeſt to their deſcendants, the advantages which are derived from a mild, chaſte, and pure religion, and will diſpoſe them to thank eternally the Providence which has enlightened them, while their anceſtors were left to periſh in darkneſs and error.

BOOK

BOOK VII.

The political and military Government of the Mexicans, that is, the Kings, Lords, Electors, Ambaſſadors, Dignities, and Magiſtrates; the Judges, Laws, and Puniſhments; the Military Force; Agriculture, Chace, Fiſhing, and Commerce; the Games; the Dreſs, Food, and Houſhold Furniture; the Language, Poetry, Muſic, and Dancing; Medicine, Hiſtory, and Painting; Sculpture, Moſaic Works, and Caſting of Metals; Architecture, and other Arts of that Nation.

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IN the public as well as private œconomy of the Mexicans, the traces which remain of their political diſcernment, of their zeal for juſtice, and love of the public good, would meet with little credit, were they not confirmed both by the evidence of their paintings, and the atteſtations of many faithful and impartial authors, who were eye-witneſſes of a great part of that which they have written. Thoſe who are weak enough to imagine they can know the ancient Mexicans in their deſcendants, or from the nations of Canada and Louiſiana, will be apt to conſider the account we are to give of their refinement, their laws, and their arts, as fables invented by the Spaniards. But that we may not violate the laws of hiſtory, nor the fidelity due to the public, we ſhall candidly ſet forth all that which we have found to be authentic, without any apprehenſion of cenſure.

The education of youth, which is the chief ſupport of a ſtate, and which beſt unfolds the character of every nation, was amongſt the Mexicans of ſo judicious a nature as to be of itſelf ſufficient to retort the ſupercilious contempt of certain critics upon themſelves, who believe the empire of reaſon to be circumſcribed to the boundaries of Europe. In whatever we ſay on this ſubject we ſhall be guided by the paintings of thoſe nations, and their beſt informed hiſtorians.

SECT. I. Education of the Mexican youth.

Nothing, ſays F. Acoſta, has ſurpriſed me more, or appeared more worthy of memory and praiſe, than the care and method which the

Mexicans obſerved in the tuition of youth. It would be difficult, indeed, to find a nation that has beſtowed more attention on a point ſo important to every ſtate. It is true, they mixed ſuperſtition with their precepts; but the zeal they manifeſted for the education of their children, upbraids the negligence of our modern fathers of families; and many of the leſſons which they taught to their youth might ſerve as inſtruction to ours. All the Mexican children, even thoſe of the royal family, were ſuckled by their own parents. If the mother was prevented from doing this by ſickneſs, ſhe did not employ a nurſe till ſhe was well informed both of her condition in life, and the quality of her milk. They were accuſtomed from infancy to endure hunger, heat, and cold. When they attained five years of age, they were either conſigned to the prieſts, in order that they might be brought up in the ſeminaries, which was the general practice with the children of nobles, and even with thoſe of the kings themſelves; or if they were to be educated at home, their parents began at that period to inſtruct them in the worſhip of their gods, and to teach them the forms by which they were to pray and implore their protection. They were led frequently to the temple, that they might become attached to religion. An abhorrence of vice, a modeſty of behaviour, reſpect to ſuperiors, and love of fatigue, were ſtrongly inculcated. They were even made to ſleep upon a mat; and were given no more food than the neceſſities of life required, nor any other clothing than that which decency demanded. When they arrived at a certain age, they were inſtructed in the uſe of arms, and if their parents belonged to the army, they were led to the wars along with them, that they might learn the military art, and to baniſh fear from their minds, by habituating themſelves to danger. If their parents were huſbandmen, or artiſts, they taught their children their own profeſſion. Girls were learned to ſpin and weave, and obliged to bathe frequently, that they might be always healthy and cleanly, and the univerſal maxim was to keep the young of both ſexes conſtantly employed.

One of the precepts moſt warmly inculcated to youth was, truth in their words; and whenever a lie was detected, the lip of the delinquent was pricked with the thorns of the aloe. They tied the feet of girls who were too fond of walking abroad. The ſon, who

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was diſobedient or quarrelſome, was beat with nettles, or received puniſhment in ſome other manner proportioned, according to their judgment, with the fault he had committed.

SECT. II. Explanation of the ſeven Mexican paintings on education.

The ſyſtem of education agreeable to which the Mexicans trained up their children, and the conſtant attention with which they watched their actions, may be traced in the ſeven paintings of the collection of Mendoza, included between the numbers forty-nine and fifty-ſeven. In theſe are expreſſed the quantity and quality of the food, which was allowed them, the employments in which they were occupied, and the puniſhments by which their vices were corrected. In the fiftieth painting is repreſented a boy of four years, who is employed by his parents in ſome things that are eaſy to do, in order to inure him to fatigue; another of five years, who accompanies his father to market, carrying a little bundle on his back; a girl of the ſame age who begins to learn to ſpin; and another boy of ſix years whoſe father employs him to pick up the ears of maize, which happen to lie on the ground in the market-place.

In the fifty-firſt painting are drawn a father who teaches his ſon of ſeven years of age to fiſh; and a mother, who teaches her daughter of the ſame age to ſpin; ſome boys of eight years, who are threatened with puniſhment if they do not do their duty; a lad of nine years, whoſe father pricks ſeveral parts of his body, in order to correct his indocility of temper; and a girl of the ſame age, whoſe mother only pricks her hands; a lad and a girl of ten years, whoſe parents beat them with a rod, becauſe they refuſe to do that which they are ordered.

The fifty-ſecond painting repreſents two lads of eleven years, who, not being amended by other puniſhments, are made by their fathers to receive the ſmoke of Chilli, or great pepper up their noſe; a lad of twelve years, whoſe father, in order to puniſh him for his faults, keeps him a whole day tied upon a dunghill, and a wench of the ſame age whoſe mother makes her walk, during the night, all over the houſe and part of the ſtreets; a lad of thirteen years, whoſe father makes him guide a little veſſel laden with ruſhes; and a wench of the ſame age grinding maize by order of her mother; a youth of fourteen years employed by his father in fiſhing, and a young woman ſet to weave by her mother.

In

In the fifty-third painting, are repreſented two youths of fifteen years, the one conſigned by his father to a prieſt, to be inſtructed in the rites of religion; the other to the *Achcauhtli*, or officer of the militia, to be inſtructed in the military art. The fifty-fourth, ſhews the youth of the ſeminaries employed by their ſuperiors in ſweeping the temple, and in carrying branches of trees and herbs to adorn the ſanctuaries, wood for the ſtoves, ruſhes to make ſeats, and ſtones and lime to repair the temple. In this ſame painting, and in the fifty-fifth, the different puniſhments inflicted on youth, who have committed treſpaſſes, by their ſuperiors, are alſo repreſented. One of them pricks a youth with the ſpines of the aloe for having neglected his duty: two prieſts throw burning firebrands on the head of another youth, for having been caught in familiar diſcourſe with a young woman. They prick the body of another with ſharp pine ſtakes, and another for diſobedience is puniſhed by having his hair burned. Laſtly, is exhibited a youth carrying the baggage of a prieſt, who goes along with the army to encourage the ſoldiers in war, and to perform certain ſuperſtitious ceremonies.

Their children were bred to ſtand ſo much in awe of their parents, that even when grown up and married, they hardly durſt ſpeak before them. In ſhort, the inſtructions and advice which they received were of ſuch a nature, that I cannot diſpenſe with tranſcribing ſome of the exhortations employed by them, the knowledge of which was obtained from the Mexicans themſelves by the firſt religious miſſionaries who were employed in their converſion, particularly Molinia, Olmos, and Sahagun, who acquired a perfect knowledge of the Mexican language, and made the moſt diligent inquiry into their manners and cuſtoms.

"My ſon," ſaid the Mexican father, "who art come into the light
"from the womb of thy mother like the chickens from the egg, and
"like it art preparing to fly through the world, we know not how
"long heaven will grant to us the enjoyment of that precious gem
"which we poſſeſs in thee; but, however ſhort the period, endeavour
"to live exactly, praying God continually to aſſiſt thee. He created
"thee; thou art his property. He is thy Father, and loves thee ſtill
"more than I do; repoſe in him thy thoughts, and day and night ſi-

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" rect thy ſighs to him. Reverence and ſalute thy elders, and hold " no one in contempt. To the poor and the diſtreſſed be not dumb, " but rather uſe words of comfort. Honour all perſons, particularly " thy parents, to whom thou oweſt obedience, reſpect, and ſervice. " Guard againſt imitating the example of thoſe wicked ſons, who, like " brutes that are deprived of reaſon, neither reverence their parents, liſ- " ten to their inſtruction, nor ſubmit to their correction; becauſe, who- " ever follows their ſteps will have an unhappy end, will die in a deſperate " or ſudden manner, or will be killed and devoured by wild beaſts.

" Mock not, my ſon, the aged or the imperfect. Scorn not him " whom you ſee fall into ſome folly or tranſgreſſion, nor make him re- " proaches; but reſtrain thyſelf, and beware leſt thou fall into the " ſame error which offends thee in another. Go not where thou art " not called, nor interfere in that which does not concern thee. En- " deavour to manifeſt thy good breeding in all thy words and actions. " In converſation do not lay thy hands upon another, nor ſpeak too " much, nor interrupt or diſturb another's diſcourſe. If thou heareſt " any one talking fooliſhly, and it is not thy buſineſs to correct him, " keep ſilence; but if it does concern thee, conſider firſt what thou art " to ſay, and do not ſpeak arrogantly, that thy correction may be well " received.

" When any one diſcourſes with thee, hear him attentively, and " hold thyſelf in an eaſy attitude; neither playing with thy feet, nor " putting thy mantle to thy mouth, nor ſpitting too often, nor look- " ing about you here and there, nor riſing up frequently if thou art " fitting; for ſuch actions are indications of levity and low-breeding.

" When thou art at table do not eat voraciouſly, nor ſhew thy diſ- " pleaſure if any thing diſpleaſes thee. If any one comes unexpectedly " to dinner with thee, ſhare with him what thou haſt; and when any " perſon is entertained by thee, do not fix thy looks upon him.

" In walking, look where thou goeſt, that thou mayſt not puſh a- " gainſt any one. If thou ſeeſt another coming thy way, go a little " aſide to give him room to paſs. Never ſtep before thy elders, un- " leſs it be neceſſary, or that they order thee to do ſo. When thou " ſitteſt at table with them, do not eat or drink before them, but attend " to them in a becoming manner, that thou mayſt merit their favour.

" When

" When they give thee any thing, accept it with tokens of gratitude: if the preſent is great, do not become vain or fond of it. If " the gift is ſmall do not deſpiſe it, nor be provoked, nor occaſion diſ- " pleaſure to them who favour thee. If thou becomeſt rich, do not " grow inſolent, nor ſcorn the poor; for thoſe very gods who deny " riches to others in order to give them to thee, offended by thy pride, " will take them from thee again to give to others. Support thy- " ſelf by thy own labours; for then thy food will be ſweeter. I, my " ſon, have ſupported thee hitherto with my ſweat, and have omitted " no duty of a father; I have provided thee with every thing neceſ- " ſary, without taking it from others. Do thou ſo likewiſe.

" Never tell a falſehood; becauſe a lie is a heinous ſin. When it " is neceſſary to communicate to another what has been imparted to " thee, tell the ſimple truth without any addition. Speak ill of no- " body. Do not take notice of the failings which thou obſerveſt in " others, if thou art not called upon to correct them. Be not a news- " carrier, nor a ſower of diſcord. When thou beareſt any embaſſy, and " he to whom it is borne is enraged, and ſpeaks contemptuouſly of thoſe " who ſent thee, do not report ſuch an anſwer, but endeavour to ſof- " ten him, and diſſemble as much as poſſible that which thou heardſt, " that thou mayeſt not raiſe diſcord and ſpread calumny of which " thou mayeſt afterwards repent.

" Stay no longer than is neceſſary in the market-place; for in ſuch " places there is the greateſt danger of contracting vices.

" When thou art offered an employment, imagine that the propoſal " is made to try thee; then accept it not haſtily, although thou knoweſt " thyſelf more fit than others to exerciſe it; but excuſe thyſelf until " thou art obliged to accept it; thus thou wilt be more eſteemed.

" Be not diſſolute; becauſe thou wilt thereby incenſe the gods, and " they will cover thee with infamy. Reſtrain thyſelf, my ſon, as thou " art yet young, and wait until the girl, whom the gods deſtine for " thy wife, arrive at a ſuitable age: leave that to their care, as they " know how to order every thing properly. When the time for thy " marriage is come, dare not to make it without the conſent of thy " parents, otherwiſe it will have an unhappy iſſue.

" Steal not, nor give thyſelf up to gaming; otherwiſe thou wilt be " a diſgrace to thy parents, whom thou ought rather to honour for " the

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" the education they have given thee. If thou wilt be virtuous, thy " example will put the wicked to ſhame. No more, my ſon; enough " has been ſaid in diſcharge of the duties of a father. With theſe " counſels I wiſh to fortify thy mind. Refuſe them not, nor act in " contradiction to them; for on them thy life, and all thy happineſs, " depend."

SECT. IV. Exhortation of a Mexican mother to her daughter.

Such were the inſtructions which the Mexicans frequently inculcated to their ſons. Huſbandmen and merchants gave their ſons other advice regarding their particular profeſſion, which we, however, omit, not to prove tedious to our readers; but I cannot diſpenſe with tranſcribing one of the exhortations made uſe of by mothers to their daughters, as it illuſtrates their mode of education and manners.

" My daughter," ſaid the mother, " born of my ſubſtance, brought " forth with my pains, and nouriſhed with my milk, I have endea- " voured to bring thee up with the greateſt poſſible care, and thy " father has wrought and poliſhed thee like an emerald, that thou " mayeſt appear in the eyes of men a jewel of virtue. Strive al- " ways to be good; for otherwiſe who will have thee for a wife? thou " wilt be rejected by every one. Life is a thorny laborious path, and " it is neceſſary to exert all our powers to obtain the goods which the " gods are willing to yield to us; we muſt not therefore be lazy or " negligent, but diligent in every thing. Be orderly and take pains " to manage the œconomy of thy houſe. Give water to thy huſband " for his hands, and make bread for thy family. Wherever thou goeſt, " go with modeſty and compoſure, without hurrying thy ſteps, or " laughing with thoſe whom thou meeteſt, neither fixing thy looks " upon them, nor caſting thy eyes thoughtleſly, firſt to one ſide, " and then to another, that thy reputation may not be ſullied; but " give a courteous anſwer to thoſe who ſalute and put any queſtion " to thee.

" Employ thyſelf diligently in ſpinning and weaving, in ſewing and " embroidering; for by theſe arts thou wilt gain eſteem, and all " the neceſſaries of food and clothing. Do not give thyſelf too " much to ſleep, nor ſeek the ſhade, but go in the open air and there " repoſe thyſelf; for effeminacy brings along with it idleneſs and " other vices.

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" In whatever thou doeſt, encourage not evil thoughts; but attend ſolely to the ſervice of the gods; and the giving comfort to " thy parents. If thy father or thy mother calls thee, do not ſtay to be " called twice; but go inſtantly to know their pleaſure, that thou " mayſt not diſoblige them by ſlowneſs. Return no inſolent anſwers, " nor ſhew any want of compliance; but if thou canſt not do what they " command, make a modeſt excuſe. If another is called and does not " come quickly; come thou, hear what is ordered, and do it well. " Never offer thyſelf to do that which thou canſt not do. Deceive " no perſon, for the gods ſee all thy actions. Live in peace with every " body, and love every one ſincerely and honeſtly, that thou mayeſt be " beloved by them in return.

" Be not greedy of the goods which thou haſt. If thou ſeeſt any " thing preſented to another, give way to no mean ſuſpicions; for the " gods, to whom every good belongs, diſtribute every thing as they " pleaſe. If thou wouldſt avoid the diſpleaſure of others, let none " meet with it from thee.

" Guard againſt improper familiarities with men; nor yield to the " guilty wiſhes of thy heart; or thou wilt be the reproach of thy fa- " mily, and will pollute thy mind as mud does water. Keep not com- " pany with diſſolute, lying, or idle women; otherwiſe they will in- " fallibly infect thee by their example. Attend upon thy family, and do " not go on ſlight occaſions out of thy houſe, nor be ſeen wandering " through the ſtreets, or in the market-place; for in ſuch places thou " wilt meet thy ruin. Remember that vice, like a poiſonous herb, " brings death to thoſe who taſte it; and when it once harbours in " the mind it is difficult to expel it. If in paſſing through the ſtreets " thou meeteſt with a forward youth who appears agreeable to thee, " give him no correſpondence, but diſſemble and paſs on. If he ſays " any thing to thee, take no heed of him nor his words; and if " he follows thee, turn not your face about to look at him, leſt that " might inflame his paſſion more. If thou behaveſt ſo, he will ſoon " turn and let thee proceed in peace.

" Enter not, without ſome urgent motive, into another's houſe, " that nothing may be either ſaid or thought injurious to thy honour; " but if thou entereſt into the houſe of thy relations, ſalute them with

" reſpect

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" reſpect and do not remain idle, but immediately take up a ſpindle to " ſpin, or do any other thing that occurs.

" When thou art married, reſpect thy huſband, obey him, and dili- " gently do what he commands thee. Avoid incurring his diſpleaſure, " nor ſhew thyſelf paſſionate or ill-natured; but receive him fondly " to thy arms, even if he is poor and lives at thy expence. If thy " huſband occaſions thee any diſguſt, let him not know thy diſpleaſure " when he commands thee to do any thing; but diſſemble it at that " time, and afterwards tell him with gentleneſs what vexed thee, " that he may be won by thy mildneſs and offend thee no farther. " Diſhonour him not before others; for thou alſo wouldſt be diſho- " noured. If any one comes to viſit thy huſband, accept the viſit " kindly, and ſhew all the civility thou canſt. If thy huſband is " fooliſh, be thou diſcreet. If he fails in the management of wealth, " admoniſh him of his failings; but if he is totally incapable of tak- " ing care of his eſtate, take that charge upon thyſelf, attend careſully " to his poſſeſſions, and never omit to pay the workmen punctually. " Take care not to loſe any thing through negligence.

" Embrace, my daughter, the counſel which I give thee; I am al- " ready advanced in life, and have had ſufficient dealings with the " world. I am thy mother, I wiſh that thou mayeſt live well. Fix " my precepts in thy heart and *bowels*, for then thou wilt live happy. " If, by not liſtening to me, or by neglecting my inſtructions any miſ- " fortunes befall thee, the fault will be thine, and the evil alſo. Enough, " my child. May the gods proſper thee."

SECT. V. Public ſchools and ſeminaries.

Not contented with ſuch inſtructions and domeſtic education, the Mexicans ſent their children to public ſchools, which were cloſe to the temples, where they were inſtructed for three years in religion and good cuſtoms. Beſides this, almoſt all the inhabitants, particularly the nobles, took care to have their children brought up in the ſeminaries belonging to the temples, of which there were many in the cities of the Mexican empire, for boys, youths, and young women. Thoſe of the boys and young men were governed by prieſts, who were ſolely devoted to their education; thoſe for young women were under the direction of matrons equally reſpectable for their age and for their manners. No communication between the youth of both ſexes was

permitted; on the contrary, any tranſgreſſion of that nature was ſeverely puniſhed. There were diſtinct ſeminaries for the nobles and plebeians. The young nobles were employed in offices which were rather internal, and more immediately about the ſanctuary, as in ſweeping the upper area of the temple, and in ſtirring up and attending to the fires of the ſtoves which were before the ſanctuary. The others were employed in carrying the wood which was requi[illegible] and the ſtone and lime uſed in repairing of ſe[illegible] and in other ſimilar taſks: both were under the di[illegible] maſters, who inſtructed them in religion, hi[illegible] other arts agreeable to their rank and circumſtances.

The girls ſwept the lower area of the temple, [illegible] the night to burn copal in the ſtoves, prepared the meats which were daily offered to the idols, and wove different kinds of cloth. They were taught every female duty; by which, beſides baniſhing idleneſs from them which is ſo dangerous to the age of youth, they were habituated to domeſtic labours. They ſlept in large halls in the ſight of the matrons, who governed them, and who attended to nothing more zealouſly than the modeſty and decency of their actions. When any male or female pupil went to pay their reſpects to their parents, and which caſe happened very ſeldom, they were not allowed to go by themſelves, but were always accompanied by other pupils and their ſuperior. After liſtening for a few moments with ſilence and attention to the inſtructions and advices which their parents gave them, they returned back to the ſeminary. There they were detained until the time of marriage, which, as we have already mentioned, was with young men from the age of twenty to twenty-two, and with girls at eighteen or ſixteen years. When this period arrived, either the young man himſelf requeſted leave of the ſuperior to go and get himſelf a wife, or, what was more common, his parents demanded him for the ſame purpoſe, returning thanks firſt to the ſuperior for the care he had taken of his inſtruction. The ſuperior, upon the diſmiſſion which he gave at the grand feſtival of Tezcatlipoca, to all the young men and women who were arrived at that age, made them a diſcourſe, exhorting them to a perſeverance in virtue, and the diſcharge of all the duties of the new ſtate. The virgins educated in theſe ſeminaries were particularly ſought after for wives, not only on account of their principles, but likewiſe of the

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ſkill which they acquired there in the arts belonging to their ſex. The youth who when arrived at the age of twenty-two, did not marry was eſteemed to have devoted himſelf for ever to the ſervice of the temples, and if after ſuch conſecration of himſelf he repented of celibacy, and deſired to marry, he became infamous for ever, and no woman would accept him for a huſband. In Tlaſcala, thoſe who, at the age fit for marriage, refuſed taking a wife were ſhaven, a mark of the higheſt diſhonour with that nation.

The ſons in general learned the trades of their fathers, and embraced their profeſſions. Thus they perpetuated the arts in families to the advantage of the ſtate. The young men who were deſtined to the magiſtracy, were conducted by their fathers to tribunals, where they heard the laws of the kingdom explained, and obſerved the practice and forms of judicature. In the ſixtieth picture of Mendoza's collection, are repreſented four judges examining a cauſe, and behind them four young *Teteuctin*, or *Gentlemen*, who are liſtening to their deciſion. The ſons of the king, and principal lords, were appointed tutors who attended to their conduct, and long before they could enter into poſſeſſion of the crown, or their ſtate, they were entruſted with the government of ſome city, or ſmaller ſtate, that they might learn by degrees the arduous taſk of governing men. This was the cuſtom as early as the time of the firſt Chechemecan kings; for Nopaltzin, from the time that he was crowned king of Acolhuacan, put his firſt-born ſon Tlotzin in poſſeſſion of the city of Tezcuco. Cuitlahuac, the laſt king of Mexico, obtained the ſtate of Ixtapalapan, and the brother of Montezuma that of Ehecatepec, before they aſcended the throne of Mexico. Upon this baſe of education the Mexicans ſupported the fabric of their political ſyſtem which we are now to unfold.

SECT. VI. The election of their kings.

From the time that the Mexicans, after the example of other neighbouring ſtates, placed Acamapitzin at the head of their nation, inveſting him with the name, the honours, and authority of royalty, the crown of their kingdom was made elective; for which purpoſe they created ſome time after four electors, in whoſe judgment and deciſion all the ſuffrages of the nation were comprehended. Theſe were four lords of the firſt rank of nobility, and generally of the royal blood, poſſeſſed likewiſe of prudence and probity adequate to the diſcharge of ſo important a function. Their office was not perpetual; their electoral

power

power terminated with the firſt election, and new electors were immediately nominated, or the firſt were re-choſen by the votes of the nobility. If a deficiency happened in their number before the king died, it was ſupplied by a new appointment. In the time of king Itzcoatl, two other electors were added, which were the kings of Acolhuacan and Tacuba; but their title was merely honorary. They uſually ratified the choice which was made by the four real electors; but we do not know that they ever interfered otherwiſe with the election.

That the electors might not be left too much at liberty, and in order to prevent the inconveniencies ariſing from parties and factions, they fixed the crown in the family of Acamapitzin; and afterwards eſtabliſhed a law, that when the king died he ſhould be ſucceeded by one of his brothers, and on failure of brothers by one of his nephews; or on failure of them by one of his couſins, leaving it in the option of the electors to chuſe among the brothers, or nephews of the deceaſed king, the perſon whom they ſhould think beſt qualified to govern; by means of which law, they avoided numerous inconveniencies that we have already mentioned. This law was obſerved from the time of their ſecond, until the time of their laſt king. Huitzilihuitl, the ſon of Acamapitzin, was ſucceeded by his two brothers Chimalpopoca and Itzcoatl; Itzcoatl by his nephew Montezuma Ilhuicamina; Montezuma by his couſin Axajacatl; Axajacatl by his two brothers Tizoc and Ahuitzotl; Ahuitzotl by his nephew Montezuma II; Montezuma II. by his brother Cuitlahuatzin, to whom laſtly his nephew Quauhtemotzin ſucceeded. This ſeries of kings will appear more diſtinctly in the table of genealogy which we have ſubjoined.

In the election of a king no regard was paid to the right of primogeniture. At the death of Montezuma I. Axajacatl was elected in preference to his elder brothers Tizoc and Ahuitzotl.

SECT. VII. The pomp and ceremonials at the proclamation and inauguration of the kings.

No new king was elected until the funeral of his predeceſſor was celebrated with due pomp and magnificence. As ſoon as the election was made, advice was ſent to the kings of Acolhuacan and Tacuba, in order that they might confirm it, and alſo to the feudatory lords who had been preſent at the funeral. Theſe two kings led the new choſen ſovereign to the greater temple. The feudatory lords went firſt, with the enſigns of their ſtates; then the nobles of the court with the badges

BOOK VII. of their dignity and offices; the two allied kings followed next, and behind them the king elect, ſtript naked, without any covering except the *maxtlatl*, the girdle, or large bandage, about his middle. He aſcended the temple, reſting on the arms of two nobles of the court, where one of the high-prieſts, accompanied by the moſt reſpectable officers of the temple, received him. He worſhipped the idol of Huitzilopochtli, touching the earth with his hand, and then carrying it to his mouth. The high-prieſt dyed his body with a certain kind of ink, and ſprinkled him four times with water which had been bleſſed, according to their rite, at the grand feſtival of Huitzilopochtli, making uſe for this purpoſe of branches of cedar and willow, and the leaves of maize. He was clothed in a mantle, on which were painted ſkulls and bones of the dead, and his head was covered with two other cloaks, one black, and the other blue, on which ſimilar figures were repreſented. They tied a ſmall gourd to his neck, containing a certain powder, which they eſteemed a ſtrong preſervative againſt diſeaſes, ſorcery, and treaſon. Happy would that people be whoſe king could carry about him ſuch a preſervative. They put afterwards a cenſer, and a bag of copal in his hands, that he might give incenſe to the idol with them. When this act of religion was performed, during which the king remained on his knees, the high-prieſt ſat down and delivered a diſcourſe to him, in which after congratulating him on his advancement, he informed him of the obligation he owed his ſubjects for having raiſed him to the throne, and warmly recommended to him zeal for religion and juſtice, the protection of the poor, and the defence of his native country and kingdom. The allied kings and the nobles next addreſſed him to the ſame purpoſe; to which the king anſwered with thanks and promiſes to exert himſelf to the utmoſt of his power for the happineſs of the ſtate. Gomara, and other authors who have copied him, affirm, that the high-prieſt made him ſwear to maintain their ancient religion, to obſerve the laws of his anceſtors, and to make the ſun go his courſe, to make the clouds pour down rain, to make the rivers run, and all fruits to ripen. If it is true, that they made the king take ſo extravagant an oath, it is probable, that they only meant to oblige him to maintain a conduct worthy of theſe favours from heaven.

After hearing theſe addreſſes, the king deſcended with all his attendants to the lower area, where the reſt of the nobility waited to make their obedience, and pay him homage in jewels and apparel. He was thence conducted to a chamber within the incloſure of the temple called *Tlacatecco*, where he was left by himſelf four days, during which time he was allowed to eat but once a day; but he might eat fleſh or any other kind of food. He bathed twice every day, and after bathing he drew blood from his ears, which he offered together with ſome burnt copal to Huitzilopochtli, making all the while conſtant and earneſt prayers to obtain that enlightenment of underſtanding which was requiſite in order to govern his monarchy with prudence. On the fifth day, the nobility returned to the temple, conducting the new king to his palace, where the feudatory lords came to renew the inveſtiture of their fiefs. Then followed the rejoicings of the people, entertainments, dances, and illuminations.

SECT. VIII. The coronation, crown, dreſs; and inſignia of royalty.

To prepare for the coronation it was neceſſary, according to the law of the kingdom, or the cuſtom introduced by Montezuma I. that the new elected king ſhould go out to war, to procure the victims which were neceſſary for the ſacrifices on ſuch an occaſion. They never were without enemies on whom war might be made; either from ſome province of the kingdom having rebelled, or from ſome Mexican merchants having been unjuſtly put to death, or on account of ſome inſult having been offered to the royal ambaſſadors, of which caſes hiſtory ſhews many examples. The arms and enſigns which the king wore upon going to war, the parade with which his priſoners were conducted to the court, and the circumſtances which attended the ſacrifice of them, ſhall be explained when we come to treat of the military eſtabliſhment of the Mexicans; but we are entirely ignorant of the particular ceremonies which were uſed at his coronation. The king of Acolhuacan was the perſon who put the crown upon his head. The crown which was called by the Mexicans *copilli*, was a ſort of ſmall mitre, the fore-part of which was raiſed up, and terminated in a point, and the part behind was lowered down, and hung over the neck in the ſame manner as is repreſented in the figures of the kings given in this hiſtory. It was compoſed of different materials, according to the pleaſure of the kings; ſometimes made of thin

plates

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plates of gold, ſometimes wove with golden thread, and figured with beautiful feathers. The dreſs which he uſually wore in the palace was the *xiuhtilmatli*, which was a mantle of a blue and white mixture. When he went to the temple he put on a white habit. That which he wore to aſſiſt at councils, and other public functions, varied according to the nature and circumſtances of the occaſion; one was appropriated for civil cauſes, and another for criminal cauſes; one for acts of juſtice, and another for times of rejoicing: upon all theſe occaſions he regularly wore his crown. Every time he went abroad, he was attended by a great retinue of nobility, and preceded by a noble, who held up three rods made of gold and odorous wood, by which he intimated to the people the preſence of their ſovereign.

SECT. IX. Rights of the king.

The power and authority of the kings of Mexico was different at different periods. In the beginning of the monarchy their power was much circumſcribed, and their authority truly paternal, their conduct more humane, and the prerogatives which they claimed from their ſubjects extremely moderate. With the enlargement of their territory they gradually increaſed their riches, their magnificence, and pomp, and in proportion to their wealth were likewiſe multiplied, as generally happens, the burthens on their ſubjects. Their pride occaſioned them to treſpaſs upon the limits, which the conſent of the nation had allowed to their authority, until they arrived at that pitch of odious deſpotiſm which appears to have marked the reign of Montezuma II. but notwithſtanding their tyranny, the Mexicans always preſerved the reſpect which was due to the royal character, except that in the laſt year but one of the monarchy, as will be related hereafter, when they were no longer able to endure the meanneſs of their king Montezuma, his exceſſive cowardice, and low ſubmiſſion to his enemies, they treated him with contempt, and wounded him with arrows and ſtones. The pageantry and oſtentatious grandeur of the laſt Mexican kings may be conceived from what we have ſaid of the reign of Montezuma, and what we ſhall farther ſay in our account of the conqueſt.

The kings of Mexico were rivalled in magnificence by the kings of Acolhuacan, as the latter were by the former in politics. The government of the Acolhuan nation was almoſt the ſame with that of the Mexicans; but with reſpect to the right of ſucceſſion to the crown they

they were totally different; for in the kingdom of Acolhuacan, and the ſame is to be underſtood of Tacuba, the ſons ſucceeded to their fathers, not according to their birth, but according to their rank; the ſons which were born of the queen, or principal wife, having been always preferred to the reſt. This rule was obſerved from the time of Xolotl, the firſt Chechemecan king, until the time of Cacamatzin, who was ſucceeded by his brother Cuicuitzcatzin, through the intrigues of Montezuma and the conqueror Cortes.

SECT. X. The royal council and officers of the court.

The king of Mexico, as well as the king of Acolhuacan, had three ſupreme councils, compoſed of perſons of the firſt nobility, in which they deliberated upon affairs relating to the government of the provinces, the revenues of the king, and to war, and in general the king reſolved upon no meaſure of importance without having firſt heard the opinion of his counſellors. In the hiſtory of the conqueſt we ſhall find Montezuma in frequent deliberation with his council on the pretenſions of the Spaniards. We do not know the number of members of each council, nor do hiſtorians furniſh us with the lights neceſſary to illuſtrate ſuch a ſubject. They have only preſerved to us the names of ſome counſellors, particularly thoſe of Montezuma II. In the ſixty-firſt painting of the collection of Mendoza, are repreſented the council-halls, and ſome of the lords who compoſed them.

Amongſt the different miniſters and officers of the court there was a treaſurer-general, whom they called *Hueicalpixqui*, or great majordomo, who received all the tributes which were collected by the officers of the revenue in the provinces, and kept an account of his receipts and diſburſements in paintings, agreeable to the teſtimony of Bernal Diaz, who ſaw them. There was another treaſurer for the gems and articles of gold, who was, at the ſame time, director of the artiſts who wrought them; and another for the works which were made of feathers, the artiſts of which laſt employment had their work-ſhops in the royal palace of birds. There was beſides a provider-general of animals, whom they called *Huejaminqui*; he had the charge of the royal woods, and took care that game was never wanting there; and that the royal palaces were never unprovided with every ſort of animal. Concerning the other royal miniſters and officers, we have mentioned enough when we treated of the magnificence of Montezuma.

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SECT. XI. Ambaſſadors.

zuma II. and of the government of the kings of Acolhuacan, Techotlala, and Nezahualcojotl.

For the office of ambaſſadors, they always employed perſons who were both noble and eloquent. Three, four, or more perſons were uſually joined in this office, and, to procure reſpect, they wore certain badges by which they were every where known, particularly a green habit made like the ſcapulary, or little cloak, which ſome religious people wear, from which hung ſome locks of cotton. Their hair was twiſted with beautiful feathers, from which alſo hung ſimilar locks of different colours. In their right hands they carried an arrow with the point downwards; in the left a ſhield, and hanging at the ſame arm a net, in which they carried their proviſion. In all the places through which they paſſed, they were well received, and treated with that diſtinction which their character demanded, provided they did not leave the great road which led to the place of their deſtination; but if they ever deviated from it, they loſt their rights and privileges as ambaſſadors. When they arrived at the place where they were to deliver their embaſſy, they ſtopped before they made entrance, and waited until the nobility of the city came out to meet them, and conduct them to the Houſe of the Public, where they were lodged and well entertained. The nobles burnt incenſe to them, and preſented noſegays of flowers, and after they had repoſed, led them to the palace of the lord of that ſtate, and introduced them into the hall of audience, where they were received by the lord himſelf, and his counſellors, who were all ſeated in their places. After having made a profound reverence to the lord, they ſat down upon their heels in the middle of the hall, and without ſaying a word, or lifting up their eyes. they waited until a ſign was made for them to ſpeak. When the ſignal was given, the moſt reſpectable amongſt the ambaſſadors, after having made another bow to the lord, delivered his embaſſy with a low voice, in a ſtudied addreſs, which was attentively heard by the lord and his counſellors, who kept their heads ſo much inclined, that they appeared almoſt to touch their knees. When the ambaſſadors had finiſhed their interview, they returned to the houſe where they were lodged. In the mean while, the lord entered into conſultation with his counſellors, and communicated his anſwer to the ambaſſadors by means of his miniſters; provided them abundantly with proviſions for their

their journey, made them alſo ſome preſents, and cauſed them to be eſcorted out of the city by the ſame perſons who had received them upon their arrival. If the lord, to whom the embaſſy was ſent, was a friend to the Mexicans, it was conſidered as a great diſhonour not to accept his preſents; but if he was an enemy, the ambaſſadors could not receive them without the expreſs order of their maſter. All theſe ceremonies were not invariably obſerved in embaſſies, nor were all embaſſies ſent to the lords of cities or ſtates; for ſome of them, as we ſhall mention hereafter, were ſent to the body of the nobility, or to the people.

SECT. XII. Couriers and poſts.

The couriers whom the Mexicans frequently employed, made uſe of different enſigns according to the nature of the intelligence, or affair with which they were charged. If it was the news of the Mexicans having loſt a battle, the courier wore his hair looſe and diſordered, and, without ſpeaking a word to any perſon, went ſtraight to the palace, where, kneeling before the king, he related what had happened. If it was the news of a victory which had been obtained by the arms of Mexico, he had his hair tied with a coloured ſtring, and his body girt with a white cotton cloth; in his left hand a ſhield, and in his right a ſword, which he brandiſhed as if he had been in the act of engagement; expreſſing by ſuch geſtures his glad tidings, and ſinging the glorious actions of the ancient Mexicans, while the people, overjoyed at ſeeing him, led him with many congratulations to the royal palace.

In order that news might be more ſpeedily conveyed, there were upon all the highways of the kingdom certain little towers, about ſix miles diſtant from each other, where couriers were always waiting in readineſs to ſet out with diſpatches. As ſoon as the firſt courier was ſent off, he ran as ſwiftly as he could to the firſt ſtage, or little tower, where he communicated to another his intelligence, and delivered to him the paintings which repreſented the news, or the affair which was the ſubject of his embaſſy. The ſecond courier poſted without delay to the next ſtage, or little tower; and thus by a continued and uninterrupted ſpeed of conveyance, intelligence was carried ſo rapidly from place to place, that ſometimes, according to the affirmations made by ſeveral authors, it reached the diſtance of three hundred miles in one day. It was by this means that freſh fiſh were daily brought to Monte-

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zuma II. from the gulf of Mexico, which is at leaſt upwards of two hundred miles diſtant from the capital. Thoſe couriers were exerciſed in running from their childhood; and in order to encourage them in this exerciſe, the prieſts, under whoſe diſcipline they were trained, frequently beſtowed rewards on thoſe who were victors in a race.

SECT. XIII. The nobility and right of ſucceſſion.

With reſpect to the nobility of Mexico and of the whole empire, it was divided into ſeveral claſſes, which were confounded together by the Spaniards under the general name of *caziques* (*q*). Each claſs had its particular privileges and wore its own badges, by which means, although their dreſs was extremely ſimple, the character of every perſon was immediately underſtood. The nobles alone were allowed to wear ornaments of gold and gems upon their cloaths, and to them excluſively belonged, from the reign of Montezuma II. all the high offices at court, in the magiſtracy, and the moſt conſiderable in the army.

The higheſt rank of nobility in Tlaſcala, in Huexotzinco, and in Cholula, was that of *Teuctli*. To obtain this rank it was neceſſary to be of noble birth, to have given proofs in ſeveral battles of the utmoſt courage, to be arrived at a certain age, and to command great riches for the enormous expences which were neceſſary to be ſupported by the poſſeſſor of ſuch a dignity. The candidate was obliged beſides to undergo a year of regular penance, conſiſting in perpetual faſting and frequent effuſions of blood, and an abſtinence from all commerce whatſoever with women, and patiently enduring the inſults, the reproaches, and ill-treatment, by which fortitude and conſtancy are put to the teſt. They bored the cartilage of his noſe, in order to ſuſpend from it certain grains of gold, which were the principal badge of this dignity. On the day on which he came to the poſſeſſion of it, they ſtripped him of the diſmal habit which he had worn during the time of his penance, and dreſſed him in moſt magnificent attire: they tied his hair with a leathern ribband, died of a red colour, at which hung beautiful feathers, and fixed alſo the grains of gold at his noſe. This ceremony was performed, in the upper area of the greater temple, by a

(*q*) The name *cazique*, which ſignifies *lord* or *prince*, is derived from the Haitin tongue, which was ſpoke in the iſland of Hiſpaniola. The Mexicans called a lord *Tlatoani*, and a noble *Pilli* and *Teuctli*.

prieſt,

prieſt, who, after having conferred the dignity, made him a congratulatory harangue. From thence he deſcended to the lower area, where he joined with the nobility in a grand dance that was made there, and which was ſucceeded by a magnificent entertainment, which was given at his expence to all the lords of the ſtate, for whom beſides the innumerable dreſſes which were made in preſents to them, ſuch an abundance of meats were prepared, there were conſumed upon the occaſion, agreeable to the accounts of ſome authors, from one thouſand to ſixteen hundred turkies, a vaſt number of rabbits, deer, and other animals, and an incredible quantity, of cocoas in different ſorts of beveridge, and of the moſt choice and delicate fruits of that country. The title *Teuctli* was added in the manner of a ſurname to the proper name of perſons advanced to this dignity, as *Chechemeca-teuctli*, *Pil-teuctli*, and others. The *Teuctli* took precedency of all others in the ſenate, both in the order of ſitting and voting, and were permitted to have a ſervant behind them with a ſeat, which was eſteemed a privilege of the higheſt honour.

The titles of nobility amongſt the Mexicans were for the moſt part hereditary. Even until the downfal of the empire many families that were deſcended of thoſe illuſtrious Aztecas who founded Mexico, preſerved themſelves in great ſplendour, and ſeveral branches of thoſe moſt ancient houſes are ſtill exiſting, though reduced by misfortunes, and obſcured and confuſed amongſt the vulgar (*r*). It is not to be doubted that it would have been more wiſe policy in the Spaniards, if, inſtead of conducting women from Europe, and ſlaves from Africa, to Mexico, they had endeavoured to form by marriages, between the Mexicans and themſelves, one ſingle individual nation. If the nature of this hiſtory would permit, we could here give a demonſtration of the advantages which would have been derived to both nations from ſuch an

(*r*) It is impoſſible to behold without regret, the ſtate of degradation to which ſome illuſtrious families of that kingdom have been reduced. Not very long ago was executed a lockſmith, who was a deſcendant of the ancient kings of Michuacan: we knew a poor taylor in Mexico, who was deſcended of a very noble houſe of Coyoacan, but had been deprived of the poſſeſſions which he inherited from his illuſtrious anceſtors. Examples of this kind are not infrequent even among the royal families of Mexico, Acolhuacan, and Tacuba; the repeated orders, which the juſtice and clemency of the Catholic kings cauſed to be made in their favour, have not been ſufficient to protect them from the general calamity of their nation.

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union, and the misfortunes which were occaſioned by the oppoſite conduct.

In Mexico, and through the whole empire almoſt, excepting in the royal family as we have already mentioned, the ſons ſucceeded to all the rights of their fathers; and on failure of ſons the rights fell to brothers, and if theſe were wanting, to nephews.

SECT. XIV. Diviſion of the lands, and titles of poſſeſſion and property.

The lands of the Mexican empire were divided between the crown, the nobility, the communities, and the Temples, and there were paintings in which the property of each was diſtinctly repreſented. The lands of the crown were painted of a purple, thoſe of the nobility of a ſcarlet, and thoſe of the communities of a yellow colour. In theſe, at firſt ſight, the extent and boundaries of the different eſtates were diſtinguiſhed. After the conqueſt, the Spaniſh magiſtrates made uſe of theſe inſtruments to decide all diſputes among the Indians concerning the property or poſſeſſion of lands.

Of the lands of the crown, which were called by the Mexicans *Tecpantlalli*, although the property was always veſted in the king, certain lords called *Tecpanpouhque*, or *Tecpantlaca*, that is, *people of the palace*, enjoyed the temporary uſe and profits. Theſe lords did not pay any tribute, nor gave any thing elſe to the king than noſegays of flowers and different kinds of birds, which they preſented to him in token of their vaſſalage every time that they made him a viſit; but they were obliged to repair and rebuild the royal palaces whenever it was neceſſary, and to cultivate the gardens of the king, by aſſiſting with their directions the populace of their diſtrict in that labour. They were obliged beſides to pay court to the king, and to attend upon him every time that he appeared in public, and were therefore highly eſteemed by all. When any of thoſe lords died, his firſt-born ſon entered into poſſeſſion of the lands, and into all the obligations of his father; but if he went to eſtabliſh himſelf in another place, he loſt theſe rights, and the king then granted them to another uſufructuary; or left the choice of one to the judgment of the community in whoſe diſtrict the lands were ſituated.

The lands which they called *pillalli*, that is, lands of the nobles, were the ancient poſſeſſions of the nobles, tranſmitted by inheritance from father to ſon, or were rewards obtained from the king in recompenſe

penſe of ſervices done to the crown. The firſt and the laſt could for the moſt part alienate their poſſeſſions, but they were not allowed to give away or ſell them to plebeians; we ſay for the moſt part, becauſe amongſt theſe lands there were ſome granted by the king under a condition not to alienate them, but to leave them in inheritance to their ſons.

Reſpecting the inheritance of ſtates, regard was paid to priority of birth; but if the firſt-born ſon was incapable of managing the poſſeſſions, the father was entirely at liberty to appoint any other ſon his heir, provided that he ſecured a proviſion for the reſt. The daughters, at leaſt in Tlaſcala, were not allowed to inherit, that the ſtate might never fall under the government of a ſtranger. Even after the conqueſt of the Spaniards, the Tlaſcalans were ſo jealous of preſerving the ſtates in their families, that they refuſed to give the inveſtiture of one of the four principalities of the republic to D. Franciſco Pimentel, nephew of Coanacatzin, king of Acolhuacan (*s*), married with donna *Maria Maxicatzin*, niece to prince *Maxicatzin*, who, as we ſhall afterwards find, was the chief of the four lords that governed that republic at the arrival of the Spaniards. The fiefs commenced in that kingdom at the time that king Xolotl divided the lands of Anahuac among the Chechemecan and Acolhuan lords, under the feudal conditions, that they would preſerve inviolable fidelity, acknowledge his ſupreme authority, and their obligation to aſſiſt their ſovereign whenever it ſhould be neceſſary with their perſons, with their property, and their vaſſals. In the Mexican empire, as far as we can find, real fiefs were few in number; and if we are to ſpeak in the ſtrict ſenſe of the civil law, there were none at all; for they were neither perpetual in their nature, as every year it was neceſſary to repeat the form of inveſtiture, nor were the vaſſals of feudatories exempted from the tributes which were paid to the king by the other vaſſals of the crown.

The lands which were called *Altepetlalli*, that is, thoſe of the communities of cities and villages, were divided into as many parts as there

(*s*) Coanacotzin, king of Acolhuacan, was the father of don Ferdinando Pimentel, who had don Franceſco born to him by a Tlaſcalan lady. It is to be obſerved, that many of the Mexicans, particularly the nobles, upon being baptiſed, added to their Chriſtian name a Spaniſh ſurname.

were

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were diſtricts in a city, and every diſtrict poſſeſſed its own part entirely diſtinct from, and independent of the others. Theſe lands could not be alienated by any means whatever. Some of them were allotted to furniſh proviſions for the army in time of war; thoſe were called *Melchimalli*, or *Cacalomilli*, according to the kind of proviſions which they ſupplied. The catholic kings have aſſigned lands to the ſettlements of the Mexicans (*t*), and made proper laws to ſecure to them the perpetuity of ſuch poſſeſſions; but at preſent many villages have been deprived of them by the great power of ſome individuals, aſſiſted by the iniquity of ſome judges.

SECT. XV. The tributes and taxes laid on the ſubjects of the crown.

All the provinces that were conquered by the Mexicans were tributary to the crown, and contributed fruits, animals, and the minerals of the country, according to the rate preſcribed them; and all merchants beſides paid a part of their merchandizes, and all artiſts a certain portion of their labours. In the capital of every province was a houſe allotted for a magazine to contain the corn, garments, and all the other effects, which the revenue officers collected in the circle of each diſtrict. Theſe officers were univerſally odious on account of the diſtreſſes which they brought on the tributary places. Their badges of diſtinction were a little rod which they carried in one hand, and a fan of feathers in the other. The treaſurers of the king had paintings, in which were deſcribed all the tributary places, and the quantity and quality of the tributes. In the collection made by Mendoza, there are thirty-ſix paintings of this kind (*u*), and in each of theſe are repreſented the principal places of one, or of many provinces of the empire. Beſides an exceſſive number of cotton garments, and a certain quantity of corn and feathers, which were the uſual taxes laid on almoſt all tributary places, many other different things were paid in tribute according to the produce of different countries. In order to give

(*t*) The royal laws grant to every Indian village, or ſettlement, the territory which ſurrounds them to the extent of ſix hundred Caſtilian cubits, which are equal to two hundred and fifty ſeven Pariſian perches.

(*u*) The thirty-ſix paintings begin with the 13th, and end with the 48th. In the copy of them publiſhed by Thevenot, the 21ſt and 22d are wanting, and for the moſt part the figures of the tributary cities. The copy publiſhed in Mexico in 1770, is ſtill leſs perfect, for it wants the 21ſt, 22d, 38th, 39th, and 40th of Mendoza's Collection, beſides a number of errors in the interpretations; but it has the advantage over Thevenot's of having the figures of the cities, and of being all executed on plates.

our

our readers ſome idea of them, we ſhall mention ſome of the taxes which are repreſented in theſe paintings.

The cities of *Xoconocho*, *Huehuetlan*, *Mazatlan*, and others upon the coaſt, paid annually to the crown, beſides the dreſſes made of cotton, four thouſand handfuls of beautiful feathers of different colours, two hundred bags of cocoas, forty tygers ſkins, and a hundred and ſixty birds of certain particular colours. *Huaxjacac*, *Cojolapan*, *Atlacuechahuajan*, and other places belonging to the Zapotecas, paid in tribute forty plates of gold of a certain ſize and thickneſs, and twenty bags of cochineal. *Tlachquiaucho*, *Azotlan*, twenty vaſes of a certain meaſure full of gold in powder. *Tochtepec*, *Otlatitlan*, *Cozamalloapan*, *Michapan*, and other places upon the coaſt of the Mexican gulf, beſides the garments of cotton, gold, and cocoas, were obliged to contribute ſeventy-four thouſand handfuls of feathers, of different colours and qualities, ſix necklaces, two of the fineſt emeralds, and four of thoſe which were ordinary; twenty ear-rings of amber, adorned with gold, and as many of cryſtal; a hundred ſmall cups or jugs of liquid amber, and ſixteen thouſand balls of *ule*, or elaſtic gum. *Tepejacac*, *Quecholac*, *Tecamachalco*, *Acatzinco*, and other places of thoſe regions, furniſhed four thouſand ſacks of lime, four thouſand loads of *atatli*, or ſolid canes, fit to be uſed in buildings, and as many loads of the ſame canes of a ſmaller ſize, fit for making darts, and eight thouſand loads of *acajetl*, or little reeds, full of aromatic ſubſtances. *Malinaltepec*, *Tlalcozauhtitlan*, *Olinallan*, *Ichcatlan*, *Quialac*, and other places of ſouthern hot countries, ſix hundred cups of honey, forty large baſons of *tecozahuitl*, or yellow ochre, fit for painting, a hundred and ſixty axes of copper, forty round plates of gold, of a certain diameter and thickneſs, ten ſmall meaſures of fine turquoiſes, and one load of ordinary turquoiſes. *Quauhnahuac*, *Panchimalco*, *Atlacholoajan*, *Xiuhtepec*, *Huitzilac*, and other places belonging to the Tlahuicas, ſixteen thouſand pieces, or large ſheets of paper, and four thouſand *xicalli* (natural vaſes, of which we ſhall treat hereafter), of different ſizes. *Quauhtitlan*, *Tehuillojocan*, and other places which were neighbouring to them, eight thouſand mats, and as many ſeats or chairs. Other places contributed fuel, ſtone, a certain number of beams and planks fit for buildings, and a certain quantity of copal, &c.

Some

BOOK VII. Some tributary people were obliged to ſend to the royal palaces and woods a certain number of birds and quadrupeds, namely, the people of *Xilotepec*, *Michmalajan*, and other places in the country of the Otomies, which laſt were obliged to ſend the king every year forty live eagles. Concerning the Matlatzincas we know that when they were brought under ſubjection to the crown of Mexico by king Axajacatl, beſides the tribute which they are repreſented to have paid, in the twenty-ſeventh painting of the collection of Mendoza, the further burthen was impoſed on them of cultivating a field about ſeven hundred perches long and half as broad, for the purpoſe of furniſhing the royal army with proviſions. To conclude, a part of every thing uſeful, which was found in the kingdom, either amongſt the productions of nature or art, was paid in tribute to the king of Mexico.

Theſe large contributions, the great preſents which the governors of provinces, and the feudatory lords made to the king, together with the ſpoils of war, formed the great riches of his court which excited ſo much admiration in the Spaniſh conquerors, and occaſioned ſo much miſery to his unfortunate ſubjects. The tributes which were at firſt moderate and eaſy, became at laſt exceſſive and enormous; for the pride and pomp of the kings kept pace with their conqueſts. It is true, that a great part, and perhaps the greateſt part of theſe revenues was expended for the benefit of the ſame ſubjects in the ſupport of a great number of miniſters and magiſtrates for the adminiſtration of juſtice, in the reward of thoſe who had done ſervices to the ſtate, in the relief of the indigent, particularly widows and orphans, and men grown feeble with age, which were the three claſſes of people moſt compaſſionated by the Mexicans, and alſo by opening the royal granaries in times of great ſcarcity to the nation; but how many of thoſe unhappy people who were unable to pay the tributes demanded from them muſt have ſunk under the weight of their miſery, while the royal beneficence did not reach them? To oppreſſive taxes were added the greateſt rigour in collecting them. Whoever did not pay the tribute preſcribed was ſold for a ſlave, in order to purchaſe with his liberty what he could not gain by his induſtry.

For the adminiſtration of juſtice, the Mexicans had various tribunals and judges. At court, and in the more conſiderable places of the king-

kingdom, there was a ſupreme magiſtrate named *Cihuacoatl*, whoſe authority was ſo great that from the ſentences pronounced by him, either in civil or criminal cauſes, no appeal could be made to any other tribunal, not even to majeſty. He had the appointment of the inferior judges, and the receivers of the royal revenues within his diſtrict, rendered in their accounts to him. Any one who either made uſe of his enſigns, or uſurped his authority, was puniſhed with death.

The tribunal of the *Tlacatecatl*, though inferior to the firſt, was extremely reſpectable, and compoſed of three judges, namely of the *Tlacatecatl*, who was the chief, and from whom the tribunal took its name, and of two others who were called *Quauhnochtli* and *Tlanotlac*. They took cognizance of civil and criminal cauſes in the firſt and ſecond inſtance, although ſentence was pronounced in the name only of the Tlacatecatl. They met daily in a hall of the houſe of the public, which was called *Tlatzontecojan*, that is, the place where judgment is given, to which belonged porters and other officers of juſtice. There they liſtened with the utmoſt attention to litigations, diligently examined into cauſes, and pronounced ſentence according to the laws. If a cauſe was purely civil, there was no appeal from that court; but if the cauſe was of a criminal nature, an appeal lay to the Cihuatcoatl. The ſentence was publiſhed by the *Tepojotl*, or public cryer, and was executed by the Quaunochtli, who, as we have already mentioned, was one of the three judges. The public cryer, as well as the executive miniſter of juſtice, was held in high eſteem amongſt the Mexicans, becauſe they were conſidered to be the repreſentatives of the king.

In every diſtrict of the city reſided a *Teuctli*, who was deputy of the tribunal of Tlacatecatl, and was elected annually by the commons of that diſtrict. He took cognizance, in the firſt inſtance, of the cauſes within his diſtrict, and daily waited upon the Cihuacoatl, or the Tlacatecatl, to report to him every thing which occurred, and to receive his orders. Beſides theſe Teuctli, there were in every diſtrict certain commiſſaries, elected in the ſame manner by the commons of the diſtrict, and named *Centecllapixque*; but they, from what appears to us, were not judges, but only guardians, charged to obſerve the conduct of a certain number of families committed to their care, and to acquaint the magiſtrates with every thing that paſſed. Next to the Teuctli were

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the *Taquitlatoque*, or the runners, who carried the notifications of the magiſtrates, and ſummoned guilty perſons, and the *Topilli* or the officers who apprehended and made priſoners.

In the kingdom of Acolhuacan, the judicial power was divided amongſt ſeven principal cities. The judges remained in their tribunals from ſun-riſe until evening. Their meals were brought to them in the tribunal-hall, and that they might not be taken off from their employment, by giving attendance upon their families, nor have any excuſe for being corrupted, they were, agreeable to the uſage in the kingdom of Mexico, aſſigned poſſeſſions and labourers, who cultivated their fields. Thoſe poſſeſſions, as they belonged to the office, not to the officer, did not paſs to his heirs but to his ſucceſſors in that appointment. In cauſes of importance they durſt not pronounce ſentence, at leaſt not in the capital, without giving information to the king. Every Mexican month, or every twenty days, an aſſembly of all the judges was held before the king, in order to determine all cauſes then undecided. If from their being much perplexed and intricate, they were not finiſhed at that time, they were reſerved for another general aſſembly of a more ſolemn nature, which was held every eighty days, and was therefore called *Nappapſallatolli*, that is, the Conference of Eighty, at which all cauſes were finally decided, and in the preſence of that whole aſſembly, puniſhment was inflicted on the guilty. The king pronounced ſentence by drawing a line with the point of an arrow upon the head of the guilty perſon, which was painted on the proceſs.

In the tribunals of the Mexicans the contending parties made their own allegations: at leaſt we do not know that they employed any other advocates. In criminal cauſes the accuſer was not allowed any other proof than that of his witneſſes; but an accuſed perſon could clear himſelf from guilt by his oath. In diſputes about the boundaries of poſſeſſions, the paintings of the land were conſulted as authentic writings.

All the magiſtrates were obliged to give judgment according to the laws of the kingdom which were repreſented by paintings. Of theſe we have ſeen many, and have extracted from them a part of that which we ſhall lay before our readers on the ſubject. The power of making laws in Tezcuco belonged always to the kings, who made thoſe which they

they publiſhed, be rigorouſly obſerved. Amongſt the Mexicans, the firſt laws were made, from what we can diſcover, by the body of the nobility; but afterwards the kings became the legiſlators of the nation, and while their authority was confined within moderate limits, they were zealous in the obſervance of thoſe laws which they or their anceſtors had promulgated. In the laſt years of the monarchy deſpotiſm altered, and changed them at caprice. We ſhall here enumerate thoſe which were in force at the time the Spaniards entered into Mexico. In ſome of them much prudence and humanity and a ſtrong attachment to good cuſtoms will be diſcovered; but in others an exceſs of rigour which degenerated into cruelty.

SECT. XVII. Penal laws.

A traitor to the king or the ſtate was torn in pieces, and his relations who were privy to the treaſon, and did not diſcover it, were deprived of their liberty.

Whoever dared in war, or at any time of public rejoicing, to make uſe of the badges of the kings of Mexico, of Acolhuacan, or Tacuba, or of thoſe of the Cihuacoatl, was puniſhed with death, and his goods confiſcated.

Whoever maltreated an ambaſſador, miniſter, or courier belonging to the king, ſuffered death; but ambaſſadors and couriers were forbid on their part to leave the high road, under pain of loſing their privileges.

The puniſhment of death was inflicted alſo on thoſe perſons who occaſioned any ſedition amongſt the people; on thoſe who carried off, or changed the boundaries placed in the fields by public authority; and likewiſe on judges who gave a ſentence that was unjuſt, or contrary to the laws, or made an unfaithful report of any cauſe to the king, or a ſuperior magiſtrate, or allowed themſelves to be corrupted by bribes.

He who in war committed any hoſtility upon the enemy without the order of his chief, or attacked them before the ſignal for battle was given, or abandoned the colours, or violated any proclamation publiſhed to the army, was infallibly beheaded.

He who at market altered the meaſures eſtabliſhed by the magiſtrates, was guilty of felony, and was put to death without delay in the ſame place.

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A murderer forfeited his own life for his crime, even although the perſon murdered was but a ſlave.

He who killed his wife, although he caught her in adultery, ſuffered death; becauſe, according to them, he uſurped the authority of the magiſtrates, whoſe province it was to take cognizance of miſdeeds, and puniſh evil-doers.

Adultery was inevitably puniſhed with death. Adulterers were ſtoned to death, or their heads were bruiſed between two ſtones. This law which preſcribed that adulterers ſhould be ſtoned to death, is one of thoſe which we have ſeen repreſented in the ancient paintings which were preſerved in the library of the ſupreme college of Jeſuits at Mexico. It is alſo repreſented in the laſt painting of the collection made by Mendoza, and is taken notice of by Gomara, Torquemada, and other authors. But they did not conſider, nor did they puniſh as adultery, the treſpaſs of a huſband with any woman who was free, or not joined in matrimony: wherefore the huſband was not bound to ſo much fidelity as was exacted from the wife. In all places of the empire this crime was puniſhed, but in ſome places with greater ſeverity than in others. In Ichoatlan, a woman who was accuſed of adultery was ſummoned before the judges, and if the proofs of her crime were ſatisfactory, ſhe received puniſhment there immediately; ſhe was torn in pieces, and her limbs divided amongſt the witneſſes. In Itztepec infidelity in a woman was puniſhed according to the ſentence of the magiſtrates by her huſband, who cut off her noſe and her ears. In ſome parts of the empire the puniſhment of death was inflicted on the huſband, who cohabited with his wife, after it was proved that ſhe had violated her fidelity.

No divorce was lawful without the permiſſion of the judges. He who deſired to divorce his wife, preſented himſelf before the tribunal and explained his reaſons for it. The judges exhorted him to concord, and endeavoured to diſſuade him from a ſeparation; but if he perſiſted in his claim, and his reaſons appeared juſt, they told him that he might do that which he ſhould judge moſt proper, without giving their authority for a divorce by a formal ſentence. If after all he divorced her, he never could recover her nor be united to her again.

Thoſe

Thoſe who were guilty of inceſt with their neareſt of blood, or relations, were hanged, and all marriages between perſons ſo nearly connected were ſtrictly forbid by law, excepting marriages between brothers and ſiſters-in-law; for amongſt the Mexicans, as well as amongſt the Hebrews, it was the cuſtom that the brothers of the deceaſed huſband might marry with their widowed ſiſters-in-law; but there was great difference in this practice of theſe two nations; for amongſt the Hebrews ſuch a marriage could only happen in one caſe, that was where the huſband died without iſſue; amongſt the Mexicans on the contrary, it was neceſſary that the deceaſed ſhould leave children, of whoſe education the brother was to take charge, entering into all the rights of a father. In ſome places which were diſtant from the capital, the nobles were accuſtomed to marry their widowed mothers-in-law, provided their fathers had not had children by them; but in the capitals of Mexico and Tezcuco, and the places neighbouring to them, ſuch marriages were deemed inceſtuous, and puniſhed with ſeverity.

Any perſon guilty of a deteſtable crime was hanged; if a prieſt, he was burnt alive. Amongſt all the nations of Anahuac, excepting the Panucheſe, this crime was held in abomination, and was puniſhed by them all with rigour. Nevertheleſs, vicious men, in order to juſtify their own exceſſes, have defamed all the nations of America with this horrid vice; but this calumny, which ſeveral Europeans authors have too readily admitted to be juſt, is proved to be falſe by the teſtimony of many other authors, who are more impartial and better informed (*x*).

The prieſt, who, during the time that he was dedicated to the ſervice of the temple, abuſed any free woman, was deprived of the prieſthood and baniſhed.

If any of the young men, or young women, who were educating in the ſeminaries, were guilty of incontinence, they were liable to a ſevere puniſhment, and even to ſuffer death, according to the report of ſome authors. But, on the other hand, there was no puniſhment whatever preſcribed for ſimple fornication, although the evil tendency of an exceſs of this kind was not unknown to them; and fathers frequently

(*x*) See what we have ſaid in our Diſſertations reſpecting the author who has revived this atrocious calumny upon the Americans.

admo-

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admoniſhed their children to beware of it: they burned the hair of a bawd in the market-place with pine torches, and ſmeared her head with the reſin of the ſame wood. The more reſpectable the perſons were to whom ſhe ſerved in this capacity, ſo much the greater was the puniſhment.

According to the laws, the man who dreſſed himſelf like a woman, or the woman who dreſſed herſelf like a man, was hanged.

The thief of things of ſmall value met with no puniſhment, excepting that of being obliged to reſtore what he had ſtolen; if the things were of great value, he was made the ſlave of the perſon whom he had robbed. If the thing ſtolen did no longer exiſt, nor the robber had any goods by which he could repay his robbery, he was ſtoned to death. If he had ſtolen gold or gems, after being conducted through all the ſtreets of the city, he was ſacrificed at the feſtival which the goldſmiths held in honour of their god Xipe. He who ſtole a certain number of ears of maize, or pulled up from another's field a certain number of uſeful trees, was made a ſlave of the owner of that field *(y)*; but every poor traveller was permitted to take of the maize, or the fruit-bearing trees, which were planted by the ſide of the highway, as much as was ſufficient to ſatisfy immediate hunger.

He who robbed in the market, was immediately put to death by the baſtinado, in the market-place.

He alſo was condemned to death, who in the army robbed another of his arms or badges.

Whoever upon finding a ſtrayed child, made it a ſlave, and ſold it to another, as if it were his own, forfeited by that crime his liberty and his goods, one half of which was appropriated to the ſupport of the child, and the other half was paid to the purchaſer that he might ſet the child at liberty. Whatever number of perſons were concerned in the crime, all of them were liable to the ſame puniſhment.

To the ſame puniſhment of ſervitude, and to the loſs of his goods, was every perſon liable who ſold the poſſeſſions of another, which he only had in farm.

(*x*) The anonymous conqueror ſays, that ſtealing of three or four ears of maize was ſufficient to incur the penalty. Torquemada adds, that the penalty was death: but this was the law in the kingdom of Acolhuacan only, not in the realm of Mexico.

Tutors who did not give a good account of the eſtates of their pupils, were hanged without pardon.

The ſame puniſhment was inflicted on ſons who ſquandered their patrimony in vices; for they ſaid it was a great crime not to ſet a higher value on the labours of their fathers.

He who practiſed ſorcery was ſacrificed to the gods.

Drunkenneſs in youth was a capital offence; young men were put to death by the baſtinado in priſon, and young women were ſtoned to death. In men advanced in years, although it was not made capital, it was puniſhed with ſeverity. If he was a nobleman, he was ſtripped of his office and his rank, and rendered infamous; if a plebeian, they ſhaved him (a puniſhment very ſenſibly felt by them), and demoliſhed his houſe, ſaying, that he who could voluntarily bereave himſelf of his ſenſes, was not worthy of a habitation amongſt men. This law did not forbid conviviality at nuptials, or at any other times of feſtivity: on ſuch occaſions it being lawful, in private houſes, to drink more than uſual; nor did the law affect old men of ſeventy years, who, on account of their age, were allowed to drink as much as they pleaſed; which appears repreſented in the forty-third painting of the collection made by Mendoza.

He who told a lie to the particular prejudice of another, had a part of his lip cut off, and ſometimes his ears.

SECT. XVIII. Laws concerning ſlaves.

Of the Mexican laws concerning ſlaves it is to be obſerved, that there were three ſorts of ſlaves among them. The firſt were priſoners of war; the ſecond were thoſe whom they purchaſed for a valuable conſideration; and the third were malefactors, who were deprived of their liberty in puniſhment of their crimes.

The priſoners of war were generally ſacrificed to their gods. He who in war took another's priſoner from him, or ſet him at liberty, was puniſhed with death.

The ſale of a ſlave was not valid, unleſs it was made in the preſence of four lawful witneſſes. In general, they aſſembled in greater numbers, and celebrated contracts of that nature with great ſolemnity.

Among the Mexicans a ſlave was allowed to have cattle, to acquire property, and even to purchaſe ſlaves who ſerved him; nor could his owner hinder him, nor have ſervice from ſuch ſlaves; for ſlavery was only

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only an obligation of perſonal ſervice, and even that was under certain reſtrictions.

Nor was ſlavery entailed upon the deſcendants of ſlaves. All Mexicans were born free, although their mothers were ſlaves. If a free man impregnated another perſon's ſlave, and ſhe died during her pregnancy, he became the ſlave of the owner of the female ſlave; but if ſhe was happily delivered, the child as well as the father remained both free.

Neceſſitous parents were allowed to diſpoſe of any one of their children, in order to relieve their poverty; and any free man might ſell himſelf for the ſame purpoſe; but owners could not ſell their ſlaves without their conſent, unleſs they were ſlaves with a collar. Runaway, rebellious, or vicious ſlaves, had two or three warnings given them by their owners, which warnings they gave for their better juſtification in preſence of ſome witneſſes. If, in ſpite of theſe admonitions the ſlaves did not mend their behaviour, a wooden collar was put about their necks, and then it was lawful to ſell them at market. If, after having been owned by two or three maſters, they ſtill continued intractable, they were ſold for the ſacrifices; but that happened very rarely. If a ſlave, who was collared in this manner, happened to eſcape from the priſon where his owner confined him, and took refuge in the royal palace, he remained free; and the perſon who attempted to prevent his gaining this aſylum, forfeited his liberty for the attempt, except it it was the owner, or one of his children, who had a right to ſeize him.

The perſons who ſold themſelves were generally gameſters, who did ſo in order to game with the price of their liberty; or thoſe who by lazineſs, or ſome misfortune, found themſelves reduced to miſery, and proſtitutes, who wanted cloaths to make their appearance in public; for women of that claſs among the Mexicans had no intereſt in general in their profeſſion, but the gratification of their paſſions. Slavery amongſt the Mexicans was not ſo hard to be borne, as it was among other people; for the condition of a ſlave among them was by no means oppreſſive. Their labour was moderate, and their treatment humane; when their maſters died, they generally became free. The common price of a ſlave was a load of cotton garments.

There

There was among the Mexicans another kind of ſlavery, which they called *Huehuetatlacolli*, which was, where one or two families, on account of their poverty, bound themſelves to furniſh ſome lord perpetually with a ſlave. They delivered up one of their ſons for this purpoſe, and after he had ſerved for ſome years they recalled him, in order to let him marry, or for ſome other motive, and ſubſtituted another in his place. The change was made without giving any offence to the patron; on the contrary, he generally gave ſome conſideration for a new ſlave. In the year 1506, on account of a great ſcarcity which happened then, many families were obliged to this kind of ſervitude; but they were all freed from it by the king of Acolhuacan, Nezahualpilli, owing to the hardſhips they ſuffered from it; and, after his example, the ſame thing was done by Montezuma II. in his dominions.

The conquerors, who imagined they entered into all the rights of the ancient Mexican lords, had, at firſt, many ſlaves of thoſe nations; but when the Catholic kings were informed of it by perſons of credit who were zealous for the public good, and well acquainted with the manners and cuſtoms of thoſe people, they declared all thoſe ſlaves free, and forbid, under ſevere penalties, any attempt againſt their liberty. A law infinitely juſt, and worthy the humanity of thoſe monarchs; for the firſt religious miſſionaries who were employed in the converſion of the Mexicans, amongſt whom were men of much learning, declared, after diligent examination, that they had not been able to find one amongſt the ſlaves who had been juſtly deprived of his natural liberty.

We have now ſaid all that we know of the Mexican legiſlature. More complete information on this head, and in particular concerning their civil contracts, their tribunals, and ſupreme councils, might have proved extremely valuable; but the unfortunate loſs of the greater part of their paintings, and of ſome manuſcripts of the firſt Spaniards, has deprived us of the only lights which could have illuſtrated this ſubject.

SECT. XIX. Laws of other countries of Anahuac.

Although the laws of the capital were generally received throughout the whole empire, yet in ſome of the provinces many variations from them took place; for as the Mexicans did not oblige the conquered nations to ſpeak the language of their court, neither did they compel

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them to adopt all their laws. The legiſlature of Acolhuacan was the moſt ſimilar to that of Mexico; but ſtill they differed in many particulars, and the former was far more ſevere than the latter.

The laws publiſhed by the celebrated king Nezahualcojotl ordained, that a thief ſhould be dragged through the ſtreets, and afterwards hanged. Murderers were beheaded. The agent in the crime of ſodomy was ſuffocated in a heap of aſhes; the patient had his bowels torn out, after which his belly was filled with aſhes, and then he was burned. He who maliciouſly contrived to ſow diſcord between two ſtates, was tied to a tree and burned alive. He who drank till he loſt his ſenſes, if a nobleman, was immediately hanged, and his body was thrown into the lake, or into ſome river; if a plebeian, for the firſt offence, he loſt his liberty, and for the ſecond his life. And when the legiſlator was aſked, why the law was more ſevere upon nobles, he anſwered, that the crime of drunkenneſs was leſs pardonable in them, as they were more bound in duty to ſet a good example.

The ſame king preſcribed the puniſhment of death to hiſtorians who publiſhed any falſhood in their paintings *(y)*. He condemned robbers of the fields to the ſame puniſhment, and declared that the ſtealing ſeven ears of maize was ſufficient to incur the penalty.

The Tlaſcalans adopted the greater part of the laws of Acolhuacan. Among them, ſons, who were wanting in reſpect and duty to their parents, were put to death by order of the ſenate. Thoſe perſons who were authors of any public misfortune, and yet did not deſerve to be puniſhed with death, were baniſhed. Generally ſpeaking, among all the poliſhed nations of Anahuac, murder, theft, lying, adultery, and other ſimilar crimes of incontinence, were rigorouſly puniſhed, and that which we have already obſerved, when ſpeaking of their character, appears to be verified in every thing, namely, that they were (as they ſtill are) naturally inclined to ſeverity and rigour, and more vigilant to puniſh vice than to reward virtue.

(*y*) This law againſt falſe hiſtorians is atteſted by D. Ferdinando d' Alba Ixtlilxochitl (who was a deſcendant of that legiſlator), in his valuable manuſcripts.

Among

Among the punishments prescribed by the legislators of Mexico against malefactors, that of the fork or gallows was reckoned the most ignominious. That of banishment was also thought infamous, as it supposed the guilty person possessed of an infectious vice. That of whipping is not found among their laws; nor do we know that it was ever made use of except by parents to their children, or masters to their pupils.

They had two sorts of prisons; one similar to modern prisons, called *Teilpilojan*, which was appropriated for debtors who refused to pay their debts, and for such persons as were guilty of crimes not deserving death; the other called *Quauhcalli*, resembling a cage, was used to confine prisoners who were to be sacrificed, and persons guilty of capital offences. Both of them were well watched and strongly guarded. Those who were to be capitally punished were fed very sparingly, in order that they might taste by anticipation the bitterness of death. The prisoners on the contrary were well nourished, in order that they might appear in good flesh at the sacrifice. If through the negligence of the guard, any prisoner escaped from the cage, the community of the district, whose duty it was to supply the prisons with guards, was obliged to pay to the owner of the fugitive, a female slave, a load of cotton garments, and a shield.

SECT. XXI. Officers of war and military orders.

Having treated thus far of the civil, it is now become necessary to say something of the military government of the Mexicans. No profession was held in more esteem amongst them than the profession of arms. The deity of war was the most revered by them, and regarded as the chief protector of the nation. No prince was elected king, until he had, in several battles, displayed proofs of his courage and military skill, and merited the splendid post of general of the army; and no king was crowned, until he had taken, with his own hands, the victims which were to be sacrificed at the festival of his coronation.

All the Mexican kings, from Itzcoatl the first, down to Quautemotzin, who was their last, rose from the command of the army to the government of the kingdom. Those who died for the sake of their country, with their arms in their hands, were imagined to be the happiest souls in another life. From the great esteem in which the profession of arms was held amongst them, they were at much pains to make their children courageous, and to enure them from the earliest infancy to the hardships

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of war. It was this elevated notion of the glory of arms, which formed thoſe heroes, whoſe illuſtrious actions we have already related: which made them ſhake off the yoke of the Tepanecas, and erect on ſo humble a foundation, ſo famous and celebrated a monarchy: and laſtly, which produced the extenſion of their dominions from the banks of the lake to the ſhores of the two oppoſite ſeas.

The higheſt military dignity was that of general of the army; but there were four different ranks of generals, of which the moſt reſpectable was that of *Tlacochcalcatl* (z), and each rank had its particular badges of diſtinction. We are uncertain in what degree the other three ranks were ſubordinate to the firſt; nor can we even tell their names, on account of the different opinions of authors on this head (*a*). Next to the generals were the captains, each of whom commanded a certain number of ſoldiers.

In order to reward the ſervices of warriors, and give them every kind of encouragement, the Mexicans deviſed three military orders, called *Achcauhtin*, *Quauhtin*, and *Ocelo*, or Princes, Eagles, and Tygers. The perſons belonging to the order of princes, who were called *Quachictin*, were the moſt honoured. They wore their hair tied on the top of their heads with a red ſtring, from which hung as many locks of cotton as they had performed meritorious actions. This honour was ſo much eſteemed among them, that the kings themſelves, as well as the generals, were proud of having it conferred upon them. Montezuma II. belonged to this order, as Acoſta affirms, and alſo king Tizoc, as appears in the paintings of him. The Tygers were diſtinguiſhed by a particular armour which they wore, it being ſpotted like the ſkins of theſe wild animals; but ſuch inſignia were only made uſe of in war: at court all the officers of the army wore a dreſs of mixed colours, which was called *Tlachquauhjo*. No perſons on the firſt time of their going to war, were allowed to wear any badge of diſ-

(z) Some authors ſay that *Tlacochcalcatl*, ſignifies prince of the darts; but unqueſtionably it means only, inhabitant of the arſenal, or houſe of the darts.

(*a*) The interpreter of Mendoza's Collection ſays, that the names of the four ranks of generals, were *Tlacochcalcatl*, *Atempanecatl*, *Ezhuacatecatl*, and *Tlillancalqui*. Acoſta, inſtead of *Atempanecatl*, ſays *Tlacatecatl*, and inſtead of *Ezhuacatecatl*, *Ezhuahuacatl*; and adds, that theſe were the names of the four electors. Torquemada adopts the name of *Tlacatecatl*, but ſometimes he makes his rank inferior to the Tlacochcalcatl, and at other times he confounds them together.

tinction;

tinction; they were dreſſed in a coarſe white habit, of cloth made from the aloe; and this rule was ſo ſtrictly obſerved, that it was even neceſſary for the princes of the royal blood to give ſome proofs of their courage before they could be entitled to change that plain dreſs for another more coſtly, called *Teucaiiuhqui*. The members of thoſe military orders, beſides the exterior marks of diſtinction which they wore, were allotted particular apartments in the royal palace, whenever they waited upon the king as guards. They were allowed to have furniture in their houſes made of gold, to wear the fineſt cotton dreſs, and finer ſhoes than thoſe of the common people; but no ſoldier had permiſſion to do this until he had gained, by his bravery, ſome advancement in the army. A particular dreſs called *Tlacatziuhqui* was given as a reward to the ſoldier, who, by his example, encouraged a diſpirited army to renew battle with vigour.

SECT. XXII. The military dreſs of the king.

When the king went to war, he wore beſides his armour, particular badges of diſtinction; on his legs, half boots made of thin plates of gold; on his arms, plates of the ſame metal, and bracelets of gems; at his under lip hung an emerald ſet in gold; at his ears, ear-rings of the ſame ſtone; about his neck a necklace, or chain of gold and gems, and a plume of beautiful feathers on his head; but the badge moſt expreſſive of majeſty, was a work of great labour made of beautiful feathers, which reached from the head all down the back (*b*). The Mexicans were very attentive to diſtinguiſh perſons, particularly in war, by different badges.

SECT. XXIII. The arms of the Mexicans.

The defenſive and offenſive arms which were made uſe of by the Mexicans, and the other nations of Analuac, were of various ſorts. The defenſive arms common to the nobles and plebeians, to the officers and ſoldiers, were ſhields, which they called *Chimalli* (*c*), and were made of different forms and materials. Some of them were perfectly round, and others were rounded only in the under part. Some

(*b*) All theſe royal inſignia had their particular names. The boots were called *cozehuatl*, the brachials *matemicatl*, the bracelets *matzopeztli*, the emerald at the lip *tentetl*, the ear-rings *nacochtli*, the necklace *cozcapetlatl*, and the principal badge of feathers *quachictli*.

(*c*) Solis pretends, that the ſhield was uſed only by lords; but the anonymous conqueror, who frequently ſaw the Mexicans in arms, and was engaged in many battles againſt them, aſſerts expreſly, that this armour was common to all ranks. No author has informed us more accurately than he of the Mexican armour.

were

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were made of *otatli*, or ſolid elaſtic canes, interwoven with thick cotton threads, and covered with feathers; thoſe of the nobles with thin plates of gold; others were made of large tortoiſe-ſhells, adorned with copper, ſilver, and gold, according to the wealth of the owner, or his rank in the army. Theſe were of a moderate ſize; but others were ſo exceſſively large, that they could occaſionally cover the whole body; but when it was not neceſſary to uſe them, they could compreſs them, and carry them under their arms like the paraſols of the moderns; it is probable, they were made of the ſkins of animals, or cloth waxed with *ule*, or elaſtic gum *(d)*. On the other hand, many of their ſhields were very ſmall, more beautiful than ſtrong, and adorned with fine feathers; theſe were not employed in war, but only at the entertainments which they made in imitation of a battle.

The defenſive arms peculiar to the officers were breaſt-plates of cotton, one and ſometimes two fingers thick, which were arrow-proof; and on this account the Spaniards themſelves made uſe of them in the war againſt the Mexicans. The name *Ichcahuepilli*, which the Mexicans gave to this ſort of breaſt-plate, was changed by the Spaniards into the word *Eſcaupil*. Over this ſort of cuiraſs, which only covered part of the breaſt, they put on another piece of armour, which, beſides the cheſt, covered the thighs, and the half of the arms, figures of which appear in the plate repreſenting the Mexican armour. The lords were accuſtomed to wear a thick upper coat of feathers, over a cuiraſs made of ſeveral plates of gold, or ſilver gilt, which rendered them invulnerable, not only by arrows, but even by darts or ſwords, as the anonymous conqueror affirms. Beſides the armour which they wore for the defence of their cheſts, their arms, their thighs, and even their legs; their heads were uſually caſed in the heads of tygers, or ſerpents, made of wood, or ſome other ſubſtance, with the mouth open, and furniſhed with large teeth that they might inſpire terror, and ſo animated in appearance, that the above mentioned author ſays, they ſeemed to be vomiting up the ſoldiers. All the officers and nobles wore a beautiful plume of feathers on their heads, in order to add to the appearance of their ſtature. The common ſoldiers went entirely naked,

(*d*) Theſe large ſhields are mentioned by the anonymous conqueror, Didaco Godoi, and Bernal Dias, who were all preſent at the conqueſt.

except

except the *maxtlatl*, or girdle, which covered the private parts; but they counterfeited the dreſs which they wanted by different colours, with which they painted their bodies. The European hiſtorians, who expreſs ſo much wonder at this, have not obſerved how common the ſame practice was among the ancient nations of Europe itſelf. BOOK VII.

The offenſive arms of the Mexicans were arrows, ſlings, clubs, ſpears, pikes, ſwords, and darts. Their bows were made of a wood, which was elaſtic and difficult to break, and the ſtring of the ſinews of animals, or the hair of the ſtag. Some of their bows were ſo large (as they are at preſent among ſome nations of that continent), that they required more than five feet length of ſtring. Their arrows were made of hard rods, pointed with the ſharp bone of a fiſh, or other animal, or a piece of flint, or *itzli*. They were extremely expert at drawing the bow, and very dextrous marksmen, being exerciſed in it from childhood, and encouraged by rewards from their maſters and parents. The Tehuacaneſe nation was particularly famous for their ſkill in ſhooting two or three arrows together. The ſurpriſing feats of dexterity, which have been exhibited even in our time by the Taraumareſe, the Hiaqueſe, and other people of thoſe regions, who ſtill uſe the bow and arrow, enable us to judge of the expertneſs and excellence of the ancient Mexicans in that way (*e*). No people of the country of Anahuac ever made uſe of poiſoned arrows; this was probably owing to their deſire of taking their enemies alive for the purpoſe of ſacrificing them.

The *Maquahuitl*, called by the Spaniards *Spada*, or ſword, as it was the weapon among the Mexicans, which was equivalent to the ſword of the old continent, was a ſtout ſtick three feet and a half long, and about four inches broad, armed on each ſide with a ſort of razors of the ſtone *itzli*, extraordinarily ſharp, fixed and firmly faſtened to the ſtick with gum lack (*f*), which were about three inches long, one or two inches broad,

(*e*) The dexterity of thoſe people in ſhooting arrows would not be credible, were it not well aſcertained by the depoſitions of a variety of eye-witneſſes. It was uſual for a number of archers to aſſemble together, and throw up an ear of maize into the air, at which they immediately ſhot with ſuch quickneſs and dexterity, that before it could reach the ground it was ſtripped of every grain.

(*f*) Hernandez ſays, that one ſtroke of the maquahuitl was ſufficient to cut a man through the middle; and the anonymous conqueror atteſts, that he ſaw in an engagement a Mexican, with

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broad, and as thick as the blade of our ancient ſwords. This weapon was ſo keen, that once it entirely beheaded a horſe at one ſtroke, according to the affirmation of Acoſta; but the firſt ſtroke only was to be feared; for the razors became ſoon blunt. They tied this weapon by a ſtring to their arm, leſt they might loſe it in any violent conflict. The form of the maquahuitl is deſcribed by ſeveral hiſtorians, and is repreſented in one of the plates of this hiſtory.

The pikes of the Mexicans, inſtead of iron, were pointed with a large flint, but ſome of them alſo with copper. The Chinantecas, and ſome people of Chiapan, made uſe of pikes ſo monſtrous, that they exceeded three perches, or eighteen feet in length, and the conqueror Cortes employed them againſt the cavalry of his rival Panfilo Navaez.

The *Tlacochtli*, or Mexican dart, was a ſmall lance of *otatli*, or ſome other ſtrong wood, the point of which was hardened by fire, or ſhod with copper, or *itzli*, or bone, and many of them had three points, in order to make a triple wound at every ſtroke.

They fixed a ſtring to their darts *(g)*, in order to pull them back again, after they had launched them at the enemy. This was the weapon which was the moſt dreaded by the Spaniſh conquerors; for they were ſo expert at throwing them, that they pierced the body of an enemy through and through. The ſoldiers were armed in general with a ſword, a bow and arrows, a dart, and a ſling. We do not know, whether in war, they ever made uſe of their axes, of which we ſhall ſhortly ſpeak.

SECT. XXIV. Standards and martial muſic.

They had alſo ſtandards and muſical inſtruments proper for war. Their ſtandards, which were more like the *Signum* of the Romans than our colours, were ſtaves from eight to ten feet long, on which they carried the arms or enſigns of the ſtate, made of gold, or feathers, or ſome other valuable materials. The armorial enſign of the Mexican empire, was an eagle in the act of darting upon a tyger; that of the republic of Tlaſcala, an eagle with its wings ſpread *(h)*; but each of

with one ſtroke which he gave a horſe in the belly, make his inteſtines drop out; and another, who with one ſtroke which he gave a horſe upon the head, laid him dead at his feet.

(g) The Mexican dart was of that kind of darts which the Romans uſed to call *Haſtile*, *Jaculum*, or *Telum amentatum*, and the Spaniſh name *Amento* or *Ameinto*, which the hiſtorians of Mexico have adopted, means the ſame thing as the Amentum of the Romans.

(h) Gomara ſays, that the armorial enſign of the republic of Tlaſcala was a crane; but other hiſtorians, better informed than he was, affirm that it was an eagle.

the

the four lordſhips which compoſed the republic, had its proper enſign. That of Ocotelolco, was a green bird upon a rock; that of Tizatlan, a heron upon a rock alſo; that of Tepeticpac, a fierce wolf, holding ſome arrows in his paws; and that of Quiahuiztlan, a paraſol of green feathers. The ſtandard which the conqueror Cortes took in the famous battle of Otompan, was a net of gold, which, in all probability, was the ſtandard of ſome city ſituated on the lake. Beſides the common and principal ſtandard of the army, every company, conſiſting of two or three hundred ſoldiers, carried its particular ſtandard, and was not only diſtinguiſhed from others by it, but likewiſe by the colour of the feathers, which the officers and nobles bore upon their armour. The ſtandard-bearer of the army, at leaſt in the laſt years of the empire, was the general, and thoſe of the companies, moſt probably, were borne by their commanding officers. Thoſe ſtandards were ſo firmly tied upon the backs of the officers, that it was almoſt impoſſible to detach them without cutting the ſtandard-bearers to pieces. The Mexicans always placed their ſtandard in the centre of their army. The Tlaſcalans, when they marched their troops in time of peace placed it in the van, but in the time of war, in the rear of their army.

Their martial muſic, in which there was more noiſe than harmony, conſiſted of drums, horns, and certain ſea-ſhells which made an extremely ſhrill ſound.

SECT. XXV. The mode of declaring and carrying on war.

Previous to a declaration of war, the ſupreme council examined into the cauſe which induced them to undertake it, which was for the moſt part the rebellion of ſome city or province, the putting to death unlawfully ſome Mexican, Acolhuan, or Tepanecan couriers, or merchants, or ſome groſs inſult offered to their ambaſſadors. If the rebellion originated in ſome of the chiefs, and not among the people, the guilty perſons were conducted to the capital and puniſhed. But if the people were alſo in fault, ſatisfaction was demanded from them in the name of the king. If they ſubmitted, and manifeſted a ſincere repentance, their crime was pardoned, and they were adviſed to better conduct; but if, inſtead of ſubmiſſion, they anſwered with arrogance, and perſiſted in denying the ſatisfaction demanded, or offered any new inſult to the meſſengers which were ſent to them, the affair was diſcuſſed in the council, and if war was reſolved upon, proper orders were

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given to the generals. Sometimes the kings, in order to juſtify their conduct more fully before they made war upon any ſtate or place, ſent three different embaſſies; the firſt to the lord of the ſtate which had given offence, requiring from him a ſuitable ſatisfaction, and alſo preſcribing a time for the ſame, on pain of being treated as an enemy; the ſecond, to the nobles, that they might perſuade their lord to make a ſubmiſſion, and eſcape the puniſhment which threatened him; and the third to the people, in order to make them acquainted with the occaſion of the war; and very often, as a certain hiſtorian aſſerts, the arguments made uſe of by the ambaſſadors were ſo powerful, and the advantages of peace, and the diſtreſſes of war, were ſo forcibly repreſented, that an accommodation took place between the parties. They uſed alſo to ſend along with ambaſſadors the idol of Huitzilopochtli, enjoining the people who were ſtirring up a war to give it a place among their gods. If they on the one hand found themſelves ſtrong enough to reſiſt, they rejected the propoſition, and diſmiſſed the ſtrange god; but if they thought themſelves unable to ſuſtain a war, they received the idol, and placed it among their provincial gods, and anſwered to the embaſſy with a large preſent of gold, gems, or beautiful feathers, acknowledging their ſubjection to the ſovereign.

If war was to be commenced, previous to every thing elſe they ſent advice of it to the enemy, that they might prepare for defence, conſidering nothing more mean and unworthy of brave people than to attack the unguarded: for this purpoſe therefore, they ſent before them ſeveral ſhields, which were the ſignals of a challenge, and likewiſe ſome cotton dreſſes. When one king was challenged by another, they uſed alſo the ceremony of anointing, and fixing feathers upon his head, which was done by the ambaſſador, as happened at the challenge given by king Itzcoatl to the tyrant Maxtlaton; they next diſpatched ſpies, who were called *Quimichtin*, or ſorcerers, and were to go in diſguiſe into the country of the enemy, to obſerve their number and motions, and the quality of the troops which they muſtered. If they were ſucceſsful in this commiſſion they were amply rewarded. Laſtly, after having made ſome ſacrifices to the god of war, and to the tutelar deities of the ſtate or city on which the war was made, in order to merit their protection, the army marched, but not formed into wings, or ranked

in

in files, but divided into companies, each of which had its leader, and its ſtandard. When the army was numerous it was reckoned by *Xiquipilli*; and each *xiquipilli* conſiſted of eight thouſand men. It is extremely probable, that each of theſe bodies was commanded by a Tlacatecatl, or other general. The place where the firſt battle was uſually fought was a field appointed for that purpoſe in ſome province, and called *Jaotlalli*, or land or field of battle. They began battle (as was uſual in ancient Europe, and among the Romans), with a moſt terrible noiſe of warlike inſtruments, ſhouting and whiſtling, which ſtruck terror to thoſe who were not accuſtomed to hear it, as the anonymous conqueror declares from his own experience. Amongſt the people of Tezcuco, and likewiſe, moſt probably, amongſt thoſe of other ſtates, the king, or the general, gave the ſignal for battle, by the beat of a little drum which hung at his ſhoulder. Their firſt onſet was furious; but they did not all engage at once, as ſome authors have reported; for they were accuſtomed, as is manifeſt from their hiſtory, to keep troops in reſerve, for preſſing emergencies. Sometimes they began battle with ſhooting arrows, and ſometimes with darts and ſlinging of ſtones; and when their arrows were exhauſted, they made uſe of their pikes, clubs, and ſwords. They were extremely attentive to keep their troops united and firmly together, to defend the ſtandard, and to carry off the dead and the wounded from the ſight of the enemy. There were certain men of the army who had no other employment than to remove from the eyes of the enemy every object which could heighten their courage and inflame their pride. They made frequent uſe of ambuſcades, concealing themſelves in buſhy places or ditches made on purpoſe, of which the Spaniards had often experience; and frequently alſo they pretended flight, in order to lead the enemy in purſuit of them into ſome dangerous ſituation, or to charge them behind with freſh troops. Their great aim in battle was not to kill, but to make priſoners of their enemies for ſacrifices; nor was the bravery of a ſoldier eſtimated by the number of dead bodies which he left on the field, but by the number of priſoners which he preſented to the general after the battle, and this was unqueſtionably the principal cauſe of the preſervation of the Spaniards, in the midſt of the dangers to which they were expoſed, and

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particularly on that memorable night when they were defeated, and obliged to retreat from the capital. When an enemy, whom they had once conquered, attempted to ſave himſelf by flight, they hamſtring him to prevent his eſcape. When the ſtandard of the army was taken by the enemy, or their general fell, they all fled, nor was it poſſible then by any human art to rally or recall them.

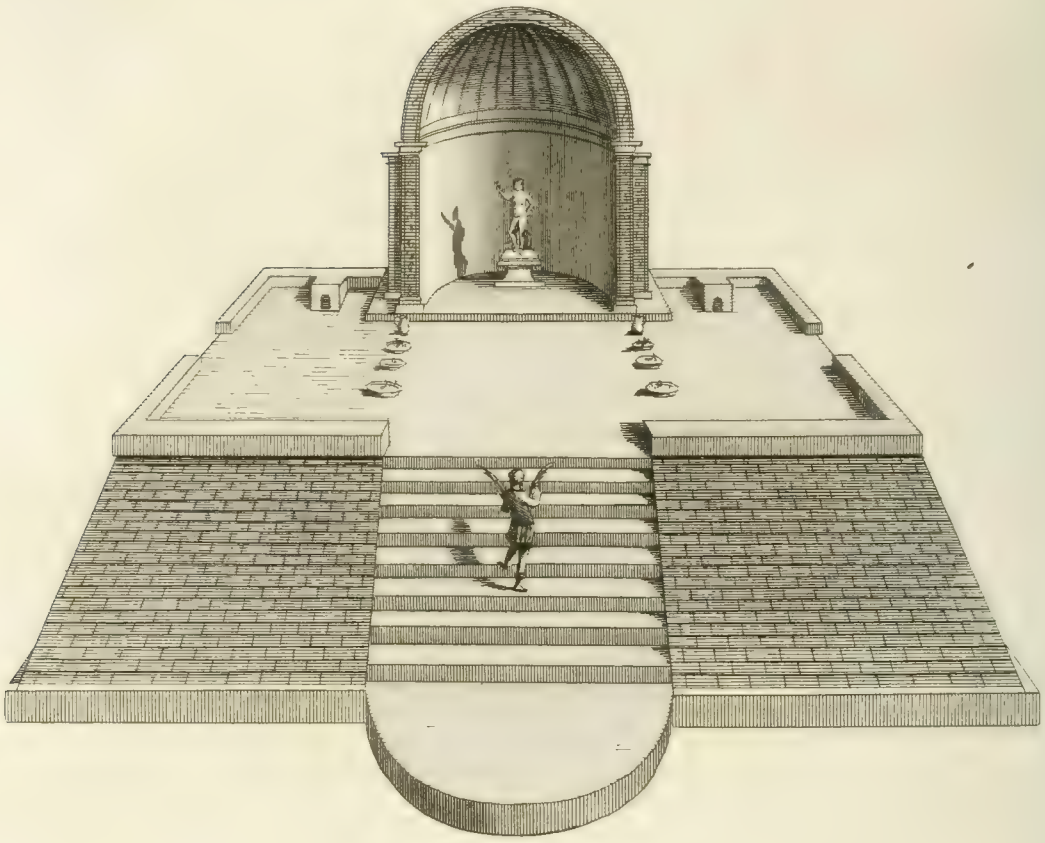
When the battle was over, the victors celebrated the victory with great rejoicings, and rewarded the officers and ſoldiers who had made ſome priſoners. When the king of Mexico in perſon, took an enemy priſoner, embaſſies came from all the provinces of the kingdom to congratulate him upon the occaſion, and to offer him ſome preſent. This priſoner was clothed with the fineſt habits, adorned with jewels, and carried in a litter to the capital, where the citizens came out to meet him, with muſic and loud acclamations. When the day of the ſacrifice arrived, the king having faſted the day before, according to the cuſtom of owners of priſoners, they carried the royal priſoner, adorned with the enſigns of the ſun, to the altar for common ſacrifices, where he was ſacrificed by the high-prieſt. The prieſt ſprinkled his blood towards the four principal winds, and ſent a veſſel full of the ſame to the king, who ordered it to be ſprinkled on all the idols within the incloſure of the greater temple, as a token of thanks for the victory obtained over the enemies of the ſtate. They hung up the head in ſome very lofty place, and after the ſkin of the body was dried, they filled it with cotton, and hung it up in the royal palace, in memory of the glorious deed; in which circumſtance however, their adulation to him was conſpicuous.

When any city was to be beſieged, the greateſt anxiety of the citizens was to ſecure their children, their women, and ſick perſons; for which purpoſe they ſent them off, at an early opportunity, to another city, or to the mountains. Thus they ſaved thoſe defenceleſs individuals from the fury of the enemy, and obviated an unneceſſary conſumption of proviſions.

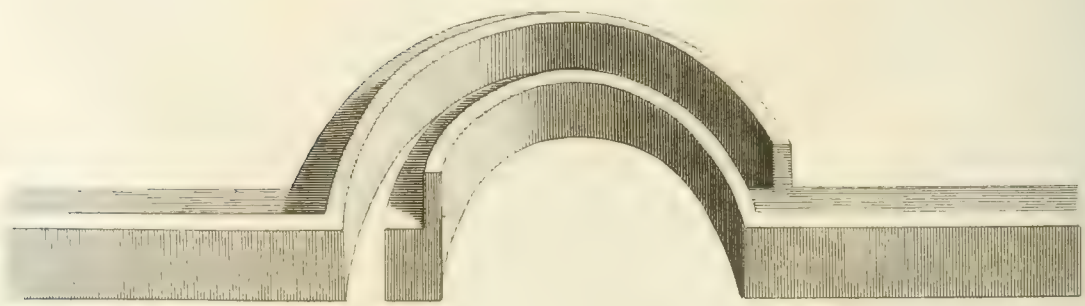
SECT. XXVI. Fortifications.

For the defence of places they made uſe of various kinds of fortifications, ſuch as walls, and ramparts, with their breaſt-works, paliſadoes, ditches, and intrenchments. Concerning the city of Quauhquechollan,

another form of a Temple



Entrance of the Tlascalan Territories



chollan, we know that it was fortified by a ſtrong ſtone wall, about twenty-feet high, and twelve feet in thickneſs *(i)*.

The conquerors, who deſcribe to us the fortifications of this city, make mention likewiſe of ſeveral others, among which is the celebrated wall which the Tlaſcalans built on the eaſtern boundaries of the republic, to defend themſelves from the invaſion of the Mexican troops, which were garriſoned in Iztacmaxtitlan, Xocotlan, and other places. This wall, which ſtretched from one mountain to another, was ſix miles in length, eight feet in height, beſides the breaſt-work, and eighteen feet in thickneſs. It was made of ſtone, and ſtrong fine mortar (*k*). There was but one narrow entrance of about eight feet broad, and forty paces long; this was the ſpace between the two extremities of the wall, the one of which encircled the other, forming two ſemicircles, with one common centre. This will be better underſtood from the figure of it which we preſent to our readers. There are ſtill ſome remains of this wall to be ſeen.

There are alſo to be ſeen ſtill the remains of an ancient fortreſs built upon the top of a mountain, at a little diſtance from the village of Molcaxac, ſurrounded by four walls, placed at ſome diſtance from each other, from the baſe of the mountain unto the top. In the neighbourhood appear many ſmall ramparts of ſtone and lime, and upon a hill, two miles diſtant from that mountain, are the remains of ſome ancient and populous city, of which, however, there is no memory among hiſtorians. About twenty-five miles from Cordova, towards the north, is likewiſe the ancient fortreſs of *Quauhtocho*, (now *Guatuſco*), ſurrounded by high walls of extremely hard ſtone, to which there is no entrance but by aſcending a number of very high and narrow ſteps; for in this manner the entrance to their fortreſſes was formed. From among the ruins of this ancient building, which is now over-run with buſhes, through the negligence of thoſe people, a Cordovan gentleman lately dug out ſeveral well-finiſhed ſtatues of ſtone,

(*i*) In the ninth book we ſhall give a deſcription of the fortifications of Quauhquechollan.

(*k*) Bernal Dias ſays, that the Tlaſcalan wall was built of ſtone and lime, and with a bitumen ſo ſtrong it was neceſſary to uſe pick-axes to undo it. Cortes, on the other hand affirms, that it was built of dry ſtones. We are diſpoſed rather to give credit to Bernal Dias; becauſe he aſſerts, he had attentively examined this wall, although like an illiterate perſon, he gives the name of bitumen to the mortar or cement made uſe of by thoſe nations.

for

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for the ornament of his houſe. Near to the ancient court of Tezcuco, a part of the wall which ſurrounded the city of Coatlichan, is ſtill preſerved. We wiſh that our countrymen would attend to the preſervation of thoſe few remains of the military architecture of the Mexicans, particularly as they have ſuffered ſo many other valuable remains of their antiquity to go to ruin *(l)*.

The capital of Mexico, though ſufficiently fortified by its natural ſituation for thoſe times, was rendered impregnable to its enemies by the induſtry of its inhabitants. There was no acceſs to the city but by the roads formed upon the lake; and to make it ſtill more difficult in time of war, they built many ramparts upon theſe roads, which were interſected with ſeveral deep ditches, over which they had drawbridges, and thoſe ditches were defended by good entrenchments. Thoſe ditches were the graves of many Spaniards and Tlaſcalans, on the memorable night of the firſt of July, of which we ſhall ſpeak hereafter; and the cauſe which retarded the taking of that great city, by ſo numerous and well equipped an army, as that which Cortes employed to beſiege it; and which, had he not been aſſiſted by the brigantines, would have delayed it much longer, and occaſioned the loſs of a great deal more blood. For the defence of the city by water, they had many thouſand ſmall veſſels, and frequently exerciſed themſelves in naval engagements.

But the moſt ſingular fortifications of Mexico were the temples themſelves, and eſpecially the greater temple, which reſembled a citadel. The wall which ſurrounded the whole of the temple, the five arſenals there which were filled with every ſort of offenſive and defenſive arms, and the architecture of the temple itſelf which rendered the aſcent to it ſo difficult, gives us clearly to underſtand, that in ſuch buildings, policy, as well as religion, had a ſhare; and that they conſtructed them, not only from motives of ſuperſtition, but likewiſe for the purpoſe of defence. It is well known from their hiſtory, that they fortified themſelves in their temples when they could not hinder the

(l) Theſe imperfect accounts of thoſe remains of Mexican antiquities, obtained from eye-witneſſes worthy of the utmoſt credit, perſuade us, that there are ſtill many more of which we have no knowledge, owing to the indolence and neglect of our countrymen. See what is ſaid in our diſſertations reſpecting thoſe antiquities againſt Sig. de P. and Dr. Robertſon.

enemy,

enemy from entering into the city, and from thence harraſſed them with arrows, darts, and ſtones. In the laſt book of this hiſtory, will appear how long the Spaniards were in taking the greater temple, where five hundred Mexican nobles had fortified themſelves.

The high eſteem in which the Mexicans held every thing relating to war, did not divert their attention from the arts of peace. Firſt, agriculture, which is one of the chief occupations of civil life, was, from time immemorial, exerciſed by the Mexicans, and almoſt all the people of Anahuac. The Toltecan nation employed themſelves diligently in it, and taught it to the Chechemecan hunters. With reſpect to the Mexicans, we know that during the whole of their peregrination, from their native country Aztlan, unto the lake where they founded Mexico, they cultivated the earth in all thoſe places where they made any conſiderable ſtop, and lived upon the produce of their labour. When they were brought under ſubjection to the Colhuan and Tepanecan nations, and confined to the miſerable little iſlands on the lake, they ceaſed for ſome years to cultivate the land, becauſe they had none, until neceſſity, and induſtry together, taught them to form moveable fields and gardens, which floated on the waters of the lake. The method which they purſued to make thoſe, and which they ſtill practiſe, is extremely ſimple.

SECT. XXVII. Floating fields and gardens of the Mexican lake.

They plait and twiſt willows, and roots of marſh plants, or other materials together, which are light, but capable of ſupporting the earth of the garden firmly united. Upon this foundation they lay the light buſhes which float on the lake, and over all, the mud and dirt which they draw up from the bottom of the ſame lake. Their regular figure is quadrangular; their length and breadth various; but as far as we can judge, they are about eight perches long, and not more than three in breadth, and have leſs than a foot of elevation above the ſurface of the water. Theſe were the firſt fields which the Mexicans owned after the foundation of Mexico; there they firſt cultivated the maize, green pepper, and other plants, neceſſary for their ſupport. In progreſs of time as thoſe fields grew numerous from the induſtry of thoſe people there were among them gardens of flowers and odoriferous plants, which were employed in the worſhip of their gods, and ſerved for the recreation of the nobles. At preſent they cultivate flowers, and every ſort of garden

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den herbs upon them. Every day of the year, at ſun-riſe, innumerable veſſels loaded with various kinds of flowers and herbs, which are cultivated in thoſe gardens are ſeen arriving by the canal, at the great market-place of that capital. All plants thrive there ſurpriſingly; the mud of the lake is an extremely fertile ſoil, and requires no water from the clouds. In the largeſt gardens there is commonly a little tree, and even a little hut to ſhelter the cultivator, and defend him from rain, or the ſun. When the owner of a garden, or the *Chinampa*, as he is uſually called, wiſhes to change his ſituation, to remove from a diſagreeable neighbour, or to come nearer to his own family, he gets into his little veſſel, and by his own ſtrength alone, if the garden is ſmall, or with the aſſiſtance of others, if it is large, he tows it after him, and conducts it wherever he pleaſes with the little tree and hut upon it. That part of the lake where thoſe floating gardens are, is a place of infinite recreation where the ſenſes receive the higheſt poſſible gratification.

SECT. XXVIII. Manner of cultivating the earth.

As ſoon as the Mexicans had ſhaken of the Tepanecan yoke, and had gained by their conqueſts lands fit for cultivation, they applied themſelves with great diligence to agriculture. Having neither ploughs, nor oxen, nor any other animals proper to be employed in the culture of the earth, they ſupplied the want of them by labour, and other more ſimple inſtruments. To hoe and dig the ground they made uſe of the *Coatl* (or *Coa*), which is an inſtrument made of copper, with a wooden handle, but different from a ſpade or mattock. They made uſe of an axe to cut trees, which was alſo made of copper, and was of the ſame form with thoſe of modern times, except that we put the handle in the eye of the axe, whereas they put the axe into an eye of the handle. They had ſeveral other inſtruments of agriculture; but the negligence of ancient writers on this ſubject has not left it in our power to attempt their deſcription.

For the refreſhment of their fields they made uſe of the water of rivers and ſmall torrents which came from the mountains, raiſing dams to collect them, and forming canals to conduct them. Lands which were high, or on the declivity of mountains, were not ſown every year, but allowed to lie fallow until they were over-run with buſhes, which they burned, to repair by their aſhes, the ſalt which rains had waſhed away. They ſurrounded their fields with ſtone incloſures, or hedges made of the *metl*, or aloe, which make an excellent fence; and in the month

month Panquetzaliztli, which began, as we have already mentioned, on the third of December, they were repaired if neceſſary (*m*).

The method they obſerved in ſowing of maize, and which they ſtill practiſe in ſome places, is this. The ſower makes a ſmall hole in the earth, with a ſtick or drill probably, the point of which is hardened by fire; into this hole he drops one or two grains of maize from a baſket which hangs from his ſhoulder, and covers them with a little earth by means of his foot; he then paſſes forward to a certain diſtance, which is greater or leſs according to the quality of the ſoil, opens another hole, and continues ſo in a ſtrait line unto the end of the field; from thence he returns, forming another line parallel to the firſt. The rows of plants by theſe means are as ſtrait as if a line was made uſe of, and at as equal diſtances from each other as if the ſpaces between were meaſured. This method of ſowing, which is now uſed by a few of the Indians only, though more ſlow (*n*), is, however of ſome advantage, as they can more exactly proportion the quantity of ſeed to the ſtrength of the ſoil; beſides, that there is almoſt none of the ſeed loſt which is ſown. In conſequence of this, the crops of the fields which are cultivated in that manner are uſually more plentiful. When the maize ſprings up to a certain height, they cover the foot of the plant round with earth, that it may be better nouriſhed, and more able to withſtand ſudden guſts of wind.

In the labours of the field the men were aſſiſted by the women. It was the buſineſs of the men to dig and hoe the ground, to ſow, to heap the earth about the plants, and to reap; to the women it belonged to ſtrip off the leaves from the ears, and to clear the grain; to weed and to ſhell it was the employment of both.

SECT. XXIV. Threshing-floors and granaries.

They had places like farm yards, where they ſtripped off the leaves from the ears, and ſhelled them, and granaries to preſerve the grain. Their granaries were built in a ſquare form, and generally of wood. They made uſe of the *ojametl* for this purpoſe, which is a very lofty tree, with but a few ſlender branches, and a thin ſmooth bark; the wood of it is extremely pliant, and difficult to break or rot. Theſe

(*m*) This is called a *penguin field* in Jamaica, and the windward iſlands.

(*n*) This manner of ſowing is not ſo ſlow as might be imagined, as the country people uſed to this method do it with wonderful quickneſs.

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granaries were formed by placing the round and equal trunks of the *ojametl* in a ſquare, one upon the other, without any labour except that of a ſmall nitch towards their extremities, to adjuſt and unite them ſo perfectly as not to ſuffer any paſſage to the light. When the ſtructure was raiſed to a ſufficient height, they covered it with another ſet of croſs-beams, and over theſe the roof was laid to defend the grain from rains. Thoſe granaries had no other door or outlet than two windows, one below which was ſmall, and another ſomewhat wider above. Some of them were ſo large as to contain five or ſix thouſand, or ſometimes more *fanegas* (*o*) of maize. There are ſome of this ſort of granaries to be met with in a few places at a diſtance from the capital, and amongſt them ſome ſo very ancient, that they appear to have been built before the conqueſt; and, according to the information we have had from perſons of intelligence, they preſerve the grain better than thoſe which are conſtructed by the Europeans.

Cloſe to fields which were ſown they commonly erected a little tower of wood, branches and mats, in which a man defended from the ſun and rain kept watch, and drove away the birds which came in flocks to conſume the young grain. Thoſe little towers are ſtill made uſe of even in the fields of the Spaniards on account of the exceſſive number of birds.

SECT. XXX. Kitchen and other gardens and woods.

The Mexicans were alſo extremely well ſkilled in the cultivation of kitchen and other gardens, in which they planted with great regularity and taſte, fruit-trees, and medicinal plants and flowers. The laſt of thoſe were much in demand, not leſs on account of the particular pleaſure taken in them, than of the cuſtom which prevailed of preſenting bunches of flowers to their kings, lords, ambaſſadors, and other perſons of rank, beſides the exceſſive quantity which were made uſe of in the temples and private oratories. Amongſt the ancient gardens, of which an account has been handed down to us, the royal gardens of Mexico and Tezcuco, which we have already mentioned, and thoſe of the lords of Iztapalapan and Huaxtepec, have been much celebrated. Among the gardens of the great palace of the lord of Iztapalapan, there was one, the extent, diſpoſition, and beauty of which excited the

(*o*) A Caſtilian meaſure of dry goods, formerly mentioned by us.

admi-

admiration of the Spaniſh conquerors. It was laid out in four ſquares, and planted with every variety of trees, the ſight and ſcent of which gave infinite pleaſure to the ſenſes; through thoſe ſquares a number of roads and paths led, ſome formed by fruit-bearing trees, and others by eſpaliers of flowering ſhrubs and aromatic herbs. Several canals from the lake watered it, by one of which their barges could enter. In the centre of of the garden was a fiſh-pond, the circumference of which meaſured ſixteen hundred paces, or four hundred from ſide to ſide, where innumerable water-fowl reſorted, and there were ſteps on every ſide to deſcend to the bottom. This garden, agreeable to the teſtimony of Cortes and Diaz, who ſaw it, was planted, or rather extended and improved by Cuitlahuatzin, the brother and ſucceſſor in the kingdom to Montezuma II. He cauſed many foreign trees to be tranſplanted there, according to the account of Hernandez, who ſaw them.

The garden of Huaxtepec was ſtill more extenſive and celebrated than the laſt. It was ſix miles in circumference, and watered by a beautiful river which croſſed it. Innumerable ſpecies of trees and plants were reared there and beautifully diſpoſed, and at proper diſtances from each other different pleaſure houſes were erected. A great number of ſtrange plants imported from foreign countries were collected in it. The Spaniards for many years preſerved this garden, where they cultivated every kind of medicinal herb belonging to that clime, for the uſe of the hoſpital which they founded there, in which the remarkable hermit, Gregorio Lopez, ſerved a number of years *(p)*.

They paid no leſs attention to the preſervation of the woods which ſupplied them with fuel to burn, timber to build, and game for the diverſion of the king. We have formerly mentioned the woods of

(*p*) Cortes, in his letter to Charles V. of the 15th of May, 1522, told him, that the garden of Huaxtepec was the moſt extenſive, the moſt beautiful, and moſt delightful which had ever been beheld. Bernal Dias, in chap. cxlii. of his hiſtory ſays, that the garden was moſt wonderful, and truly worthy of a great prince. Hernandez frequently makes mention of it in his Natural Hiſtory, and names ſeveral plants which were tranſplanted there, and amongſt others the balſam-tree. Cortes alſo, in his letter to Charles V. of the 30th of October, 1520, relates, that having requeſted king Montezuma to cauſe a villa to be made in Malinaltepec for that emperor, two months were hardly elapſed when there were erected at that place four good houſes; ſixty fanegas of maize ſown, ten of French beans, two thouſand feet of ground planted with cacao, and a vaſt pond, where five hundred ducks were breeding, and fifteen hundred turkies were rearing in houſes.

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king Montezuma, and the laws of king Nezahualcojotl concerning the cutting of them. It would be of advantage to that kingdom, that thoſe laws were ſtill in force, or at leaſt that there was not ſo much liberty granted in cutting without an obligation to plant a certain number of trees; as many people preferring their private intereſt and convenience to the public welfare, deſtroy the wood in order to enlarge their poſſeſſions (*q*).

SECT. XXXI. Plants moſt cultivated by the Mexicans.

Among the plants moſt cultivated by the Mexicans next to maize, the principal were thoſe of cotton, the cacao, the *metl*, or aloe, the chia, and great pepper, on account of the various uſes which they made of them. The aloe, or maguei alone, yielded almoſt every thing neceſſary to the life of the poor. Beſides making excellent hedges for their fields, its trunk ſerved in place of beams for the roofs of their houſes, and its leaves inſtead of tiles. From thoſe leaves they obtained paper, thread, needles, clothing, ſhoes, and ſtockings, and cordage; and from its copious juice they made wine, honey, ſugar, and vinegar. Of the trunk, and thickeſt part of the leaves, when well baked, they made a very tolerable diſh of food. Laſtly, it was a powerful medicine in ſeveral diſorders, and particularly in thoſe of the urine. It is alſo at preſent one of the plants the moſt valued and moſt profitable to the Spaniards, as we ſhall ſee hereafter.

SECT. XXXII. Animals bred by the Mexicans.

With reſpect to the breeding of animals, which is an employment aſſociated with agriculture, although among the Mexicans there were no ſhepherds, they having been entirely deſtitute of ſheep, they bred up innumerable ſpecies of animals unknown in Europe. Private perſons brought up *techichis*, quadrupeds, as we have already mentioned, ſimilar to little dogs; turkeys, quails, geeſe, ducks, and other kinds of fowl. In the houſes of lords were bred fiſh, deer, rabbits, and a variery of birds; and in the royal palaces, almoſt all the ſpecies of quadrupeds, and winged animals of thoſe countries, and a prodigious number of water animals and reptiles. We may ſay, that in this kind of magnificence Montezuma II. ſurpaſſed all the kings of the world, and that there never has been a nation equal in ſkill to the Mexicans in the

(*q*) Many places ſtill feel the pernicious effects of the liberty to cut the woods. The city Queretaro was formerly provided with timber for building from the wood which was upon the neighbouring mountain *Cimatario*. At preſent it is obliged to be brought from a great diſtance, as the mountain is entirely ſtript of its wood.

care

care of ſo many different ſpecies of animals, which had ſo much knowledge of their diſpoſitions, of the food which was moſt proper for each, and of all the means neceſſary for their preſervation and increaſe.

Among the animals reared by the Mexicans, no one is more worthy of mention than the *nochiztli*, or Mexican cochineal, deſcribed by us in our firſt book. This inſect, ſo greatly valued in Europe on account of its dyes, and eſpecially thoſe of ſcarlet and crimſon, being not only extremely delicate, but alſo perſecuted by ſeveral enemies, demands a great deal more care from the breeders than is neceſſary for the ſilk-worm. Rain, cold, and ſtrong winds deſtroy it. Birds, mice, and worms, perſecute it furiouſly and devour it; hence it is neceſſary to keep the rows of opuntia, or nopal, where thoſe inſects are bred always clean; to attend conſtantly to drive away the birds which are deſtructive to them, to make neſts of hay for them in the leaves of the opuntia, by the juice of which they are nouriſhed, and when the ſeaſon of rain approaches, to raiſe them from the plants together with the leaves, and guard them in houſes. Before the females are delivered they caſt their ſkin, to obtain which ſpoil the breeders make uſe of the tail of the rabbit, bruſhing moſt gently with it that they may not detach the inſects from the leaves, or do them any hurt. On every leaf they make three neſts, and in every neſt they lay about fifteen cochineals. Every year they make three gatherings, reſerving however each time a certain number for the future generation; but the laſt gathering is leaſt valued, the cochineals being ſmaller then, and mixed with the ſhavings of the opuntia. They kill the cochineal moſt commonly with hot water. On the manner of drying it afterwards the quality of the colour which is obtained from it chiefly depends. The beſt is that which is dried in the ſun. Some dry it in the *comalli*, or pan, in which they bake their bread of maize, and others in the *temazcalli*, a ſort of oven, of which we ſhall ſpeak elſewhere.

SECT. XXXII. Chace of the Mexicans.

The Mexicans would not have been able to aſſemble ſo many ſorts of animals, if they had not had great dexterity in the exerciſe of the chace. They made uſe of the bow and arrow, darts, nets, ſnares, and *Cerbottane**. The cerbottane which the kings and principal lords made

* *Cerbottane*, are long tubes, or pipes, through which they ſhoot, by blowing with the mouth little balls at birds, &c.

uſe

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uſe of were curiouſly carved and painted, and likewiſe adorned with gold and ſilver. Beſides the exerciſe of the chace which private individuals took either for amuſement, or to provide food for themſelves, there were general chaces, which were either thoſe eſtabliſhed by cuſtom to procure a plenty of victims for ſacrifices, or others occaſionally appointed by the king. For this general chace they fixed on a large wood, which was generally that of Zacatepec, not far diſtant from the capital; there they choſe the place moſt adapted for ſetting a great number of ſnares and nets. With ſome thouſands of hunters they formed a circle round the wood of ſix, ſeven, eight, or more miles, according to the number of animals they intended to take: they ſet fire every where to the dry graſs and herbs, and made a terrible noiſe with drums, horns, ſhouting, and whiſtling. The animals, alarmed by the noiſe and the fire, fled to the centre of the wood, which was the very place where the ſnares were ſet. The hunters approached towards the ſame ſpot, and ſtill continuing their noiſe, gradually contracted their circle, until they left but a very ſmall ſpace to the game, which they all then attacked with their arms. Some of the animals were killed, and ſome were taken alive in the ſnares, or in the hands of the hunters. The number and variety of game which they took was ſo great, that the firſt viceroy of Mexico, when he was told of it, thought it ſo incredible, that he deſired to make experience of the method himſelf. For the field of the chace, he made choice of a great plain which lies in the country of the Otomies, between the villages of Xilotepec and *S. Giovanni del Rio*, and ordered the Indians to proceed in the ſame manner as they had been uſed to do in the time of their paganiſm. The viceroy, with a great retinue of Spaniards repaired to the plain, where accommodations were prepared for them in houſes built of wood, erected there on purpoſe. Eleven thouſand Otomies formed a circle of more than fifteen miles, and after practiſing all the means above mentioned, aſſembled ſuch a quantity of game on the plain, that the viceroy, who was quite aſtoniſhed at the ſight, commanded that the greater part of them ſhould be ſet at liberty, which was accordingly done; notwithſtanding the number of animals taken would be altogether incredible, if the circumſtance had not been publicly known and atteſted by many, and among others by a witneſs worthy of the higheſt credit.

credit *(r)*. They killed more than ſix hundred deer and wild goats, upwards of a hundred cojotés, and a ſurpriſing number of hares, rabbits, and other quadrupeds. The plain ſtill retains the Spaniſh name *Cazadero*, or place of the chace, which was then given it.

Beſides the uſual method of practiſing the chace, they had other particular devices for catching particular kinds of animals. In order to catch young apes, they made a ſmall fire in the woods, and put among the burning coals a particular kind of ſtone which they called *Cacalotetl*, (raven, or black ſtone), which burſts with a loud noiſe when it is well heated. They covered the fire with earth, and ſprinkled around it a little maize. The apes, allured by the grain, aſſembled about it with their young, and while they were peaceably eating, the ſtone burſt; the old apes fled away in terror leaving their young behind them; the hunters, who were on the watch, then ſeized them before their dams could return to carry them off.

The method alſo which they had, and ſtill uſe, to catch ducks, is artful and curious. The lakes of the Mexican vale, as well as others of the kingdom, are frequented by a prodigious multitude of ducks, geeſe, and other aquatic birds. The Mexicans left ſome empty gourds to float upon the water, where thoſe birds reſorted, that they might be accuſtomed to ſee and approach them without fear. The bird-catcher went into the water ſo deep as to hide his body, and covered his head with a gourd; the ducks came to peck at it, and then he pulled them by the feet under water, and in this manner ſecured as many as he pleaſed.

They took ſerpents alive either by twiſting them with great dexterity, or approaching them intrepidly, they ſeized them with one hand by the neck, and ſewed up their mouths with the other. They ſtill take them in this way, and every day in the apothecary's ſhops of the capital, and other cities, may be ſeen live ſerpents which have been taken in this manner.

But nothing is more wonderful than their quickneſs in tracing the ſteps of wild beaſts. Although there is not the ſmalleſt print of them to be ſeen from the earth being covered with herbs or dry leaves which

(r) P. Toribio di Benaventi, or Motolinia.

fall

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fall from the trees, they ſtill track them, particularly if they are wounded, by obſerving moſt attentively ſometimes the drops of blood which fall upon the leaves as they paſs, ſometimes the herbs which are broken or beat down by their feet (s).

SECT. XXXIV. Fiſhing.

From the ſituation of their capital, and its vicinity to the lake of Chalco, which abounded with fiſh, the Mexicans were ſtill more invited to fiſhing than the chace. They employed themſelves in it from the time of their arrival in that country, and their art in fiſhing procured them all other neceſſaries. The inſtruments which they moſt commonly made uſe of in fiſhing were nets, but they alſo employed hooks, harpoons, and weals.

The fiſhers not only caught fiſh, but even took crocodiles in two different methods. One was by tying them by the neck, which, as Hernandez aſſerts, was very common; but this author does not explain the manner in which they performed an act ſo daring againſt ſo terrible a creature. The other method, which is ſtill uſed by ſome, was that which the Egyptians formerly practiſed on the famous crocodiles of the Nile. The fiſher preſented himſelf before the crocodile, carrying in his hand a ſtrong ſtick, well ſharpened at both ends, and when the animal opened its mouth to devour him, he thruſt his armed hand into its jaws, and as the crocodile ſhut its mouth again, it was transfixed by the two points of the ſtick. The fiſher waited until it grew feeble from the loſs of blood, and then he killed it.

SECT. XXXV. Commerce.

Fiſhing, hunting, agriculture, and the arts, furniſhed the Mexicans ſeveral branches of commerce. Their commerce in the country of Anahuac began as ſoon as they were ſettled upon the little iſlands in the Tezcucan lake. The fiſh which they caught, and the mats which they wove of ruſhes which the ſame lake produces, was exchanged for maize, cotton, ſtones, lime, and the wood, which they required for their ſupport, for their clothing, and their buildings. In proportion to the power which their arms acquired, their commerce increaſed; ſo that from having been at firſt confined to the environs of their own

(s) The account which we have of the Tarahumareſe, the Opates, and other nations beyond the Tropic, when purſued by their enemies the Apacci, is ſtill more wonderful; for by the touch and obſervations of the footſteps of their enemies, they can tell the time at which they paſſed there. The ſame thing we underſtand is reported of the people of Yucatan.

city, it extended at laſt to the moſt diſtant provinces. There were innumerable Mexican merchants, who inceſſantly travelled from one city to another to exchange their goods to advantage. In every place of the Mexican empire, and of all the extenſive country of Anahuac, a market was opened every day; but every five days they held one which was more conſiderable and general. Cities which were near together had this market on different days, that they might not prejudice each other; but in the capital it was kept on the days of the Houſe, the Rabbet, the Reed, and the Flint, which, in the firſt year of the century, were the third, the eighth, the thirteenth, and eighteenth of every month.

In order to convey ſome idea of thoſe markets, or rather fairs, which have been ſo much celebrated by the hiſtorians of Mexico, it will be ſufficient to deſcribe that held in the capital. Until the time of king Axajacatl, it was kept in a ſpace of ground before the royal palace; but after the conqueſt of Tlatelolco, it was removed to that quarter. The public place of Tlatelolco was, according to the account of the conqueror Cortes, twice as large as that of Salamanca, one of the moſt famous in Spain (*t*), and ſurrounded by porticos for the convenience of the merchants. Every ſort of merchandize had a particular place allotted to it by the judges of commerce. In one ſtation were goods of gold, and ſilver, and jewels; in another, manufactures of cotton; in another, thoſe of feathers, and ſo forth; and no change of ſituation was allowed to any of them; but although the ſquare was very large, as all the merchandizes could not be lodged in it without interrupting the tranſaction of buſineſs, it was ordered that all large goods, ſuch as beams, ſtones, &c. ſhould be left in the roads and canals near to the market-place. The number of merchants who daily aſſembled there, according to the affirmation of Cortes himſelf, exceeded fifty thouſand (*u*). The things which were ſold or exchanged there, were ſo

(*t*) In three editions of the letters of Cortes which we have ſeen, we have read, that the ſquare of Tlatelolco *was twice as large as the* city of Salamanca, whereas it ought to read, *as that* of the city of Salamanca.

(*u*) Although Cortes affirmed that there aſſembled daily in the market-place of Tlatelolco fifty thouſand people, it appears that it ought to be underſtood of the great market which was held every five days; for the anonymous conqueror, who ſpeaks more diſtinctly of it, ſays, that at the markets there were from twenty to twenty-five thouſand, but at the great markets from forty to fifty thouſand.

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numerous and ſo various, that hiſtorians who ſaw them, after making a long and tedious enumeration, conclude with ſaying, it is impoſſible to expreſs them all. Without contradicting their aſſertion, and to avoid prolixity, we will endeavour to comprehend them in a few words. To that ſquare were carried to be ſold or exchanged all the productions of the Mexican empire, or adjacent countries, which could ſerve for the neceſſaries of life, the convenience, the luxuries, the vanity, or curioſity of man (*x*); innumerable ſpecies of animals, both dead and alive, every ſort of eatable which was in uſe amongſt them, all the metals and gems which were known to them, all the medicinal drugs and ſimples, herbs, gum, reſins, and mineral earths, as well as the medicines prepared by their phyſicians, ſuch as beveridges, electaries, oils, plaſters, ointments, &c. and every ſort of manufacture and work of the thread of the metl, maguei, or aloe, of the mountain palm, of cotton, of feathers, of the hair of animals, of wood, of ſtone, of gold, ſilver, and copper. They ſold there alſo ſlaves, and even whole veſſels, laden with human dung, for dreſſing the ſkins of animals. In ſhort, they ſold in that ſquare every thing which could be ſold in all that city; for they had no mart elſewhere, nor was any thing ſold out of the market-place except eatables. The potters and jewellers of Cholula, the goldſmiths of Azcapozalco, the painters of Tezcuco, the ſtone-cutters of Tenajocan, the hunters of Xilotepec, the fiſhers of Cuitlahuac, the fruiterers of hot countries, the mat-weavers and chair-makers of Quauhtitlan, and floriſts of Xochimilco, all aſſembled there.

SECT. XXXVI. Money.

Their commerce was not only carried on by way of exchange, as many authors report, but likewiſe by means of real purchaſe and ſale. They had five kinds of real money, though it was not coined, which ſerved them as a price to purchaſe whatever they wanted. The firſt was a certain ſpecies of cacao, different from that which they uſed in their daily drink, which was in conſtant circulation through the hands of traders, as our money is amongſt us. They counted the cacao by *Xiquepilli*, (this as we have before obſerved, was equal to eight thouſand),

(*x*) Whoever will take the trouble to read the deſcription which Cortes, Bernal Diaz, and the anonymous conqueror have given of their market, will be convinced there is no exaggeration made here of the variety of their merchandizes.

and

and to ſave the trouble of counting them when the merchandize was of great value, they reckoned them by ſacks, every ſack having been reckoned to contain three *xiquipilli*, or twenty-four thouſand nuts. The ſecond kind of money was certain ſmall cloths of cotton, which they called *patolquachtli*, as being ſolely deſtined for the purchaſe of merchandizes which were immediately neceſſary. The third ſpecies of money was gold in duſt, contained in gooſe-quills, which, by being tranſparent, ſhewed the precious metal which filled them, and in proportion to their ſize were of greater or leſs value. The fourth, which moſt reſembled coined money, was made of pieces of copper in the form of a T, and was employed in purchaſes of little value. The fifth, of which mention is made by Cortes, in his laſt letter to the emperor Charles the Vth, conſiſted of thin pieces of tin.

They ſold and exchanged merchandizes by number and meaſure; but we do know that they made uſe of weights, either becauſe they thought them liable to frauds, as ſome authors have ſaid, or becauſe they did not find them neceſſary, as others have affirmed, or becauſe if they did uſe them the Spaniards never knew it *(y)*.

SECT. XXXVII. Regulations of the market.

To prevent fraudulent contracts and diſorder amongſt the traders, there were certain commiſſioners who were continually traverſing the market to obſerve what happened, and a tribunal of commerce, compoſed of twelve judges, reſiding in a houſe of the ſquare, was appointed to decide all diſputes between traders, and take cognizance of all treſpaſſes committed in the market-place. Of all the goods which were brought into the market, a certain portion was paid in tribute to the king, who was on his part obliged to do juſtice to the merchants, and to protect their property and their perſons. A theft ſeldom happened in the market, on account of the vigilance of the king's officers, and the ſeverity with which it was inſtantly puniſhed. But it is not the leaſt ſurpriſing, that theft was ſo rigorouſly puniſhed, where the ſmalleſt diſorders were never pardoned. The laborious and moſt

(y) Gomara believed, that the Mexicans made no uſe of ſcales or weights; becauſe they were ignorant of ſuch a contrivance; but it is very improbable, that a nation ſo induſtrious and commercial ſhould not have known the manner of aſcertaining the weight of goods, when among other nations of America, leſs acute than the Mexicans, ſtilyards were made uſe of, according to the report of the ſame author, to weigh gold. Of how many circumſtances relative to American antiquity are we ſtill ignorant, owing to the want of proper examination and enquiry!

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ſincere F. Motolinia relates, that a quarrel having ariſen once between two women in the market of Tezcuco, and one of them having gone ſo far as to beat the other with her hands, and occaſion the loſs of ſome blood, to the amazement of the people, who were not accuſtomed to ſee ſuch an outrage committed there, ſhe was immediately condemned to death for the offence. All the Spaniards who ſaw thoſe markets extolled them with the higheſt praiſes, and were unable to expreſs in words the admirable diſpoſition, and the wonderful order which was maintained among ſo great a multitude of merchants and merchandizes.

The markets of Tezcuco, Tlaſcala, Cholula, Huexotzinco, and other large places, were ordered in the ſame manner as that of Mexico. At the market of Tlaſcala, Cortes affirms, more than thirty thouſand merchants and others aſſembled (z). At that of Tepeyacac, which was not one of the largeſt cities, Motolinia above mentioned ſays, he has known twenty-four years after the conqueſt, when the commerce of thoſe people was greatly declined, that at the market held every five days, there were not leſs than eight thouſand European hens ſold, and that as many were ſold at the market of Acapitlayocan.

SECT. XXXVIII. Cuſtom of the merchants in their journies.

When young merchants were deſirous of undertaking a long journey, they gave an entertainment to the old merchants, who were no longer able on account of their age to travel, and alſo to their own relations, and informed them of their deſign, and the motive which induced them to travel into diſtant countries.

Thoſe who were invited praiſed their reſolution, encouraged them to follow the ſteps of their anceſtors, particularly if it was their firſt journey which they were going to perform, and gave ſeveral advices to them how they were to conduct themſelves. In general, many of them travelled together for greater ſafety. Each of them carried in his hand a ſmooth black ſtick, which, as they ſaid, was the image of their god Jacateuctli, with which they imagined themſelves ſecure againſt all the dangers of the journey. As ſoon as they arrived at any houſe where they made a halt, they aſſembled and tied all the ſticks together and worſhipped them; and twice or thrice, during the night, they drew

(z) That which Cortes has ſaid reſpecting the number of merchants and dealers which aſſembled at the market of Tlaſcala, ought moſt probably to be underſtood of the market of every five days, in the ſame manner as we have obſerved above reſpecting that of Mexico.

blood

blood from themſelves in honour of that god. All the time that a merchant was abſent from home, his wife and children did not waſh their heads, although they bathed, excepting once every eighty days, not only to teſtify their regret of his abſence, but alſo by that ſpecies of mortification to procure the protection of their gods. When any of the merchants died on their journey, advice of his death was immediately ſent to the oldeſt merchants of his native country, and they communicated it to his relations and kindred, who immediately formed an imperfect ſtatue of wood to repreſent the deceaſed, to which they paid all the funeral honours which they would have done to the real dead body.

SECT. XXXIX. Roads, houſes for the reception of travellers, veſſels, and bridges.

For the convenience of merchants, and other travellers, there were public roads, which were repaired every year after the rainy ſeaſon. They had likewiſe in the mountains and uninhabited places, houſes erected for the reception of travellers, and bridges, and other veſſels for paſſing rivers. Their veſſels were oblong and flat-bottomed, without keel, maſts, or ſails, or any other thing to guide them but oars. They were of various ſizes. The ſmalleſt could hardly hold two or three people, the largeſt could carry upwards of thirty. Many of them were made of one ſingle trunk of a tree. The number of thoſe which were continually traverſing the Mexican lake, exceeded, according to the account of ancient hiſtorians fifty thouſand. Beſides the veſſels, or flats, they made uſe of a particular machine to paſs rivers, which was called *valſa*, by the Spaniards of America. This is a ſquare platform, of about five feet, compoſed of *otatli*, or ſolid canes, tied firmly upon large, hard, empty gourds. Four, or ſix paſſengers ſeated themſelves upon this machine, and were conducted from one ſide of a river to the other by two or four ſwimmers, who laid hold of one corner of the machine with one of their hands, and ſwam with the other. This ſort of machine is ſtill uſed on ſome rivers diſtant from the capital, and we ourſelves paſſed a large river on one of them in 1739. It is perfectly ſafe where the current of the water is equal and ſmooth, but dangerous in rapid and impetuous rivers.

Their bridges were built either of ſtone or wood, but thoſe of ſtone we are of opinion were extremely few in number. The moſt ſingular kind of bridge was that to which the Spaniards gave the name of *Hamaca*. This was a number of the ropes, or natural ligatures of a tree,

more

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more pliant than the willow, but thicker and ſtronger, called in America *Bejucos*, twiſted and wove together, the extremities of which were tied to the trees on each ſide of rivers, the treſs or net formed by them remaining ſuſpended in the air in the manner of a ſwing (*a*). There are ſome rivers with ſuch bridges ſtill. The Spaniards durſt not paſs them, but the Indians paſs them with as much confidence and intrepidity as if they were croſſing by a ſtone bridge, perfectly regardleſs of the undulatory motion of the hamaca, or the depth of the river. But it is to be obſerved, that the ancient Mexicans having been excellent ſwimmers, had no need of bridges, unleſs where from the rapidity of the current, or the weight of ſome burden, they could not ſwim acroſs.

The Mexican hiſtorians tell us nothing of the maritime commerce of the Mexicans. It is probable that it was very trifling, and that their veſſels, which were ſeen coaſting on both ſeas, were chiefly thoſe of fiſhermen. Their greateſt traffick by water was carried on in the lake of Mexico. All the ſtone and wood for building, and for fire, the fiſh, the greater part of the maize, the pulſe, fruit, flowers, &c. was brought by water. The commerce of the capital with Tezcuco, Xochimilco, Chalco, Cuitlahuac, and other cities ſituated upon the lake, was carried on by water, and occaſioned that wonderful number of veſſels to be employed which we have already mentioned.

SECT. XL. Men who carried burdens.

Whatever was not tranſported by water was carried upon men's backs, and on that account there were numbers of men who carried burdens, called *Tlamama* or *Tlameme*. They were brought up from childhood to this buſineſs, which they continued all their lives. A regular load was about ſixty pounds, and the length of way they daily walked was fifteen miles; but they made alſo journeys of two hundred and three hundred miles, travelling frequently over rocky and ſteep mountains. They were ſubjected to this intolerable fatigue from the want of beaſts of burden; and even at preſent, although thoſe countries abound in animals of this ſort, the Mexicans are ſtill often ſeen making long journeys with burdens upon their backs. They carried cotton, maize, and other things in *petlacalli*, which were baſ-

(*a*) Some bridges are ſo tight drawn that they have no undulatory motion, and all of them have their ſide ſupport made of the ſame parts of the tree.

kets made of a particular kind of cane, and covered with leather, which were light and defended their goods ſufficiently from the rain or the ſun. Theſe baſkets are ſtill a good deal uſed for journeys by the Spaniards, who corrupt their name into *petacas*.

SECT. XLI. Mexican language.

The commerce of the Mexicans was by no means embarraſſed, either by the multitude or variety of languages which were ſpoken in thoſe countries; for the Mexican tongue which was the moſt prevailing, was underſtood and ſpoken every where. It was the proper and natural language of the Acolhuas and the Aztecas (*b*), and as we have obſerved elſewhere, likewiſe of the Chechemecan and Toltecan nations.

The Mexican language, of which we wiſh to give our readers ſome idea, is entirely deſtitute of the conſonants B, D, F, G, R, and S, and abounds with L, X, T, Z, Tl, Tz; but although the letter L is ſo familiar to this language, there is not a ſingle word in it beginning with that conſonant. Nor is there a word of an acute termination, except ſome vocatives. Almoſt all the words have the penult ſyllable long. Its aſpirates are moderate and ſoft, and there never is occaſion to make the leaſt naſal ſound in pronunciation.

Notwithſtanding the want of thoſe ſix conſonants it is a moſt copious language; tolerably poliſhed, and remarkably expreſſive; on which account it has been highly valued and praiſed by all Europeans who have learned it, ſo as to be eſteemed by many ſuperior to the Latin, and even to the Greek (*c*); but although we know the particular excellencies of the Mexican language, we can never dare to compare it with the laſt.

Of the copiouſneſs of this language we have an exceeding good demonſtration in the Natural Hiſtory of Hernandez; for in deſcribing twelve hundred plants of the country of Anahuac, two hundred and more ſpecies of birds, and a large number of quadrupeds, reptiles, inſects, and minerals, he hardly found a ſingle animal, herb, or ſub-

(*b*) Boturini ſays, that the excellence of the language which we call the *Mexican*, was the reaſon of its being adopted by the Chechemecan, the Mexican, and Teochechemecan nations, and of their relinquiſhing their native tongue; but beſides this opinion being different from that of all other writers, and of the Indians themſelves, there are no traces in hiſtory of the event of ſuch a change. Where has there ever been a nation known to abandon its native idiom to adopt a better, and particularly a nation ſo tenacious as the Mexicans, and all the other nations of thoſe countries of their particular language?

(*c*) Among the admirers of the Mexican language there have been ſome Frenchmen and Flemings, and many Germans, Italians, and Spaniards.

ſtance,

BOOK VII. ſtance, without its diſtinct and proper appellation. But it is not the leaſt ſurpriſing, that it abounds in words which ſignify material objects, when there are hardly any wanting of thoſe which are neceſſary to expreſs ſpiritual ideas. The higheſt myſteries of our religion can be well expreſſed in Mexican, without any neceſſity of introducing foreign terms. Acoſta wonders, that the Mexicans who had an idea of a ſupreme Being, creator of heaven and earth, had not alſo in their language a word to expreſs it equivalent to *Dios* of the Spaniards, *Deus* of the Romans, *Theos* of the Grecians, *El* of the Hebrews, and *Ala* of the Arabs: on which account their preachers were obliged to make uſe of the Spaniſh term *Dios*. But if this author had had any knowledge of the Mexican language, he would have known that the *Teotl* of the Mexicans ſignifies the ſame thing as the *Theos* of the Greeks, and that there was no other reaſon for introducing the Spaniſh word *Dios*, but the exceſſive ſcruples of the firſt miſſionaries, who, as they burned the hiſtorical paintings of the Mexicans, becauſe they ſuſpected them to be full of ſuperſtitious meanings, (of which alſo Acoſta himſelf juſtly complains), likewiſe rejected the Mexican word *Teotl*, becauſe it had been uſed to expreſs the falſe gods whom they worſhipped. But it would have been better to have imitated the example of St. Paul, who, when he found that in Greece the name *Theos* was uſed to ſignify certain falſe deities, more abominable ſtill than thoſe of the Mexicans, did not compel the Greeks to adopt the *El*, or *Adonai*, of the Hebrews, but retained the uſe of the Greek term, making it be underſtood from that time, to ſignify a ſupreme, eternal, and infinitely perfect Being. However, many diſcerning men who have wrote in the Mexican language, have not ſcrupled to make uſe of the name *Teotl*, in the ſame manner as they all make uſe of the *Ipalnemoani*, of the *Tloque Nahuaque*, and other names ſignificative of the Supreme Being, which the Mexicans applied to their inviſible God. In one of our Diſſertations we ſhall give a liſt of the authors who have wrote in the Mexican language on the Chriſtian religion and morality, and alſo a liſt of terms, ſignifying metaphyſical and moral ideas, in order to expoſe the ignorance and weakneſs of an author *(d)* who has had abſurdity enough to publiſh

(*d*) The author of the work entitled, Recherches Philoſophiques ſur les Americains.

that

that the Mexicans had no words to count above the number three, or to expreſs any metaphyſical or moral ideas, and that on account of its harſhneſs no Spaniard had ever learned to pronounce it. We could here give the numeral words of this language, by which the Mexicans could count up to forty-eight millions at leaſt, and could ſhew how common this language was among the Spaniards, and how well thoſe who have written in it have underſtood it.

The Mexican language, like the Hebrew and French, wants the ſuperlative term, and like the Hebrew, and moſt of the living languages of Europe, the comparative term, which are ſupplied by certain particles equivalent to thoſe which are uſed in other ſuch languages. It abounds more than the Tuſcan in diminutives and augmentatives, and more than the Engliſh or any other language we know in verbal and abſtract terms; for there is hardly a verb from which there are not many verbals formed, and ſcarcely a ſubſtantive or adjective from which there are not ſome abſtracts formed. It is not leſs copious in verbs than in nouns; as from every ſingle verb others are derived of different ſignifications. *Chihua*, is *to do*, *Chichihua*, *to do with diligence*, or *often*; *Chihuilia*, *to do to another*; *Chihualtia*, *to cauſe to be done*; *Chihuatiuh*, *to go to do*; *Chihuaco*, *to come to do*; *Chiuhtiuh*, *to be doing*, &c. We could ſay a great deal more on the ſubject, if it was permitted in the rules of hiſtory.

The ſtyle of addreſs in Mexican varies according to the rank of the perſons, with whom, or about whom, converſation is held, adding to the nouns, verbs, prepoſitions, and adverbs, certain particles expreſſive of reſpect: *Tatli*, means *father*; *Amota*, *your father*; *Amotatzin*, *your worthy father*. *Tleco*, is *to aſcend*; if a perſon commands his ſervant to aſcend a certain place, he ſays ſimply *Xitleco*; but if he aſks ſome reſpectable perſon to do ſo, he will ſay *Ximotlicahui*; and if he wiſhes to uſe ſtill more ceremony and reſpect *Maximotlicahuitzino*. This variety, which gives ſo much civilization to the language, does not, however, make it difficult to be ſpoken; becauſe it is ſubjected to rules which are fixed and eaſy; nor do we know any language that is more regular and methodical.

The Mexicans, like the Greeks and other nations, have the advantage of making compounds of two, three, or four ſimple words; but

BOOK VII.

they do it with more œconomy than the Greeks did; for the Greeks made use of the entire words in compoſition, whereas the Mexicans cut off ſyllables, or at leaſt ſome letters from them. *Tlazotli*, ſignifies *eſteemed* or *loved*; *Mahuitztic*, *honoured* or *revered*; *Teopixqui*, *prieſt*; a word itſelf too compoſed of *Teotl*, *god*; and the verb *Pia*, which ſignifies *to hold*, *guard*, or *keep*; *Tatli* is *father*, as we have already ſaid. To unite thoſe five words in one, they take away eight conſonants and four vowels, and ſay for inſtance *Notlazomahuitztopixcatalzin*, that is, *my very worthy father*, or *revered prieſt*; prefixing the *no*, which correſponds to the pronoun *my*, and adding *tzin*, which is a particle expreſſive of *reverence*. A word of this kind is extremely common with the Indians when they addreſs, and particularly when they confeſs themſelves, which although it is complex, is not, however one of the longeſt; for there are ſome compounded of ſo many terms as to have fifteen or ſixteen ſyllables.

Such compounds were made uſe of in order to give the definition, or deſcription, of a thing, whatever it was, in one word. This may be diſcovered in the names of animals and plants, which are to be found in the Natural Hiſtory of Hernandez, and in the names of places which occur frequently in this hiſtory. Almoſt all the names which they gave to places of the Mexican empire are compounds, and ſignify the ſituation or properties of the places, and that ſome memorable action happened there. Many of their expreſſions are ſo ſtrong, that the ideas of them cannot be heightened, particularly on the ſubject of love. In ſhort, all thoſe who have learned this language, and can judge of its copiouſneſs, regularity, and beautiful modes of ſpeech, are of opinion, that ſuch a language cannot have been ſpoken by a barbarous people.

Sect. XLII. Eloquence and Poetry.

A nation poſſeſſed of ſo powerful a language, could not want poets and orators. Thoſe two arts were much exerciſed by the Mexicans, although they were very far from knowing all their excellencies. Thoſe who were deſtined to be orators, were inſtructed from their infancy in ſpeaking properly, and learned to repeat by memory the moſt celebrated orations of their anceſtors that had been handed down from father to ſon. Their eloquence was employed principally in delivering embaſſies, in councils, and congratulatory addreſſes, which they made to new kings,

kings. Although their moſt celebrated ſpeakers are not to be compared with the orators of the poliſhed nations of Europe, it is not to be denied that their diſcourſes were ſound, judicious, and elegant, as may be perceived from thoſe ſpecimens of their eloquence which are ſtill extant. Even at preſent, when they are reduced to a ſtate of great humiliation, and retain not their ancient inſtitutions, they make harangues in their aſſemblies, which are ſo full of good ſenſe and propriety, as to excite the admiration of all thoſe who hear them.

The number of their public ſpeakers was exceeded by that of their poets. In their verſes they were attentive to the cadence and meaſure. Among the remains which we have of their poetry, are ſome verſes in which between words that are ſignificative, interjections, or ſyllables, are interpoſed, devoid of any meaning, and only made uſe of by what appears to adjuſt the meaſure; but this practice was, probably, only a vice of their bad poets. The language of their poetry was brilliant, pure, and agreeable, figurative, and embelliſhed with frequent compariſons to the moſt pleaſing objects in nature, ſuch as flowers, trees, rivers, &c. It was in poetry chiefly where they made uſe of words in compoſition, which became often ſo very long, that a ſingle one made a verſe of the longeſt meaſure.

The ſubject of their poetical compoſitions was various. They compoſed hymns in praiſe of their gods, to obtain from them thoſe favours they ſtood in need of, which were ſung in the temples and at their ſacred dances. Some were hiſtorical poems, reciting the events of the nation and the glorious action of their heroes, which were ſung at profane dances. Some were odes, containing ſome moral or leſſon uſeful in the conduct of life. Laſtly, ſome were poems on love, or ſome other pleaſing ſubject, ſuch as the chace, which were ſung at the public rejoicings of the ſeventh month. The prieſts were the chief compoſers of thoſe pieces, and taught them to young boys, that they might ſing them when they were grown up. We have already mentioned the celebrated compoſitions of king Nezahualcojotl. The eſteem in which poetry was held by that king, excited his ſubjects to cultivate that art, and multiplied the number of poets of his court. It is related of one of thoſe poets, that having been condemned to die for ſome crime, he made a compoſition in priſon, in which he

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took leave of the world in ſo tender and pathetic a manner, that the muſicians of the palace, who were his friends, adviſed him to ſing it to the king; the king heard it, and was ſo much affected, that he granted the culprit a pardon. This was a ſingular event in the hiſtory of Acolhuacan, in which we read in general, examples of the greateſt ſeverity of government. We ſhould be happy, if it were in our power, to produce here ſome fragments which we have ſeen of the poetry of thoſe nations, to ſatisfy the curious among our readers (*e*).

SECT. XLIII. Mexican theatre.

Dramatic, as well as lyric poetry, was greatly in repute among the Mexicans. Their theatre, on which thoſe kind of compoſitions were repreſented, was a ſquare terras uncovered, raiſed in the market-place, or the lower area of ſome temple, and ſuitably high, that the actors might be ſeen and heard by all. That which was conſtructed in the market-place of Tlatelolco, was made of ſtone and lime, and, agreeable to what Cortes affirms, thirteen feet high, and thirty paces in length every way.

Cav. Boturini ſays, that the Mexican comedies were excellent, and that among the antiques which he had in his curious muſeum, were two dramatic compoſitions on the celebrated apparitions of the mother of God to the Mexican Neophyte Gio. Didaco, in which a particular delicacy and harmony in the expreſſions was diſcernible. We have never ſeen any compoſition of this nature, and although we do not doubt of the delicacies of the language of them, we cannot readily believe that their comedies were much according to the rules of the drama, or deſerving of the exceſſive praiſe of that annaliſt. The deſcription which Acoſta has left us of their theatre and repreſentations, in which he mentions thoſe which were made at Cholula at the great feſtival of the god *Quetzalcoatl*, is much more worthy of credit, and more conſiſtent with the character of thoſe nations: "There was," he ſays, "in the "area of the temple of this god a ſmall theatre, thirty feet ſquare, "curiouſly whitened, which they adorned with boughs, and fitted up "with the utmoſt neatneſs, ſurrounding it with arches made of flowers "and feathers, from which were ſuſpended many birds, rabbits, and

(*e*) P. Orazio Carocci, a learned Milaneſe jeſuit, publiſhed ſome elegant verſes of the ancient Mexicans, in his admirable grammar of the Mexican language, printed in Mexico about the middle of the laſt century.

" other pleaſing objects; where, after having dined, the whole of the " people aſſembled, the actors appeared, and exhibited burleſque cha- " racters, feigning themſelves deaf, ſick with colds, lame, blind, crip- " led, and addreſſing the idol for a return of health: the deaf people " anſwering at croſs purpoſes, thoſe who had colds, coughing, and " ſpitting, and the lame halting; all recited their complaints and miſ- " fortunes, which produced infinite mirth among the audience. Others " appeared under the names of different little animals, ſome in the diſ- " guiſe of beetles, ſome like toads, ſome like lizards, and upon en- " countering each other, reciprocally explained their employments, " which was highly ſatisfactory to the people, as they performed " their parts with infinite ingenuity. Several little boys alſo belong- " ing to the temple, appeared in the diſguiſe of butterflies, and birds " of various colours, and mounting upon the trees which were fixed " there on purpoſe; the prieſts threw little balls of earth at them with " ſlings, occaſioning incidents of much humour and entertainment to " the ſpectators. All the ſpectators then made a grand dance which termi- " nated the feſtival. This took place at their principal feſtivals only *(f)*." The deſcription which Acoſta here gives, calls to our recollection the firſt ſcenes among the Greeks, and we doubt not, that if the Mexican empire had endured a century or two longer, their theatre would have been reduced to a better form, as the Grecian theatre improved itſelf but ſlowly and by degrees.

The firſt religious miſſionaries who announced the goſpel to thoſe nations, obſerving their attachment to muſic and poetry, and the ſuperſtitious notions which characteriſed all their native compoſitions as hymns, compoſed many ſongs and odes in the Mexican language in praiſe of the true God. The laborious Franciſcan, Bernardino Sahagun, compoſed in pure and elegant Mexican, and printed at Mexico, three hundred and ſixty-five hymns, one for each day of the year *(g)*, and the Indians themſelves compoſed many others in praiſe of the true God.

(*f*) Acoſta Stor. Nat. a Mor. delle Indie, lib. v. cap. 29.

(*g*) Sahagun's work was printed, according to the beſt of our knowledge, in 1540. Dr. Eguia complains in his *Biblioteca Mexicana*, that he was never able to find one copy of it. We ſaw one in a library of the college of St. Franceſco Saverio of the Jeſuits of Angelopoli.

Botu-

BOOK VII. Boturini makes mention of the compoſitions of D. Franciſco Placido, governor of Azcapozalco, ſung by him at the ſacred dances, which he, along with other Mexican nobles, made before the famous image of the Virgin of Guadaloupe. Thoſe zealous Franciſcans wrote alſo ſeveral dramatic pieces in Mexican, relative to the myſteries of the Chriſtian religion. Amongſt others was celebrated that of the univerſal judgment, compoſed by the indefatigable miſſionary Andrea d' Olmos, which was repreſented in the church of Tlatelolco, in the preſence of the firſt governor, and the firſt archbiſhop of Mexico, and a great aſſembly of the Mexican nobility and people.

SECT. XLIV. Muſic.

Their muſic was ſtill more imperfect than their poetry. They had no ſtringed inſtruments. All their muſic conſiſted in the *Huehuetl*, the *Teponaztli*, horns, ſea-ſhells, and little flutes or pipes, which made a ſhrill ſound. The *Huehuetl*, or Mexican drum, was a cylinder of wood, more than three feet high, curiouſly carved and painted on the outſide, covered above with the ſkin of a deer, well dreſſed and ſtretched, which they tightened or ſlackened occaſionally, to make the ſound more ſharp or deep. They ſtruck it only with their fingers, but it required infinite dexterity in the ſtriker. The *Teponaztli*, which is uſed to this day among the Indians, is alſo cylindrical and hollow, but all of wood, having no ſkin about it, nor any opening but two ſlits lengthways in the middle, parallel to, and at a little diſtance from each other. It is ſounded by beating the ſpace between thoſe two ſlits with two little ſticks, ſimilar to thoſe which are made uſe of for modern drums, only that their points are covered with ule, or elaſtic gum, to ſoften the ſound. The ſize of this inſtrument is various; ſome are ſo ſmall as to be hung about the neck; ſome of a middling ſize, and others ſo large as to be upwards of five feet long. The ſound which they yield is melancholy, and that of the largeſt is ſo loud, that it may be heard at the diſtance of two or three miles. To the accompanyment of thoſe inſtruments, the figure of which we here preſent to our readers, the Mexicans ſung their hymns and ſacred muſic. Their ſinging was harſh and offenſive to European ears; but they took ſo much pleaſure in it themſelves, that on feſtivals, they continued ſinging the whole

whole day. This was unqueſtionably the art in which the Mexicans were leaſt ſucceſsful.

However imperfect they were in muſic, their dances in which they exerciſed themſelves from childhood, under the direction of the prieſts, were moſt graceful. They were of various kinds, and were differently named, according to the nature of the dance, or the circumſtances of the feſtival on which they were made. They danced ſometimes in a circle, and ſometimes in ranks. At ſome dances only men, and at others, only women danced. On ſuch occaſions, the nobles put on their moſt pompous dreſſes, adorned themſelves with bracelets, earrings, and various pendants of gold, jewels, and fine feathers, and carried in one hand a ſhield covered with the moſt beautiful plumes, or a fan made of feathers; and in the other an *Ajacaxtli*, which is a certain little veſſel, which we ſhall mention hereafter, reſembling a helmet, round or oval in ſhape, having many little holes, and containing a number of little ſtones which they ſhook together, accompanying the ſound, which is not diſagreeable, with their muſical inſtruments. The populace diſguiſed themſelves, under various figures of animals, in dreſſes made of paper, of feathers, or ſkins.

The little dance, which was made in the palaces for the amuſement of the lords, or in the temples, as a particular act of devotion, or in private houſes, when they celebrated nuptials, or made any other domeſtic rejoicing, conſiſted of but a few dancers, who formed themſelves in two parallel lines, dancing ſometimes with their faces turned to the one, ſometimes towards the other extremity of their lines; ſometimes the perſon of one line faced thoſe correſpondent to them in the other, each line occaſionally croſſing and intermingling with the other, and ſometimes one of each line detaching themſelves from the reſt, danced in the ſpace between both, while the others ſtood ſtill.

The great dance, which was made in large open ſpaces of ground, or in the area of the greater temple, differed from the other in the order, form, and number of the dancers. This dance was ſo numerous that ſome hundreds of people uſed to join in it. The muſic was placed in the middle of the area or ſpace; near to it the lords danced, forming two, three, or more circles, according to the number of them which was preſent. At a little diſtance from them were formed other circles of dancers

BOOK VII. dancers of leſs rank; and, at a ſmall interval from them, other circles proportionably larger were formed, which were compoſed of youths. All theſe circles had for their centre the *Huehuetl* and the *Teponaztli*. The deſign which we have given of the order and diſpoſition of this dance, repreſents it in the form of a wheel, in which the points denote the dancers, and the circles ſhew the figure which they deſcribed in their dance. The radii of the wheel are as many in number as there were dancers in the ſmalleſt circle neareſt to the muſic. All the dancers deſcribed a circle in their dancing, and no perſon departed from the radius or line to which he belonged. Thoſe who danced cloſe to the muſic, moved with ſlowneſs and gravity, as the circle which they had to make was ſmaller, and on that account it was the place of the lords and nobles moſt advanced in age; but thoſe who occupied the ſtation moſt diſtant from the muſic, moved with the utmoſt velocity, that they might neither loſe the direction of the line to which they belonged, nor the meaſure in which the lords danced.

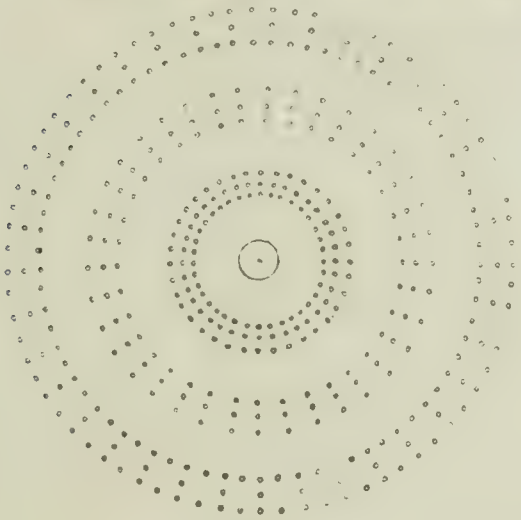
Their dances were almoſt always accompanied with ſinging; but the ſinging was like all the movements of the dancers, adjuſted by the beating of the inſtruments. Two perſons ſung a verſe, to which all the reſt anſwered. In general the muſic began with a grave tone, and the ſingers in a low voice. The longer the dance continued, the more chearful tone was ſounded by the muſic, the ſingers raiſed their voices, their movements became ſwifter, and the ſubject of their ſong more joyful. In the ſpace between the different lines of dancers, ſome buffoons danced, who counterfeited the dreſs of other nations, or diſguiſed themſelves like wild beaſts and other animals, exciting the mirth of the people with their buffooneries. When one ſet of dancers was wearied, another was introduced, and thus they continued the dance for ſix, and ſometimes eight hours.

This was the form of their ordinary dance; but they had others that were very different, in which they repreſented either ſome myſtery of their religion, ſome event of hiſtory or war, the chace, or agriculture.

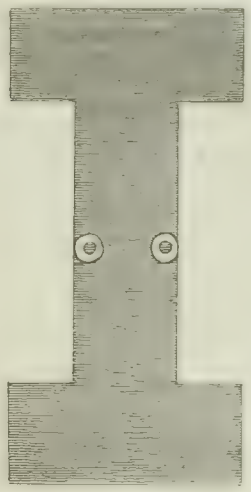
Not only the lords, the prieſts, and the youth of the colleges danced but likewiſe the kings in the temple in performance of their devotion, or for their amuſement in the palaces, but on ſuch occaſions they had always a diſtinct place for themſelves in reſpect to their character.

Among

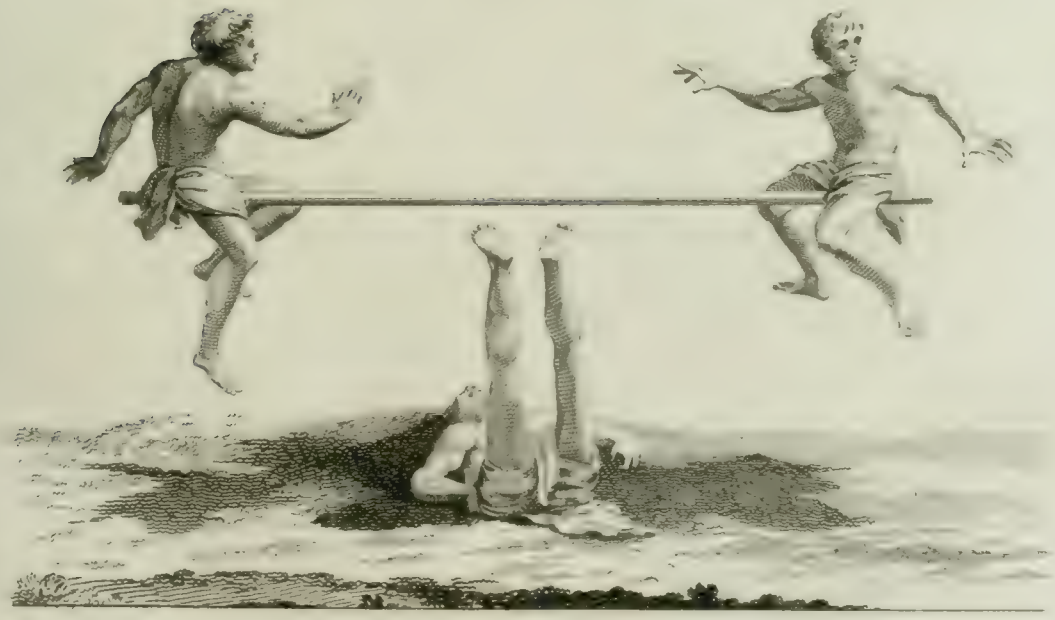
Figure of the great Dance.



Plan of the Ground for the Game of Football



Mexican feats of Activity



Among others there was one extremely curious dance which is ſtill kept up by the people of Yucatan. They fixed in the earth a tree, or ſtrong poſt, fifteen or twenty feet high, from the top of which, according to the number of dancers, they ſuſpended twenty or more ſmall cords, all long and of different colours. When each dancer had taken hold of the end of his cord, they all began to dance to the ſound of muſical inſtruments, croſſing each other with great dexterity until they formed a beautiful net-work of the cords round the tree, on which the colours appeared chequered in admirable order. Whenever the cords, on account of the twiſting, became ſo ſhort, that the dancers could hardly keep hold of them with their arms raiſed up, by croſſing each other again, they undid and unwound them from the tree. There is likewiſe practiſed by all the Indians of Mexico an ancient dance commonly called *Tocotin*, which is ſo graceful, decent, and ſolemn, that it has become one of the ſacred dances performed on certain feſtivals in our time.

The amuſements of the Mexicans were not confined to the theatre and dancing. They had various games, not only for certain fixed ſeaſons and public occaſions, but alſo for the diverſion and relaxation of private individuals. Amongſt the public games, the race was one in which they exerciſed themſelves from childhood. In the ſecond month, and poſſibly alſo at other times, there were military games, among which the warriors repreſented to the people a pitched battle. All thoſe ſports were moſt uſeful to the ſtate, for beſides the innocent paſtime which they afforded to the people, they gave agility to their limbs, and accuſtomed them to the fatigues of war.

The exhibition of the flyers which was made on certain great feſtivals, and particularly in ſecular years, was, though of leſs public benefit, more celebrated than all others. They fought in the woods for an extremely lofty tree, which, after ſtripping it of its branches and bark, they brought to the city, and fixed in the centre of ſome large ſquare. They cuſed the point of the tree in a wooden cylinder, which, on account of ſome reſemblance in its ſhape, the Spaniards called a mortar. From this cylinder hung four ſtrong ropes, which ſerved to ſupport a ſquare frame. In the ſpace between the cylinder and the frame, they fixed four other thick ropes, which they twiſted as many times round

BOOK VII. the tree as there were revolutions to be made by the fliers. Theſe ropes were drawn through four holes, made in the middle of the four planks of which the frame conſiſted. The four principal flyers diſguiſed like eagles, herons, and other birds, mounted the tree with great agility, by means of a rope which was laced about it from the ground up to the frame; from the frame they mounted one at a time ſucceſſively upon the cylinder, and after having danced there a little, they tied themſelves round with the ends of the ropes, which were drawn through the holes of the frame, and launching with a ſpring from it, began their flight with their wings expanded. The action of their bodies put the frame and the cylinder in motion; the frame by its revolutions gradually untwiſted the cords by which the flyers ſwung; ſo that as the ropes lengthened, they made ſo much the greater circles in their flight. Whilſt theſe four were flying, a fifth danced upon the cylinder, beating a little drum, or waving a flag, without the ſmalleſt apprehenſion of the danger he was in of being precipitated from ſuch a height. The others who were upon the frame (there having been ten or twelve perſons generally who mounted) as ſoon as they ſaw the flyers in their laſt revolution, precipitated themſelves by the ſame ropes, in order to reach the ground at the ſame time amidſt the acclamations of the populace. Thoſe who precipitated themſelves in this manner by the ropes, that they might make a ſtill greater diſplay of their agility, frequently paſſed from one rope to another, at that part where, on account of the little diſtance between them, it was poſſible for them to do ſo.

The moſt eſſential point of this performance conſiſted in proportioning ſo juſtly the height of the tree with the length of the ropes, that the flyers ſhould reach the ground with thirteen revolutions, to repreſent by ſuch number their century of fifty-two years, compoſed in the manner we have already mentioned. This celebrated diverſion is ſtill in uſe in that kingdom; but no particular attention is paid to the number of the revolutions, or the flyers; as the frame is commonly ſexagonal, or octagonal, and the flyers ſix or eight in number. In ſome places they put a rail round the frame, to prevent accidents which were frequent after the conqueſt; as the Indians became much given to drinking, and uſed to mount the tree when intoxicated with wine or brandy, and were unable to keep their ſtation on ſo great a height, which was uſually ſixty feet.

Amongſt the private games of the Mexicans, the moſt common and moſt eſteemed was one reſembling football. The place where they played at it, which they called *Tlachco*, was, according to the deſcription given us by Torquemada, a plain ſquare ſpace of ground, about eighteen perches in length, and proportionably broad, encloſed within four walls, which were thicker below than above, and the ſide walls were built higher than the others, and well whitened and poliſhed. They were crowned all round with battlements, and on the lower wall ſtood two idols, which they placed there at midnight with different ſuperſtitious ceremonies, and before they ever played in it the place was bleſſed by the prieſts, with other forms of the ſame nature.

Thus Torquemada deſcribes it; but in four or more paintings which we have ſeen, the draught of this game repreſents it ſuch as we have given it in our figures, which is totally different from the deſcription of Torquemada. It is probable, that there were varieties of the ſame game. The idols placed upon the walls were thoſe of the gods of game, of whoſe names we are ignorant; but ſuſpect the name of one of them to have been *Omacatl, the God of Rejoicings*. The ball was made of ule, or elaſtic gum, three or four inches in diameter, which, although heavier, rebounds more than thoſe made of air. They played in parties, two againſt two, or three againſt three. The players were entirely naked except the *maxtlatl*, or large bandage, about their middle. It was an eſſential condition of the game not to touch the ball, unleſs it was with the joint of the thigh, or the arm, or elbow, and whoever touched it with his hand or foot, or any other part of the body, loſt one of the game. The player who made the ball reach the oppoſite wall, or made it rebound from it, gained a point. Poor people played for ears of maize, or if they had nothing elſe they played for the price of their liberty; others ſtaked a certain number of dreſſes of cotton; and rich perſons played for articles of gold, precious feathers, and jewels. There were in the ſpace between the players two large ſtones, reſembling in figure our mill-ſtones, each of which had a hole in the middle, a little larger than the ball. Whoever ſtruck the ball through this hole, which was extremely uncommon, was not only victor in the game, but according to the eſtabliſhed law, became the

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This game was in high eſtimation with the Mexicans, and the other nations of that kingdom, and much practiſed, as is to be concluded from the ſurpriſing number of balls which the cities of Tochtepec, Otatitlan, and other places, paid in tribute to the crown of Mexico, the number of which, as we have already mentioned, was not leſs than ſixteen thouſand. The kings themſelves played and challenged each other at this game; as Montezuma II. did *Nezahualpilli*. At preſent it is not in uſe among the nations of the Mexican empire; but it is ſtill kept up among the Najarites, the Opates, the Taraumareſe, and other nations of the North. All the Spaniards who have ſeen this game were ſurpriſed with the uncommon agility of the players.

The Mexicans took great delight alſo in another game, which ſome writers have called *patolli* (*b*). They deſcribed upon a fine mat made of the palm-tree, a ſquare, within which they drew two diagonal and two croſs lines. Inſtead of dice they threw large beans, marked with ſmall points. According to the points which their dice turned up, they put down, or took up, certain little ſtones from the junction of the lines, and whoever had three little ſtones firſt in a ſeries, was victor.

Bernal Diaz makes mention of another game at which king Montezuma uſed to amuſe himſelf with the conqueror Cortes, during the time of his impriſonment, which he informs us was called *Totoloque*. That king, he ſays, threw from a diſtance certain little balls of gold, at certain pieces of the ſame metal, which were placed as marks, and whoever made the firſt five hits won the jewels for which they played.

Among the Mexicans there were perſons extremely dexterous at games with the hands and feet. One man laid himſelf upon his back on the ground, and raiſing up his feet, took a beam upon them, or a piece of wood, which was thick, round, and about eight feet in length. He toſſed it up to a certain height, and as it fell he received and toſſed it up again with his feet; taking it afterwards between his feet, he turned it rapidly round, and what is more, he did ſo with two

(*b*) Patolli is a generic term ſignifying every ſort of game.

men

men ſitting aſtride upon it, one upon each extremity of the beam. This feat was performed at Rome before pope Clement VII. and many Roman princes, by two Mexicans ſent over thither by Cortes from Mexico, to the ſingular ſatisfaction of the ſpectators. The exercises alſo which, in ſome countries are called the powers of Hercules, were extremely common among them. One man began to dance; another, placed upright on his ſhoulders, accompanied him in his movements; while a third, ſtanding upright upon the head of the ſecond, danced and diſplayed other inſtances of agility. They placed alſo a beam upon the ſhoulders of two dancers, while a third danced upon the end of it. The firſt Spaniards, who were witneſſes of thoſe and other exhibitions of the Mexicans, were ſo much aſtoniſhed at their agility, that they ſuſpected ſome ſupernatural power aſſiſted them, forgetting to make a due allowance for the progreſs of the human genius when aſſiſted by application and labour.

SECT. XLVII. Different kinds of Mexican paintings.

Though games, dances, and muſic, conduced leſs to utility than pleaſure, this was not the caſe with Hiſtory and Painting; two arts, which ought not to be ſeparated in the hiſtory of Mexico, as they had no other hiſtorians than their painters, nor any other writings than their paintings to commemorate the events of the nation.

The Toltecas were the firſt people of the new world who employed the art of painting for the ends of hiſtory; at leaſt we know of no other nation which did ſo before them. The ſame practice prevailed, from time immemorial, among the Acolhuas, the ſeven Aztecan tribes, and among all the poliſhed nations of Anahuac. The Chechemecas and the Otomies were taught it by the Acolhuas and the Toltecas, when they deſerted their ſavage life.

Among the paintings of the Mexicans, and all thoſe nations, there were many which were mere portraits or images of their gods, their kings, their heroes, their animals, and their plants. With theſe the royal palaces of Mexico and Tezcuco both abounded. Others were hiſtorical, containing an account of particular events, ſuch as are the firſt thirteen paintings of the collection of Mendoza, and that of the journey of the Aztecas, which appears in the work of the traveller Gemelli. Others were mythological, containing the myſteries of their religion. Of this kind is the volume which is preſerved in the great library

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library of the order of Bologna. Others were codes, in which were compiled their laws, their rites, their cuſtoms, their taxes, or tributes; and ſuch are all thoſe of the above mentioned collection of Mendoza, from the fourteenth to the fifty-third. Others were chronological, aſtronomical, or aſtrological, in which was repreſented their calendar, the poſition of the ſtars, the changes of the moon, eclipſes, and prognoſtications of the variations of the weather. This kind of painting was called by them *Tonalamatl*. Siguenza makes mention (*l*) of a painting repreſenting ſuch like prognoſtications which he inſerted in his Ciclographia Mexicana. Acoſta relates "that in the province of Yucatan, there were certain volumes, bound up according to their "manner, in which the wiſe Indians had marked the diſtribution of "their ſeaſons, the knowledge of the planets, of animals, and other "natural productions, and alſo their antiquity; things all highly curious and minutely deſcribed:" which, as the ſame author ſays, were loſt by the indiſcreet zeal of an eccleſiaſtic, who, imagining them to be full of ſuperſtitious meanings, burned them, to the great grief of the Indians, and the utmoſt regret of the curious amongſt the Spaniards. Other paintings were topographical, or chorographical, which ſerved not only to ſhew the extent and boundaries of poſſeſſions, but likewiſe the ſituation of places, the direction of the coaſts, and the courſe of rivers. Cortes ſays, in his firſt letter to Charles V. that having made enquiries to know if there was any ſecure harbour for veſſels in the Mexican gulf, Montezuma preſented him a painting of the whole coaſt, from the port of *Chalchiuhcuecan*, where at preſent Vera Cruz lies, to the river Coatzacualco. Bernal Diaz relates, that Cortes alſo, in a long and difficult voyage which he made to the Bay of Honduras, made uſe of a chart which was preſented to him by the lords of Coatzacualco, in which all the places and rivers were marked from the coaſt of Coatzacualco to Huejacallan.

The Mexican empire abounded with all thoſe kinds of paintings; for their painters were innumerable, and there was hardly any thing left unpainted. If thoſe had been preſerved, there would have been nothing wanting to the hiſtory of Mexico; but the firſt preachers of

(*l*) In his work entitled, *Libra Aſtronomica*, printed in Mexico.

the

the goſpel, ſuſpicious that ſuperſtition was mixed with all their paintings, made a furious deſtruction of them. Of all thoſe which were to be found in Tezcuco, where the chief ſchool of painting was, they collected ſuch a maſs, in the ſquare of the market, it appeared like a little mountain; to this they ſet fire and buried in the aſhes the memory of many moſt intereſting and curious events. The loſs of thoſe monuments of antiquity was inexpreſſibly afflicting to the Indians, and regretted ſufficiently afterwards by the authors of it, when they became ſenſible of their error; for they were compelled to endeavour to remedy the evil, in the firſt place by obtaining information from the mouths of the Indians; ſecondly, by collecting all the paintings which had eſcaped their fury, to illuſtrate the hiſtory of the nation; but although they recovered many, theſe were not ſufficient; for from that time forward, the poſſeſſors of paintings became ſo jealous of their preſervation and concealment from the Spaniards, it has proved difficult, if not impoſſible to make them part with one of them.

SECT. XLVIII. Cloths and colours.

The cloth on which they painted was made of the thread of the maguei, or aloe, or the palm *Ixotl (k)*, dreſſed ſkins, or paper. They made paper of the leaves of a certain ſpecies of aloe, ſteeped together like hemp, and afterwards waſhed, ſtretched, and ſmoothed. They made alſo of the palm *Ixotl*, and the thin barks of other trees, when united and prepared with a certain gum, both ſilk and cotton; but we are unable to explain any particulars of this manufacture. We have had in our hands ſeveral ſheets of Mexican paper: it is ſimilar in the thickneſs to the paſteboard of Europe, but ſofter, ſmoother, and eaſy for writing.

In general they made their paper in very long ſheets, which they preſerved rolled up like the ancient membranes of Europe, or folded up like bed-ſkreens. The volume of Mexican paintings, which is preſerved in the library of Bologna, is a thick ſkin ill-dreſſed, compoſed of different pieces, painted all over, and folded up in that manner.

The beautiful colours which they employed both in their paintings and in their dyes, were obtained from wood, from leaves, and the

(*k*) The coarſe cloth on which the famous image of the Virgin of Guadaloup is painted, is of the palm *Ixotl*.

flowers

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flowers of different plants, and various animals. White they obtained from the ſtone *Chimaltizatl*, which, on calcination, becomes like a fine plaiſter, or from the *Tizatlalli*, another mineral, which after being made into a paſte, worked like clay, and formed into ſmall balls, takes in the fire a white colour reſembling Spaniſh white. Black they got from another mineral, which, on account of its ſtinking ſmell, was called *Tlalihjac*, or from the ſoot of the *Ocotl*, which is a certain aromatic ſpecies of pine, collected in little earthen veſſels. Blue and azure colours were obtained from the flower of the *Matlalxihuitl*, and the *Xiuhquilpitzahuac*, which is indigo (*l*), although their mode of making them was very different from the way of the moderns. They put the branches of this plant into hot, or rather lukewarm water; and after having ſtirred them about for a ſufficient time with a ſtick or ladle, they paſſed the water when impregnated with the dye into certain pots or cups, in which they let it remain until the ſolid part of the dye was depoſited, and then they poured off the water. This lee or ſediment was dried in the ſun, and afterwards it was placed between two plates near a fire, until it grew hard. The Mexicans had another plant of the ſame name, from which they likewiſe obtained an azure colour, but of an inferior quality. Red they got from the ſeeds of the *Achiot* or *Ruocou*, boiled in water; and purple from the *Nochiztli*, or cochineal. Yellow from the Tecozahuitl, or ochre; and likewiſe from the Xochipalli, a plant, the leaves of which reſemble thoſe of the Artemiſia. The beautiful flowers of this plant, boiled in water with nitre, furniſhed them a fine orange-colour. In the ſame manner as they made uſe of nitre to obtain this colour, they employed alum to obtain others. After grinding and diſſolving the aluminous earth in water, which they called *Tlaiocotl*, they boiled it in earthen veſſels;

(*l*) The deſcription of the indigo plant is found in many authors, particularly in Hernandez, lib. iv. cap. 12. which is totally different from that deſcribed by Raynal, in the ſixth book of his Philoſophical and Political Hiſtory. This author affirms, that indigo was tranſplanted from the Eaſt-Indies to America, and that experiments having been made of it in ſeveral countries, the culture of it was eſtabliſhed in Carolina, Hiſpaniola, and Mexico. This however is one of the many miſtakes of that philoſopher. It is certain, from the teſtimony of Ferdinand Columbus, in cap. 1. of the Life of his famous parent Chriſtopher Columbus, that one of the plants, native to the iſland of Hiſpaniola, was the indigo. We know alſo from the hiſtorians of Mexico, and particularly Hernandez, that the ancient Mexicans made uſe of indigo.

then

then by diſtillation, they extracted the allum pure, white, and tranſparent, and before they hardened it entirely, they parted it in pieces to ſell it in the market. To make their colours hold better together, they made uſe of the glutinous juice of the Tzauhtli (*m*), or the fine oil of Chian (*n*).

SECT. XLIX. The character of their paintings, and mode of repreſenting objects.

The figures of mountains, rivers, buildings, trees, and minerals, and, above all, thoſe of men, which appear in the paintings ſtill extant of the ancient Mexicans, are for the moſt part unproportioned and deformed; this, however, we think is not to be aſcribed ſo much to their ignorance of the proportions of objects, or their want of abilities, as to their haſte in painting, of which the Spaniſh conquerors were witneſſes: for as they ſolely paid attention to make a faithful repreſentation of things, they neglected making their images perfect, and on that account frequently contented themſelves with mere ſketches or outlines. However, we have ſeen among the ancient paintings, many portraits of the kings of Mexico, in which beſides the ſingular beauty of the colours, the proportions were moſt accurately obſerved; but we will, notwithſtanding, confeſs, that the Mexican painters were by no means arrived at much perfection of deſign, or in mixing ſhade and light.

The Mexicans uſed in painting not only to repreſent the ſimple images of objects, as ſome writers have reported, but alſo employed hieroglyphics and characters (*o*). They repreſented material things by their proper figures, but in order to abridge and ſave labour, paper, and colours, they contented themſelves with repreſenting a part of an object which was ſufficient to make it be underſtood by the intelligent; and as we cannot underſtand the writings of others, until we have learnt to read them, in like manner thoſe American authors required to have been firſt inſtructed in the Mexican manner of repreſenting objects, in order to have been able to underſtand the paintings which

(*m*) The *Tzauhtli* is a plant very common in that country. Its leaves are ſimilar to thoſe of the leek, its ſtem is ſtrait and knotty, its flowers tinged with a yellowiſh green, its root white and fibrous. To extract its juice they broke it and dried it in the ſun.

(*n*) Thinking to render a ſervice to the Italian painters, we cultivated with great attention three plants of the Chian ſprung from ſeed ſent from Mexico; they took root ſucceſsfully, and we had the pleaſure of ſeeing them loaded with flowers in September 1777; but the froſt of that year coming more early than uſual, nipped them entirely.

(*o*) Such authors are effectually refuted by Dr. Eguiara, in the learned preface to his Bibliotheca MeſEcana, and by us in our Diſſertations.

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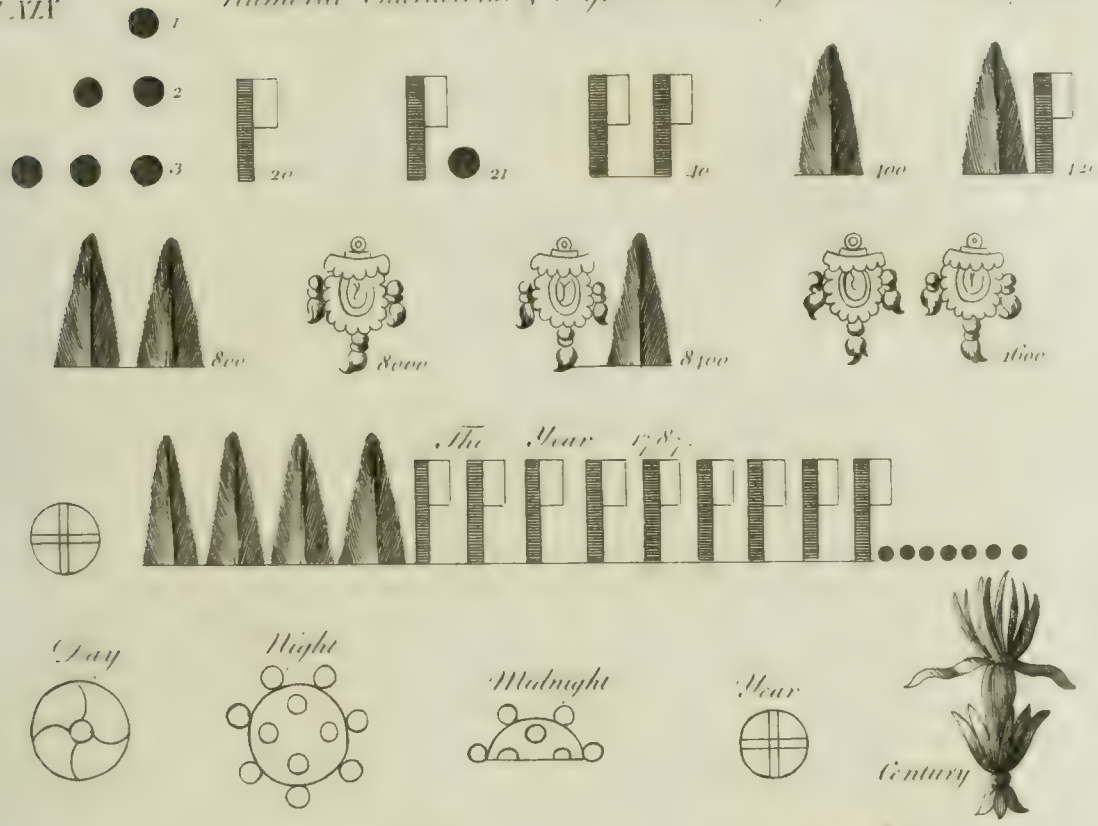
ſerved them in place of writings. For things which are even by nature totally devoid of figure, or were difficult of repreſentation, they ſubſtituted certain characters; but theſe were not verbal, or deſtined to form words like our letters, but real characters immediately ſignificative of the things, ſuch as the characters of aſtronomers and algebraiſts. That our readers may form ſome idea of them, we have ſubjoined the Numeral characters of the Mexicans, alſo thoſe of Time, the Heavens, the Earth, Water, and Air *(p)*.

When they would repreſent any perſon, they painted a man, or a human head, and over it a figure expreſſing the meaning of his name, as appears in the figures of the Mexican kings. To expreſs a city, or a village, they painted in the ſame manner a figure, which ſignified the ſame thing with its name. To form their hiſtories or annals, they painted on the margin of the cloth or paper, the figures of the years in ſo many ſquares, and at the ſide of each ſquare the event or events which occurred in that year; and if, on account of the number of years the hiſtory of which they meant to relate, they could not all be contained in one canvas, they were continued in another. With reſpect to the order of repreſenting the years and events, it was at the liberty of the hiſtorian to begin at which ever angle of the piece he pleaſed; but at the ſame time conſtantly obſerving, that if the painting began at the upper angle on the right hand, he proceeded towards the left. If it began, which was moſt common, at the upper angle on the left hand, he proceeded ſtrait downwards. If he painted the firſt year at the lower angle on the left, he continued towards the right; but if he began at the lower angle on the right, he proceeded ſtrait upwards; ſo that on the upper part of his canvas he never painted from left to right, nor ever on the lower part from right to left; never advanced upwards from the left, nor downwards by the right. When this method of the Mexicans is underſtood, it is eaſy to diſcover at firſt

(p) Reſpecting the numeral characters, it is to be obſerved, they painted as many points as there were units unto twenty. This number has its proper character. Then they doubled it for 20 times, that is 400. This character was doubled in like manner, that is to 8000. Then they began to double the character of 8000. With thoſe three characters, and the points, they expreſſed whatever number they choſe, at leaſt to twenty times 8000, or 160,000. But it is probable this number had its characters alſo.

ſight,

Numeral Characters & Symbolical Figures



ſight, which is the beginning and which is the end of any hiſtorical painting.

It cannot be denied that this method of expreſſing things was imperfect, perplexed, and equivocal; but praiſe is due to the attempt of thoſe people to perpetuate the memory of events, and to their induſtry in ſupplying, though imperfectly, the want of letters, which it is probable they would have invented, in their progreſs to refinement, had their empire been of longer duration; at leaſt they would have abridged and improved their paintings by the multiplication of characters.

Their paintings ought not to be conſidered as a regular full hiſtory, but only as monuments and aids of tradition. We cannot expreſs too ſtrongly the care which parents and maſters took to inſtruct their children and pupils in the hiſtory of the nation. They made them learn ſpeeches and diſcourſes, which they could not expreſs by the pencil; they put the events of their anceſtors into verſe, and taught them to ſing them. This tradition diſpelled the doubts, and undid the ambiguity which paintings alone might have occaſioned, and by the aſſiſtance of thoſe monuments perpetuated the memory of their heroes, and of virtuous examples, their mythology, their rites, their laws, and their cuſtoms.

Nor did that people make uſe only of tradition, of paintings, and ſongs, to preſerve the memory of events, but alſo of threads of different colours, and differently knotted, called by the Peruvians *Quipu*, and by the Mexicans *Nepohualtzitzin*. This curious method of the repreſentation of things, however much uſed in Peru, does not appear to have been employed in the province of Anahuac, if not in the moſt early ages; for no traces of ſuch monuments are now to be found. Boturini ſays, that after the moſt diligent ſearch, he, with difficulty, found one in a place of Tlaſcala, the threads of which were already waſted and conſumed by time. If thoſe who peopled South America ever paſſed the country of Anahuac, they poſſibly might have left there this art, which was afterwards abandoned for that of painting, introduced by the Toltecas, or ſome other nation ſtill more ancient.

After the Spaniards communicated the uſe of letters to them, ſeveral able natives of Mexico, Tezcuco, and Tlaſcala, wrote their hiſtories partly in Spaniſh, and partly in an elegant Mexican ſtyle, which

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hiſtories are ſtill preſerved in ſome libraries of Mexico, as we have already mentioned.

SECT. L. Sculpture.

The Mexicans were more ſucceſsful in ſculpture, in the art of caſting metals and moſaic works, than in painting. They expreſſed the images of their heroes, and of the works of nature in ſtone, wood, gold, ſilver, and feathers, better than on paper, either becauſe the greater difficulty of thoſe labours ſtimulated greater diligence and exertions, or becauſe the high eſteem in which they were held among that people, excited genius and encouraged induſtry.

Sculpture was one of the arts exerciſed by the ancient Toltecas. Until the time of the conqueſt ſeveral ſtatues of ſtone were preſerved which had been cut by the artiſts of that nation; in particular the idol of Tlaloc, placed upon the mountain of the ſame name, which was ſo much revered and worſhipped by the Chechemecas and Acolhuas, and the gigantic ſtatues erected in the celebrated temples of Teotihuacan. The Mexicans had ſculptors among them when they left their native country Aztlan, for we know that they had at that time formed the idol of Huitzilopochtli, which they carried along with them in their long peregrination.

The uſual materials of their ſtatues were ſtone and wood. They wrought the ſtone without iron, ſteel, or any other inſtrument than a chiſſel made of flint ſtone. Their unparalleled phlegmatic nature and conſtancy in labour, were both neceſſary to overcome the difficulty, and endure the tedioufneſs of ſuch labours; and they ſucceeded in ſpite of the unfitneſs of their inſtruments. They learned to expreſs in their ſtatues all the attitudes and poſtures of which the human body is capable; they obſerved the proportions exactly, and could, when neceſſary, execute the moſt delicate and minute ſtrokes with the chiſſel. They not only made entire ſtatues, but likewiſe cut out in ſtone, figures in baſſo relievo, of which kind are thoſe of Montezuma II. and one of his ſons, recorded with praiſes by Acoſta. They alſo made ſtatues of clay and wood, employing for theſe a chiſſel of copper. The ſurpriſing number of their ſtatues may be imagined from that of their idols, which we mentioned in the preceding book. In this reſpect we have alſo to lament the furious zeal of the firſt biſhop of Mexico, and the firſt preachers of the goſpel; who, in order to remove from the ſight

of

of their converts all incentives to idolatry, have deprived us of many valuable monuments of the ſculpture of the Mexicans. The foundation of the firſt church, which was built in Mexico, was laid with idols, and ſo many thouſand ſtatues were then broke in pieces and deſtroyed, that although the kingdom was moſt abounding in works of that kind, at preſent the moſt diligent ſearch can hardly find any of them remaining. The conduct of thoſe miſſionaries was no doubt laudable both in cauſe and effect, but they ſhould have diſtinguiſhed between the innocent ſtatues of thoſe people, and their ſuperſtitious images, that ſome of the former might have been kept entire in ſome place where no evil conſequence would have attended their preſervation.

SECT. LI. Caſting of metals.

The works which they executed by caſting of metals were in more eſteem with the Mexicans than the works of ſculpture, both on account of the greater value of the materials, and the excellence of the art itſelf. The miracles they produced of this kind would not be credible, if beſides the teſtimony of thoſe who ſaw them, curioſities in numbers of this nature had not been ſent from Mexico to Europe. The works of gold and ſilver ſent in preſents from the conqueror Cortes to Charles V. filled the goldſmiths of Europe with aſtoniſhment; who, as ſeveral authors of that period atteſt, declared (*q*) that they were altogether inimitable. The Mexican founders made both of gold and ſilver the moſt perfect images of natural bodies. They made a fiſh in this manner, which had its ſcales alternately one of ſilver and the other of gold; a parrot with a moveable head, tongue, and wings, and an ape with a moveable head and feet, having a ſpindle in its hand in the attitude of ſpinning. They ſet gems in gold and ſilver, and made moſt curious jewellery of great value. In ſhort, theſe ſort of works were ſo admirably finiſhed, that even the Spaniſh ſoldiers, all ſtung with the ſame wretched thirſt for gold, valued the workmanſhip above the materials. This wonderful art, formerly practiſed by the Toltecas, the invention of which they aſcribed to the god Quetzalcoatl, has been entirely loſt by the debaſement of the Indians, and the indolent neg-

(*q*) See in particular what is ſaid of thoſe works by the hiſtorian Gomara, who had them in his hands, and heard what the goldſmiths of Seville ſaid upon ſeeing them.

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lect of the Spaniards. We are doubtful if there are any remains of thoſe curious works; at leaſt we apprehend, it would be more eaſy to find ſome in the cabinets of Europe than in all New Spain. Covetouſneſs to profit by the materials muſt unqueſtionably have conquered all deſire to preſerve them as curioſities.

The Mexicans alſo wrought with the hammer, but in an inferior manner, and not at all to be compared with the goldſmiths of Europe; for they had no other inſtruments to beat metals than ſtones. However, it is well known that they wrought copper well, and that the Spaniards were much pleaſed with their axes and pikes. The Mexican founders and goldſmiths formed a reſpectable body of people. They rendered particular worſhip to their protecting god *Xipe*, and in honour of him held a great feſtival in the ſecond month, at which human victims were ſacrificed.

SECT. LII. Moſaic works.

Nothing, however, was more highly valued by the Mexicans than their moſaic works, which were made of the moſt delicate and beautiful feathers of birds. They raiſed for this purpoſe various ſpecies of birds of fine plumage with which that country abounds, not only in the palaces of the king, where, as we have already obſerved, there were all ſorts of animals, but likewiſe in private houſes, and at certain ſeaſons they carried off their feathers to make uſe of them on this kind of work, or to ſell them at market. They ſet a high value on the feathers of thoſe wonderful little birds which they call *Huitzitzilin*, and the Spaniards *Picaflores*, on account of the ſmallneſs, the fineneſs, and the various colours of them. In theſe and other beautiful birds, nature ſupplied them with all the colours which art can produce, and alſo ſome which art cannot imitate. At the undertaking of every moſaic work ſeveral artiſts aſſembled; after having agreed upon a deſign, and taken their meaſures and proportions, each artiſt charged himſelf with the execution of a certain part of the image, and exerted himſelf ſo diligently in it with ſuch patience and application, that he frequently ſpent a whole day in adjuſting a feather; firſt trying one, then another, viewing it ſometimes one way, then another, until he found one which gave his part that ideal perfection propoſed to be attained. When the part which each artiſt undertook was done, they aſſembled again to form the entire image from them. If any part was accidentally the

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leaſt deranged, it was wrought again until it was perfectly finiſhed. They laid hold of the feathers with ſmall pincers, that they might not do them the leaſt injury, and paſted them on the cloth with *Tzauhtli*, or ſome other glutineus matter; then they united all the parts upon a a little table, or a plate of copper, and flattened them ſoftly until they left the ſurface of the image ſo equal and ſmooth it appeared to be the work of a pencil.

Theſe were the images ſo much celebrated by the Spaniards and other European nations. Whoever beheld them was at a loſs whether he ought to have praiſed moſt the life and beauty of the natural colours, or the dexterity of the artiſt, and the ingenious diſpoſition of art. "Theſe images," ſays Acoſta, "are deſervedly admired; for it is won-"derful how it was poſſible, with the feathers of birds, to execute "works ſo fine and ſo equal, that they appear the performance of the "pencil; and what neither the pencil nor the colours in painting can "effect, they have, when viewed from a ſide, an appearance ſo beauti-"ful, ſo lively, and animated, they give delight to the ſight. Some In-"dians, who are able artiſts, copy whatever is painted with a pencil "ſo perfectly with plumage, that they rival the beſt painters of Spain." Theſe works of feathers were even ſo highly eſteemed by the Mexicans as to be valued more than gold. Cortes, Bernal Diaz, Gomara, Torquemada, and all the other hiſtorians who ſaw them, were at a loſs for expreſſions ſufficient to praiſe their perfection (*r*). A little time ago was living in Pazcuaro, formerly the capital of the kingdom of Michuacan, where this art chiefly flouriſhed ſince the conqueſt, the laſt ſurviving artiſt of Moſaic works, and with him poſſibly is now, or will be, finiſhed this admirable art, although for thoſe two, laſt centuries paſt, it has fallen much ſhort of its ancient perfection. Several works of this kind are ſtill preſerved in the muſeums of Europe, and many in Mexico, but few we apprehend belong to the ſix-

(*r*) Stor. Nat. e Mor. lib. iv. c. 37.

(*s*) Gio. Lorenzo d'Anania, a learned Italian of the ſixteenth century, treating of thoſe images of the Mexicans, obſerves: "Amongſt others I was greatly aſtoniſhed at a San Gi-"rolamo with a crucifix and a lion, which La Sig. Diana Loffreda ſhewed me, diſcovering "ſo much beauty from the liveline's of the natural colours, ſo well and ſo juſtly placed, that "I imagined I could never ſee an equal to it, far leſs a better, among the ancient or even the "moſt eminent modern painters."

teenth

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teenth century, and none of thoſe which we know of, were made before the conqueſt. The moſaic works alſo which they made of broken ſhells was extremely curious; this art is ſtill practiſed in Guatemala.

In imitation of thoſe ſkilful artiſts there were others, who formed with flowers and leaves upon mats many beautiful works made uſe of at feſtivals. After the introduction of Chriſtianity they made theſe works for ornament; they were ſought after moſt eagerly by the Spaniſh nobility, on account of the ſingular beauty of the artifice. At preſent there are many artiſts in that kingdom, who employ themſelves in counterfeiting with ſilk the images of feathers; but their performances are by no means comparable with thoſe of the ancients.

SECT. LIII. Domeſtic or civil architecture of the Mexicans.

A nation ſo induſtrious in thoſe arts which could only ſerve for curioſity and luxury, could not be wanting in thoſe which were neceſſary to life. Architecture, one of thoſe arts which the neceſſity of man firſt invents, was exerciſed by the inhabitants of the country of Anahuac, at leaſt from the time of the Toltecas. Their ſucceſſors the Chechemecas, the Acolhuas, and all the other nations of the kingdoms of Acolhuacan, of Mexico, and Michuacan, of the republic of Tlaſcala, and other provinces, except the Otomies, built houſes and formed cities from time immemorial. When the Mexicans arrived in that country, they found it full of large and beautiful cities. They who before they left their native country were ſkilled in architecture, and uſed to a ſocial life, conſtructed in their pilgrimage many edifices in thoſe places where they ſtopped for ſome years; ſome remains of which are ſtill exiſting as we have already mentioned upon the banks of the river Gila, in Pimeria, and near to the city of Zacatecas. Reduced afterwards to greater hardſhips upon the little iſlands of the Tezcucan lake, they built humble huts with reeds and mud, until by the commerce of their fiſh they were able to purchaſe better materials. In proportion as their power and riches increaſed, they enlarged and improved their habitations; ſo that when the conquerors arrived, they found no leſs to be admired with their eyes than to be deſtroyed with their hands.

The houſes of the poor were built of reeds, or unburned bricks, or ſtone and mud, and the roofs made of a long kind of hay which grows

grows thick, and is common in the fields, particularly in hot countries, or of the leaves of the maguei, or aloe, placed in the manner of tiles, to which they bear ſome reſemblance both in thickneſs and ſhape. One of the columns or ſupports of theſe houſes was generally a tree of a regular growth, by means of which, beſides the pleaſure they took in its foliage and ſhade, they ſaved themſelves ſome labour and expence. Theſe houſes had for the moſt part but one chamber, where the family and all the animals belonging to it, the fire-place, and furniture, were lodged. If the family was not very poor, there were more chambers, an *ajauhcalli*, or oratory; a *temazcalli*, or bath, and a little granary.

The houſes of lords, and people of circumſtances, were built of ſtone and lime; they conſiſted of two floors, having halls, large court-yards, and the chambers fitly diſpoſed; the roofs were flat and terraced; the walls were ſo well whitened, poliſhed, and ſhining, that they appeared to the Spaniards when at a diſtance to have been ſilver. The pavement or floor was plaiſter, perfectly level, plain, and ſmooth.

Many of theſe houſes were crowned with battlements and turrets; and their gardens had fiſh-ponds, and the walks of them ſymmetrically laid out. The large houſes of the capital had in general two entrances, the principal one to the ſtreet, the other to the canal: they had no wooden doors to their houſes, perhaps, becauſe they thought their habitations ſufficiently ſecure without them from the ſeverity of the laws againſt robbers; but to prevent the inſpection of paſſengers, they covered the entrance with little reeds, from which they ſuſpended a ſtring of cocoas, or pieces of broken kitchen utenſils, or ſome other thing fit to awake by its noiſe the attention of the family, when any perſon lifted up the reeds to enter the houſe. No perſon was permitted to enter without the conſent of the owner. When neceſſity, or civility, or family connections did not juſtify the entrance of any perſon who came to the houſe, he was liſtened to without and immediately diſmiſſed.

The Mexicans underſtood the building of arches and vaults (*t*), as appears from their baths, from the remains of the royal palaces of Tez-

(*t*) Torquemada ſays, that when the Spaniards took away the roof from an arch built in the firſt church of Mexico, the Mexicans from terror durſt not enter the church, expecting

BOOK VII. Tezcuco, and other buildings which eſcaped the fury of the conquerors, and alſo from ſeveral paintings. Cornices, and other ornaments of architecture, were likewiſe in uſe among them. They took great delight in making ornaments of ſtone, which had the appearances of ſnares about their doors and windows, and in ſome buildings there was a large ſerpent made of ſtone in the act of biting his tail, after having twiſted his body through all the windows of the houſe. The walls of their buildings were upright and perpendicular; they muſt have made uſe of the plummit, or ſome other inſtrument of its nature, although owing to the negligence of hiſtorians, we are ignorant of the tools which they employed in building, as well as many other things belonging to this and other arts. Some are of opinion, that the Mexican maſons in building walls, filled them up with earth on both ſides, and that as the wall was raiſed, they raiſed likewiſe the heaps of earth ſo high, that, until the building was completed, the walls remained entirely buried and unſeen; on which account the maſons had no occaſion for planks or ſcaffolding. But although this mode of building may appear to have been in practice among the Miztecas, and other nations of the Mexican empire, we do not believe that the Mexicans ever adopted it, from the great expedition with which they finiſhed their buildings. Their columns were cylindrical, or ſquare; but we cannot ſay whether they had either baſes or capitals. They endeavoured at nothing more anxiouſly than to make them of one ſingle piece, adorning them frequently with figures in baſſo relievo. The foundations of the large houſes of the capital were laid upon a floor of large beams of cedar fixed in the earth, on account of the want of ſolidity in the ſoil, which example the Spaniards have imitated. The roofs of ſuch houſes were made of cedar, of fir, of cypreſs, of pine, or of ojametl; the columns were of common ſtone; but in the royal palaces they were of marble, and ſome even of alabaſter, which many Spaniards miſtook for jaſper. Before the reign of Ahuitzotl, the walls of houſes were built of common ſtone; but as they diſcovered in the

every moment to ſee the arch fall. But if they were ſeized with any ſuch apprehenſion, it was certainly not occaſioned by ſeeing the arch, which was in uſe among themſelves, but poſſibly from ſeeing the ſcaffolding taken away quickly, or ſome other circumſtance which excited their admiration.

time

time of that king the quarries of the ſtone Tetzontli, upon the banks of the Mexican lake, it was afterwards preferred as the moſt fit for the buildings of the capital, it being hard, light, and porous like a ſponge: on which account lime adheres very firmly to it. For theſe properties and its colour, which is a blood red, it is at preſent valued above any other ſtone for buildings. The pavements of their courts and temples were in general of the ſtone of Tenajoccan; but ſome alſo were chequered with marble and other precious ſtones.

Although the Mexicans are not to be compared with the Europeans in regard to taſte in architecture, yet the Spaniards were ſo ſtruck with admiration and ſurprize on ſeeing the royal palaces of Mexico, that Cortes, in his firſt letter to Charles V. unable to find words to deſcribe them, ſpeaks thus: "He had," he ſays, ſpeaking of Montezuma, "beſides thoſe in the city of Mexico, other ſuch admirable houſes "for his habitation, that I do not believe I ſhall ever be able to expreſs "their excellence and grandeur; therefore I ſhall only ſay that there are "no equals to them in Spain." Such expreſſions are made uſe of by Cortes in other parts of his letters; by the anonymous conqueror in his valuable relation, and by Bernal Diaz in his moſt faithful hiſtory, who were all three preſent at the conqueſt.

SECT. LIV. Aqueducts and ways up on the lake.

The Mexicans alſo conſtructed, for the convenience of inhabited places, ſeveral excellent aqueducts. Thoſe of the capital for conducting the water from Chapoltepec, which was two miles diſtant, were two in number, made of ſtone and cement five feet high, and two paces broad upon a road raiſed for that purpoſe upon the lake, by which the water was brought to the entrance of the city, and from thence it branched out through ſmaller channels to ſupply ſeveral fountains, and particularly thoſe of the royal palaces. Although there were two aqueducts, the water was only brought by one at a time, as in the interval they cleared the other that they might always have the water pure. At Tezcutzinco, formerly a palace of pleaſure of the kings of Tezcuco, may ſtill be ſeen an aqueduct by which water was conveyed to the royal gardens.

The above mentioned road of Chapoltepec, as well as others made upon the lake, and frequently taken notice of in this hiſtory, are inconteſtible proofs of the induſtry of the Mexicans; but it is ſtill

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more manifeſted in the foundation of their city; for whereas other architects have no more to do than to lay a foundation upon ſolid earth, to raiſe an edifice, the Mexicans were obliged to make the ſoil on which they built, uniting by terraces ſeveral little iſlands together. Beſides this prodigious fatigue, they had to raiſe banks and palliſadoes to render their habitations ſecure. But if in theſe works their induſtry is conſpicuous, in many others the Mexicans ſhew their taſte for magnificence. Amongſt the monuments of ancient architecture which are extant in the Mexican empire, the edifices of Mictlan, in Mizteca, are very celebrated; there are many things about them worthy of admiration, particularly a large hall, the roof of which is ſupported by various cylindrical columns of ſtone, eighty feet high, and about twenty in circumference, each of them conſiſting of one ſingle piece.

SECT. LV. Remains of ancient edifices.

But this, or any other fabric of Mexican antiquity now remaining, cannot be compared with the famous aqueduct of Chempoallan. This large work, worthy of being ranked with the greateſt in Europe, was done about the middle of the ſixteenth century. The Franciſcan miſſionary Franciſco Tembleque, directed, and the Chempoalleſe executed it with wonderful perfection. Moved with compaſſion for the diſtreſs which his proſelytes ſuffered from a ſcarcity of water, as all that could be gathered in trenches and ditches was conſumed by the cattle of the Spaniards, that pious father undertook to relieve the neceſſities of his people at all events. The water was at a great diſtance, and the country through which it was neceſſary to conduct it, was mountainous and rocky; but every difficulty was overcome by his zeal and activity, aided by the induſtry and toil of his converts. They conſtructed an aqueduct of ſtone and lime, which, on account of the frequent turnings they were obliged to make in the mountains, was upwards of thirty miles long. The greateſt difficulty conſiſted in croſſing three great precipices which intercepted their progreſs; but this was got over by three bridges, the firſt conſiſting of forty-ſeven, the ſecond of thirteen, and the third, which is the largeſt and moſt wonderful of all, having ſixty-ſeven arches. The largeſt arch, which was in the middle, ſituated in the greateſt depth of the precipice is one hundred and ten geometrical feet in height, and ſixty-one in breadth, ſo that a large veſſel could paſs under it. The other ſixty-ſix arches,

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ſituated on each ſide of the largeſt, diminiſhed gradually on each ſide unto the edge or top of the precipice, ſo as to leave the ground level with the courſe of the aqueduct. This large bridge is 3,178 geometrical feet, or upwards of half a mile in length. The work of it occupied the ſpace of five years, and the whole aqueduct ſeventeen. We have deemed it not improper to inſert the deſcription of this ſuperb fabrick; as although it was the undertaking of a Spaniard, after the conqueſt, it was executed by the Chempoalleſe, who ſurvived the downfal of their empire.

The ignorant Mr. de P. denies that the Mexicans had either the knowledge, or made uſe of lime; but it is evident from the teſtimony of all the hiſtorians of Mexico, by tribute rolls, and above all from the ancient buildings ſtill remaining, that all thoſe nations made the ſame uſe of lime as the Europeans do. The vulgar of that kingdom believe, that the Mexicans mixed eggs with lime to render it more tenacious; but this is an error, occaſioned by ſeeing the ancient walls of a yellowiſh caſt. It is manifeſt alſo, from the teſtimony of the firſt hiſtorians, that burnt tiles or bricks were uſed by the Mexicans, and that they ſold them like all other things in the market-place.

SECT. LVI. Stone-cutters, engravers, jewellers, and potters.

The ſtone-cutters, who cut and wrought ſtones for building, did not make uſe of pickaxes, nor iron chiſſels, but only of certain inſtruments of flint-ſtone; with theſe, however, they executed beautiful works and engravings. But thoſe ſort of labours without iron do not raiſe ſo much wonder as the ſtones of ſtupendous ſize and weight which were found in the capital and other places, tranſported from great diſtances, and placed in high ſituations without the aid of machines which mechaniſm has invented. Beſides common ſtone they wrought marble, alſo jaſper, alabaſter, itztli, and other valuable ſtones. Of itztli, they made beautiful looking-glaſſes ſet with gold, and thoſe extremely ſharp razors which they fixed in their ſwords, and which their barbers made uſe of. They made thoſe razors with ſuch expedition, that in the ſpace of one hour an artificer could finiſh more than a hundred (*u*).

The Mexican jewellers not only had ſkill in gems, but likewiſe underſtood how to poliſh work and cut them, and formed them into

(*u*) Hernandez Torquemada and Betancourt, deſcribe the manner in which thoſe artiſts made their razors of the ſtone itztli.

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whatever figures they choſe. Hiſtorians affirm, that theſe works were done with a particular ſand; but it is moſt certain, they could not do them without ſome inſtrument of flint, or hard copper, which is found in that country. The gems moſt common among the Mexicans were emeralds, amethyſts, cornelians, turquoiſes, and ſome others not known in Europe. Emeralds were ſo common, that no lord or noble wanted them, and none of them died without having one fixed to his lip, that it might ſerve him as they imagined inſtead of a heart. An infinite number of them were ſent to the court of Spain in the firſt years after the conqueſt. When Cortes returned the firſt time to Spain, he brought along with him, amongſt other ineſtimable jewels, five emeralds, which, as Gomara, who was then living, bears teſtimony, were valued at a hundred thouſand ducats, and for one of them ſome Genoeſe merchants offered him forty thouſand, in order to ſell it again to the grand ſignor (*x*); and alſo two emerald vaſes, valued, as the celebrated P. Mariana (*y*) ſays, at three hundred thouſand ducats, which vaſes Cortes loſt by the ſhipwreck which he ſuffered in the unfortunate expedition of Charles V. againſt Algiers. At preſent no more ſuch gems are wrought, nor is even the place of the mines known where they were formerly dug: but there are ſtill ſome enormous pieces of emerald remaining, namely, a ſacred ſtone in the cathedral church of Angelopoli, and another in the parochial church of Quechula (unleſs this is the ſame tranſported from thence to Angelopoli), which the prieſts keep ſecured with chains of iron, as Betancourt ſays, that no one may carry it off.

The potters not only made the neceſſary family utenſils of clay, but alſo other things of mere curioſity, which they embelliſhed with

(*x*) With regard to Cortes's emeralds, the firſt was made in form of a roſe, the ſecond like a horn, the third like a fiſh, with eyes of gold; the fourth was a little bell, with a fine pearl for a clapper, and upon the lip this inſcription in Spaniſh, *Bendito quien te crió*, that is, *Bleſſed be, who created thee.* The fifth, which was the moſt valuable, and for which the Genoeſe merchants would have given forty thouſand ducats, was a ſmall cup with a foot of gold, and four little chains alſo of gold, which united in a pearl in the form of a button. The lip of the cup was girt with a ring of gold, on which was engraved this Latin ſentence, *Inter natos mulierum non ſurrexit major.* Theſe five emeralds, wrought by the Mexicans at the order of Cortes, were preſented by him to his ſecond wife, the daughter of the count of Aguilar; jewels, ſays Gomara, who ſaw them, better than any other woman whatſoever had in all Spain.

(*y*) Mariana in the Summary, or Supplement of the Hiſtory of Spain.

various

various colours; but they did not underſtand, by what we can diſcover, the art of making glaſs. The moſt famous potters formerly were the Cholaleſe, whoſe veſſels were much priſed by the Spaniards; at preſent the moſt reputed are the potters of Quauhtitlan.

SECT. LVII. Carpenters, weavers, &c.

Their carpenters wrought ſeveral kinds of wood with inſtruments made of copper, of which there are ſtill ſome remains of tolerable workmanſhip.

Manufactures of various kinds of cloth were common every where; it was one of thoſe arts which almoſt every perſon learned. They had no wool, nor common ſilk, nor lint, nor hemp, but they ſupplied the want of wool with cotton, that of ſilk with feathers, with the hair of the rabbit and hare, and that of lint and hemp with *ixotl*, or mountain-palm, with the *quetzalichtli*, the *pati*, and other ſpecies of the maguei. Of cotton they made large webs, and as delicate and fine as thoſe of Holland, which were with much reaſon highly eſteemed in Europe. A few years after the conqueſt, a ſacerdotal habit of the Mexicans was brought to Rome, which, as Boturini affirms, was uncommonly admired on account of its fineneſs and beauty. They wove theſe cloths with different figures and colours, repreſenting different animals and flowers. Of feathers, interwoven with cotton, they made mantles and bed curtains, carpets, gowns, and other things not leſs ſoft than beautiful. We have ſeen ſome beautiful mantles of this kind which are preſerved ſtill by ſome lords; they wear them upon extraordinary feſtivals, as at thoſe of the coronation of the Spaniſh kings. With cotton alſo they interwove the fineſt hair of the belly of rabbits and hares, after having dyed and ſpun it into thread; of theſe they made moſt beautiful cloths, and in particular winter waiſtcoats for the lords. From the leaves of the *Pati* and *Quetzalichtli* two ſpecies of the maguei, they obtained a fine thread, with which they made cloths equal to thoſe made of lint; and from the leaves of other kinds of the maguei, namely, thoſe of the mountain-palm, they drew a coarſer thread, ſimilar to hemp. The method they uſed to prepare thoſe materials was the ſame which is practiſed by the Europeans for lint and hemp. They ſoaked the leaves in water, then cleaned them, put them in the ſun, and beat them until they were fit to ſpin.

Of

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Of the ſame leaves of the mount[illegible] and alſo of thoſe of the *ixhuatl*, another ſpecies of palm, the[illegible] extremely fine mats of different colours. They made others [illegible] coarſe of the ruſhes which grew in abundance in the lake.

Of the thread of the maguei they [illegible]ke alſo ropes, ſhoes, and other things.

They dreſſed the ſkins of animals tolerably well, both of quadrupeds and birds, leaving upon ſome of them the hair or plumage, according to the uſe which they propoſed to make of them.

Laſtly, to convey ſome idea of the taſte of the Mexicans in arts, we have thought proper to tranſcribe here the liſt of the firſt things which Cortes ſent from Mexico to Charles V. a few days after he arrived in that country (*z*).

SECT. LVIII. Liſt of the rareties ſent by Cortes to Charles V.

Two wheels, ten hands in diameter, one of gold with the image of the ſun, and the other of ſilver with the image of the moon upon it; both formed of plates of thoſe metals, with different figures of animals and other things in baſſo relievo, finiſhed with great ingenuity and art *(a)*.

A gold necklace, compoſed of ſeven pieces, with a hundred and eighty-three ſmall emeralds ſet in it, and two hundred and thirty-two gems ſimilar to ſmall rubies, from which hung twenty-ſeven little bells of gold, and ſome pearls.

Another necklace of four pieces of gold, with one hundred and two red gems like ſmall rubies, one hundred and ſeventy-two emeralds, and ten fine pearls ſet in it, with twenty-ſix little bells of gold.

A headpiece of wood covered with gold, and adorned with gems, from which hung twenty-five little bells of gold; inſtead of a plume it had a green bird with eyes, beak, and feet of gold.

A bracelet of gold. A little rod like a ſceptre, with two rings of gold at its extremities, ſet with pearls.

Four tridents, adorned with feathers of various colours, with pearl points tied with gold thread.

(*z*) This liſt is taken from the hiſtory of Gomara, then living in Spain, ſome things only omitted which were of little importance to be mentioned.

(*a*) The wheel of gold was unqueſtionably the figure of their century, and that of ſilver the figure of their year, according to what Gomara ſays, but he did not know it with certainty.

Several

Several ſhoes of the ſkin of the deer, ſewed with gold thread, the ſoles of which were made of blue and white ſtone of Itztli, extremely thin (*b*).

A ſhield of wood and leather, with little bells hanging to it, and covered with plates of gold in the middle, on which was cut the image of the god of war between four heads of a lion, a tyger, an eagle, and an owl, repreſented alive with their hair and feathers.

Several dreſſed ſkins of quadrupeds and birds with their plumage and hair.

Twenty-four curious and beautiful ſhields of gold, of feathers, and very ſmall pearls, and other four of feathers and ſilver only.

Four fiſhes, two ducks, and ſome other birds of caſt gold.

Two ſea-ſhells of gold, and a large crocodile girt with threads of gold.

A large mirror adorned with gold, and many ſmall mirrors. Several mitres and crowns of feathers and gold, ornamented with pearls and gems.

Several large plumes of beautiful feathers of various colours, fretted with gold and ſmall pearls.

Several fans of gold and feathers mixed together; others of feathers only, of different forms and ſizes, but all moſt rich and elegant.

A variety of cotton mantles, ſome all white, others chequered with white and black, or red, green, yellow, and blue; on the outſide rough like a ſhaggy cloth, and within without colour or nap.

A number of under waiſtcoats, handkerchiefs, counterpanes, tapeſtries, and carpets of cotton.

All thoſe articles were, according to Gomara, more valuable for the workmanſhip than the materials. *The colours*, he ſays, *of the cotton, were extremely fine, and thoſe of the feathers natural. Their works of caſt metal, are not to be comprehended by our goldſmiths.* This preſent, which was a part of that which Montezuma made to Cortes, a few days after he had diſembarked at *Chalchiuhcuecan*, was ſent by Cortes to Charles V. in July 1519, and this was the firſt gold and the firſt

(*b*) Gomara does not expreſs that the ſoles were made of the ſtone Itztli, but it is to be underſtood from his account.

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ſilver which was ſent from New to Old Spain; a ſmall preſage of the immenſe treaſures it was to ſend in future.

Amongſt other arts exerciſed by the Mexicans, that of medicine has been entirely overlooked by the Spaniſh hiſtorians, although it is certainly not the leaſt eſſential part of their hiſtory. They have contented themſelves with ſaying, that the Mexican phyſicians had a great knowledge of herbs, and that by means of theſe they performed miraculous cures; but do not mark the progreſs which they made in an art ſo beneficial to the human race. It is not to be doubted, that the ſame neceſſities which ſtimulated the Greeks to make a collection of experiments and obſervations on the nature of diſeaſes, and the virtue of ſimples, would alſo have in time led the Mexicans to the knowledge of thoſe two moſt important parts of medicine.

SECT. LIX. Knowledge of nature and uſe of medicinal ſimples.

We do not know whether they intended by their paintings, like the Greeks by their writings, to communicate their lights to poſterity. Thoſe who followed the profeſſion of medicine inſtructed their ſons in the nature and differences of the diſeaſes to which the human frame is ſubject, and of the herbs which Providence has created for their remedy, the virtues of which had been experienced by their anceſtors. They taught them the art of diſcerning the ſymptoms and progreſs of different diſtempers, and to prepare medicines and apply them. We have ample proofs of this in the natural hiſtory of Mexico, written by Dr. Hernandez (*c*). This learned and laborious writer had always the Mexican phyſicians for his guides in the ſtudy of natural hiſtory, which

(*c*) Hernandez who was phyſician to Philip II. king of Spain, and much renowned for the works he publiſhed concerning the Natural Hiſtory of Pliny, was ſent by that monarch to Mexico, to ſtudy the natural hiſtory of that kingdom. He employed himſelf there with other able learned naturaliſts for ſeveral years, aſſiſted by the Mexican phyſicians. His work, worthy of the expence which it coſt of ſixty thouſand ducats, conſiſted of twenty-four books of hiſtory, and eleven volumes of excellent figures of plants and animals; but the king thinking it too voluminous, gave orders to his phyſician Nardo Antonio Ricchi, a Neapolitan, to abridge it. This abridgement was publiſhed in Spaniſh by Franciſco Ximenes, a Dominican, in 1615, and afterwards in Latin, at Rome, in 1651, by the Lincean academicians, with notes and learned diſſertations, though rather long and unintereſting. The manuſcripts of Hernandez were preſerved in the library of the Eſcurial, from which Nuremberg extracted, according to his own confeſſion, a great part of what he has written in his Natural Hiſtory. F. Claude Clement, a French Jeſuit, diſcourſing of the manuſcript of Hernandez, ſays thus: "Qui "omnes libri, & commentarii, ſi prout affecti ſunt, ita forent perfecti, & abſoluti, Philippus "II. & Franciſcus Hernandius haud quaquam Alexandro, & Ariſtoteli hac in parte conce-"derent."

he profecuted in that empire. They communicated to him the knowledge of twelve hundred plants, with their proper Mexican names; more than two hundred ſpecies of birds; and a large number of quadrupeds, reptiles, fiſhes, inſects, and minerals. From this moſt valuable, though imperfect hiſtory, a ſyſtem of practical medicine may be formed for that kingdom; as has in part been done by Dr. Farfan, in his Book of *Cures*, by Gregorio Lopez, and other eminent phyſicians. And if ſince that time the ſtudy of natural hiſtory had not been neglected, nor ſuch a prepoſſeſſion prevailed in favour of every thing which came from beyond the ſeas, the inhabitants of New Spain would have ſaved a great part of the expences they have been at in purchaſing the drugs of Europe and of Aſia, and reaped greater advantages from the productions of their own country. Europe has been obliged to the phyſicians of Mexico for tobacco, American balſam, gum copal, liquid amber, ſarſaparilla, tecamaca, jalap, barley, and the purgative pine-ſeeds, and other ſimples, which have been much uſed in medicine: but the number of thoſe of which ſhe has been deprived the benefit by the ignorance and negligence of the Spaniards, is infinite.

Among the purgatives employed by the phyſicans of Mexico, beſides jalap, pine-ſeed, and the ſmall bean, the Mechoacan, ſo well known in Europe *(d)*, was extremely common, alſo the *Izticpatli*, much celebrated by Hernandez, and the *Amamaxtla*, vulgarly called the *Rhubarb of the Brothers*.

Amongſt other emetics the Mexicans made uſe of the *Mexochitl*, and the *Neixcotlapatli*; and among diuretics the *Axixpatli*, and the *Axixtlacotl*, which is ſo highly praiſed by Hernandez. Amongſt their antidotes the famous *Contrahierba* was deſervedly valued, called by them on account of its figure, *Coanenepilli*, *Tongue of Serpent*, and on account of its effects *Coapatli*, or *remedy againſt ſerpents*. Amongſt their errhines was the *Zozojatic*, a plant ſo efficacious, that it was

(*d*) The celebrated root of Mechoacan is called *Tacnache* by the Taraſcas, and Tlalantlaci itlapilli by the Mexicans. The knowledge of it was communicated by a phyſican of the king of Michuacan to the firſt religious miſſionaries who went there to preach the goſpel; he cured them with it of certain fevers of a putrid nature. By them it was made known to the Spaniards, and from the Spaniards to all Europe.

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SECT. LX. Oils, ointments, and infuſions, &c.

The Mexican phyſicians made uſe of infuſions, decoctions, ointments, and oils, and all thoſe things were ſold at market, as Cortes and Bernal Diaz, both eye-witneſſes, affirm. The moſt common oils were thoſe of ule, or elaſtic gum, *Tlapatl*, a tree ſimilar to the fig, *Chilli*, or great pepper, Chian, and *Ocotl*, a ſpecies of pine. The laſt they obtained by diſtillation, the others by decoction. That of Chian was more uſed by painters than phyſicians.

They extracted from the Huitziloxitl, as we have already mentioned, thoſe two ſorts of balſam deſcribed by Pliny and other ancient naturaliſts, that is, the *opobalſam*, or balſam diſtilled from the tree, and the *xylobalſam* obtained by decoction of the branches. From the bark of the *Huaconex*, ſoaked four days continually in water, they extracted another liquor equal to balſam. From the plant called by the Spaniards *maripenda*, (a name taken it appears from the language of the Taraſcas, they obtained alſo a liquor equal to balſam, as much in its odour as wonderful effects, by putting the tender ſtones of the plant, together with the fruit, to boil in water, until the water became as thick as muſt. In the ſame manner they obtained many other valuable oils and liquors, namely, that of liquid amber, and that of the fir.

SECT. LXI. Blood-letting and baths.

Blood-letting, an operation which their phyſicians performed with great dexterity and ſafety with lancets of *Itztli*, was extremely common among the Mexicans, and other nations of Anahuac. The country people uſed to let themſelves blood as they ſtill do with the prickles of the maguei,

guei, without employing another perſon, or interrupting the labour in which they were occupied. They alſo uſed the quills of the *Huitzlacuatzin*, or Mexican porcupine, which are thick, and have a ſmall hole at their points.

Among the means which the Mexicans employed for the preſervation of health, that of the bath was very frequent. They bathed themſelves extremely often, even many times in the ſame day in the natural water of rivers, lakes, ditches, and ponds. Experience has taught the Spaniards the advantages of bathing, in that climate, and particularly in the hot countries.

SECT. LXII. Temazcalli, or vapour-baths of the Mexicans.

The Mexicans, and other nations of Anahuac, made little leſs frequent uſe of the bath *Temazcalli*. Although in all its circumſtances it is deſerving of particular mention in the hiſtory of Mexico, none of the hiſtorians of that kingdom have deſcribed it, attending more frequently to deſcriptions and accounts of leſs importance, ſo much that if ſome of thoſe baths had not been ſtill preſerved, the memory of them muſt have totally periſhed.

The *Temazcalli*, or Mexican vapour-bath, is uſually built of raw bricks. The form of it is ſimilar to that of ovens for baking bread; but with this difference, that the pavement of the Temazcalli is a little convex, and lower than the ſurface of the earth, whereas that of moſt ovens is plain, and a little elevated for the accommodation of the baker. Its greateſt diameter is about eight feet, and its greateſt height ſix. The entrance, like the mouth of an oven, is wide enough to allow a man to creep eaſily in. In the place oppoſite to the entrance there is a furnace of ſtone or raw bricks, with its mouth outwards to receive the fire, and a hole above it to carry off the ſmoke. The part which unites the furnace to the bath, and which is about two feet and a half ſquare, is ſhut with a dry ſtone of *Tetzontli*, or ſome other ſtone porous like it. In the upper part of the vault there is an air hole, like that to the furnace. This is the uſual ſtructure of the Temazcalli, of which we have ſubjoined a figure; but there are others that are without vault or furnace, mere little ſquare chambers, yet well covered and defended from the air.

When any perſon goes to bathe, he firſt lays a mat (*e*) within the Temazcalli, a pitcher of water, and a bunch of herbs, or leaves of

(*e*) The Spaniards, when they bathe, made uſe of a matraſs for more convenience.

maize.

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maize. He then cauſes a fire to be made in the furnace, which is kept burning, until the ſtones which join the *Temazcalli* and furnace are quite hot. The perſon who is to uſe the bath enters commonly naked, and generally accompanied for the ſake of convenience, or on account of infirmity, by one of his domeſtics. As ſoon as he enters, he ſhuts the entrance cloſe, but leaves the air-hole at top for a little time open, to let out any ſmoke which may have been introduced through the chinks of the ſtone; when it is all out he likewiſe ſtops up the air-hole. He then throws water upon the hot ſtones, from which immediately ariſes a thick ſteam to the top of the Temazcalli. While the ſick perſon lies upon the mat, the domeſtic drives the vapour downwards, and gently beats the ſick perſon, particularly on the ailing part, with the bunch of herbs, which are dipped for a little while in the water of the pitcher, which has then become a little warm. The ſick perſon falls immediately into a ſoft and copious ſweat, which is encreaſed or diminiſhed at pleaſure, according as the caſe requires. When the evacuation deſired is obtained, the vapour is let off, the entrance is cleared, and the ſick perſon clothes himſelf, or is tranſported on the mat to his chamber; as the entrance to the bath is uſually within ſome chamber of his habitation.

The Temazcalli has been regularly uſed in ſeveral diſorders, particularly in fevers occaſioned by coſtiveneſs. The Indian women uſe it commonly after child-birth, and alſo thoſe perſons who have been ſtung or wounded by any poiſonous animal. It is, undoubtedly, a powerful remedy for all thoſe who have occaſion to carry off groſs humours, and certainly it would be moſt uſeful in Italy where the rheumatiſm is ſo frequent and afflicting. When a very copious ſweat is deſired, the ſick perſon is raiſed up and held in the vapour; as he ſweats the more, the nearer he is to it. The Temazcalli is ſo common, that in every place inhabited by the Indians there are many of them.

SECT. XLIII. Surgery.

With reſpect to the ſurgery of the Mexicans, the Spaniſh conquerors atteſt their expedition and ſucceſs in dreſſing and curing wounds *(f)*. Beſides the balſam and maripenda, they employed the milk of the

(*f*) Cortes himſelf being in great danger of his life from a wound he received on his head in the famous battle of Otompan, was greatly relieved, and at laſt perfectly cured by the Tlaſcalan art of ſurgery.

Itzon-

Itzontecpatli (ſpecies of thiſtle), tobacco, and other herbs. For ulcers they uſed the *Nanahuapatli*, the *Zacatlipatli*, and the *Itzcuinpatli*; for abſceſſes and ſeveral ſwellings, the *Tlalamatl*, and the milk of the *Chilpatli*; and for fractures the *Nacazol*, or *Tolbatzin*. After drying, and reducing the ſeed of this plant to powder, they mixed it with a certain gum, and applied it to the affected part, covered the part with feathers, and over it laid little boards to ſet the bones.

The phyſicians were in general the perſons who prepared and applied medicines; but they accompanied their cures with ſeveral ſuperſtitious ceremonies, with invocations to their gods, and imprecations againſt diſtempers, in order to render their art more myſterious and eſtimable. The phyſicians held the goddeſs *Tzapotlatenan* in veneration, as the protectreſs of their art, and believed her to have been the diſcoverer of many medicinal ſecrets, and amongſt others of the oil which they extracted by diſtillation from the *Ocotl*.

SECT. LXIV. Aliment of the Mexicans.

It is wonderful that the Mexicans, and eſpecially the poor among them, were not ſubject to numberleſs diſeaſes, conſidering the quality of their food. This is an article in which ſingular circumſtances attended them; for having been, for many years after the foundation of Mexico ſubjected to the moſt miſerable kind of life upon the little iſlands of the lake, they were conſtrained by neceſſity to feed upon whatever they could find in the waters. During that diſaſtrous time, they learned to eat, not only the roots of the marſh plants, water ſerpents, which abounded there, the *Axolotl*, *Atetepiz*, *Atopinan*, and other ſuch little animals, inhabitants of the water; but even ants, marſh flies, and the very eggs of the ſame flies. They fiſhed ſuch quantities of thoſe flies, called by them *Axajatl*, that they eat them, fed ſeveral kinds of birds with them, and carried them to market. They pounded them together, and made little balls of them, which they rolled up in leaves of maize, and boiled in water with nitre. Some hiſtorians who have taſted this food, pronounce it not diſagreeable. From the eggs, which thoſe flies depoſit in great abundance on the ruſhes in the lake, they extracted that ſingular ſpecies of caviare, which they called *Ahuauhtli*.

Not contented with feeding upon living things, they eat alſo a certain muddy ſubſtance that floats upon the waters of the lake, which they

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they dried in the ſun, and preſerved to make uſe of it as cheeſe, which it reſembled in flavour and taſte. They gave this ſubſtance the name of *Tecuitlatl*, or excrement of ſtones. Accuſtomed thus to thoſe vile articles of food, they were unable to abandon them in the ſeaſon of their greateſt plenty; on which account the market was always ſeen full of innumerable ſpecies of raw, boiled, fried, and roaſted little animals, which were ſold there particularly to the poor. However, as ſoon as by their commerce with fiſh they were able to purchaſe better aliment, and to cultivate by the exertions of their induſtry the floating gardens of the lake, they entertained themſelves with better proviſions, and at their meals there was nothing wanting, as the conqueror ſays, either in reſpect to the plenty, variety, or nicety of their diſhes *(g)*.

Among the eatables, the firſt place is due to maize, which they called *Tlaolli*, a grain granted by Providence to that part of the world, inſtead of the corn of Europe, the rice of Aſia, the millet of Africa, over all which it poſſeſſes ſome advantages; as beſides its being wholeſome, reliſhing, and more nutritive, it multiplies more, thrives equally in different climes, does not require ſo much culture, is not ſo delicate as corn, ſtands not in need, like rice, of a moiſt ſoil, nor is it hurtful to the health of the cultivator. They had ſeveral ſpecies of maize, differing in ſize, colour, and quality from each other. Of maize they made their bread, which is totally different from that of Europe in taſte and appearance, and in the manner of making it, which they formerly had, and ſtill continue to uſe. They put the grain to boil in water with a little lime; when it becomes ſoft, they rub it in their hands to ſtrip off the ſkin; then pound it in the *Metlatl* (*b*), take out a little of the paſte, and ſtretching it by beating it with both hands, they form the bread, after which they give it the laſt preparation in the *Comalli*. The form of the bread is round and flat, about eight inches in diameter, and one line or more in thickneſs; but they make their loaves or cakes ſtill ſmaller and thinner, and for the nobles they make them as thin as our thickeſt paper. It was cuſtomary alſo to mix ſomething

(*g*) See the firſt letter of Cortes, the hiſtory of Bernal Diaz, and the relation of the anonymous conqueror.

(*b*) The Spaniards call the Metlatl *metate*, the Comalli *comal*, of which we ſhall preſently ſpeak, and the Atolli *atole*.

elſe

elſe with the bread to make it ſtill more wholeſome and reliſhing. For perſons of rank and circumſtances, they uſed to make bread of red maize, mixing with it the beautiful flower *coatzontecoxochitl*, and ſeveral medicinal herbs, to diminiſh its heat to the ſtomach. This is the ſort of bread which the Mexicans, and all the other nations of thoſe extenſive regions, have uſed until our time, preferring it to the beſt bread of wheat. Their example has been imitated by many Spaniards; but to ſpeak impartially, this bread, although it is extremely wholeſome and ſubſtantial, and when freſh made of a good taſte, becomes rather diſagreeable when ſtale. The making of bread, as well as the preparing and dreſſing of every kind of meat, has always among thoſe nations been the peculiar occupation of their women. They were the perſons who made it for their families, and who ſold it in the market.

Beſides bread, they made many other meats and drinks of maize, with different ingredients and preparations. The *atolli* is a gruel of maize, after it has been boiled, well-ground, diſſolved in water, and ſtrained. They put the ſtrained liquor over a fire, and give it another boiling until it becomes of a certain thickneſs. The Spaniards think it inſipid to the taſte, but they give it commonly to ſick perſons, as a moſt ſalutary food, ſweetening it with a little ſugar, inſtead of honey, which is uſed by the Indians. To them it is ſo grateful they cannot live without it. It was formerly and ſtill is their breakfaſt, and with it they bear the fatigues of agriculture, and other ſervile offices in which they are employed. Hernandez deſcribes eighteen ſpecies of *atolli*, which differ both with regard to the ſeaſoning ingredients, and the manner of preparing them.

Next to maize, the vegetables moſt in uſe were the cacao, the chia, and the French bean. Of the cacao they made ſeveral common drinks, and among others that which they called *Chocolatl*. They ground equal quantities of the cacao and the ſeeds of *Pochotl*, put them both with a proportionable quantity of water into a little pot, in which they ſtirred and turned them with that little indented inſtrument of wood, which the Italians call *frullo*, the Spaniards *molinillo*, and the Engliſh *milling-ſtick*; then they poured off the floating oily part into another veſſel.

BOOK VII. Into the remainder they put a handful of paſte of boiled maize, and boiled it for a certain time, after which they mixed it with the oily part, and took it when it was cool. This is the origin of the famous chocolate, which the cultivated nations of Europe have uſed in imitation of them, as well as the name and inſtruments for making it; although the name is a little corrupted, and the drink altered according to the language and taſte of each nation. The Mexicans uſed to put in their chocolate, and other drinks which they made of the cacao, the *Tlilxochitl*, or vaniglia, the flower of the *Xochinacaztli* (*k*), and the fruit of the *Mecaxochitl* (*l*), and ſometimes alſo honey, as the Europeans put ſugar, both to render it palatable and more wholeſome.

Of the ſeed of the chia they made a moſt refreſhing drink, which is ſtill very common in that kingdom; and of this ſeed alſo, with maize, they made the chianzotzoolatelli, which was an exquiſite drink much uſed by the ancients, particularly in time of war. The ſoldier, who carried with him a little bag of flour of maize and chia, thought himſelf amply provided. When neceſſary, he boiled the quantity he wiſhed for, mixing a little honey of the maguei with it; and by means of this delicious and nouriſhing beverage (as Hernandez calls it), endured the ardour of the ſun and the fatigues of war.

The Mexicans did not eat ſo much fleſh as the Europeans; nevertheleſs, upon occaſion of any banquet, and daily at the tables of the lords, different kinds of animals were ſerved up; ſuch as deer, rabbets, Mexican boars, *Tuze*, *Techichi*, which they fattened as the Europeans do hogs, and other animals of the land, the water, and the air, but the moſt common were turkeys and quails.

The fruits moſt uſed by them were the mamei, the *tlilzapotl*, the *cochitzapotl*, the *chietzapotl*, the ananas, the chirionoja, the *ahuacatl*, a anona, the pitahaja, the *capolin*, or Mexican cherry, and different

(*k*) The tree of the *Xochinacaztli* has long, ſtrait, narrow leaves, of a dark green colour. Its flower conſiſts of ſix petals, which are purple within, green without, and pleaſingly odorous. From the reſemblance of their figure to an ear, they were called by this name among the Mexicans, and by the Spaniards *orejeta*, or *little ear*. The fruit is angular, and of a bloody colour, and grows within a pod of ſix inches in length, and about one inch thick. It is peculiar to hot countries. The flower was greatly valued, and never wanting in the markets.

(*l*) The *Mecaxochitl* is a ſmall flexible plant, whoſe leaves are large and thick, and the fruit reſembles long pepper.

ſpe-

ſpecies of *Tune*, or Indian figs, which fruits well ſupplied the want of pears, apples, and peaches.

Amongſt all their plenty of foods the Mexicans were deſtitute of milk, and fat, as they had neither cows, ſheep, goats, nor hogs. With reſpect to eggs, we do not know that they eat any, except thoſe of turkeys and iguanas, the fleſh of which they likewiſe did and ſtill eat.

The uſual ſeaſoning to their food, beſides ſalt, was great pepper and tomate, which have become equally common among the Spaniards of that country.

SECT. LXV. Wine.

They drank alſo ſeveral ſorts of wine, or beverages ſimilar to them, of the maguei, the palm, of the ſtems of maize, and of the grain alſo, of which laſt, called *chicha*, almoſt all the hiſtorians of America make mention, as it is the kind moſt generally uſed in that new world. The moſt common with the Mexicans, and alſo the beſt was that of the maguei, called *octli* by them, and by the Spaniards *pulque* (*m*). The method of making it is this. When the maguei, or Mexican aloe, arrives at a certain height and maturity, they cut the ſtem, or rather the leaves while tender, of which the ſtem is formed, ſituated in the centre of the plant, after which there remains a certain cavity. They ſhave the internal ſurface of the large leaves which ſurround the cavity, and collect the ſweet juice which diſtils from them in ſuch abundance, that one ſingle plant generally yields, in the ſpace of ſix months, ſix hundred, and in the whole time of its fruitfulneſs more than two thouſand pounds of juice (*n*).

They gather the juice from the cavity with a long narrow gourd, which ſerves inſtead of a more artificial contrivance, and pour it into a veſſel until it ferments, which it uſually does in leſs than twenty-

(*m*) *Pulque* is not a Spaniſh nor Mexican word, but is taken from the *Araucan* language which is ſpoke in Chili, in which the *Pulcu* is the general name for the beverages theſe Indians uſe to intoxicate themſelves; it is difficult to ſay how the term has paſſed to Mexico.

(*n*) Betancourt ſays, that a maguei makes in ſix months twenty *arrobas* of pulque, which are more than ſix hundred Italian pounds. He might know this well, having been for many years a rector among the Indians. Hernandez affirms, that from one ſingle plant are extracted fifty *anfore*. The Caſtilian *anfora*, which is ſmaller than the Roman, contains, according to the calculation of Mariana, five hundred and twelve ounces of wine, or common water. ſuppoſing that the pulque does not weigh more than water, fifty *anfore* will be more than two thouſand pounds.

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four hours. To aſſiſt the fermentation, and make the beverage ſtronger, they infuſe a certain herb which they name *Ocpatli*, or remedy of wine. The colour of this wine is white, the taſte a little rough, and its ſtrength ſufficient to intoxicate, though not ſo much as that of the grape. In other reſpects it is a wholſome liquor, and valuable on many accounts as it is an excellent diuretic, and a powerful remedy againſt the diarrhœa. The conſumption made of this liquor is ſurpriſing as it is uſeful, for the Spaniards become rich by it. The revenue produced by that alone which is conſumed in the capital amounts annually to three hundred thouſand crowns; one Mexican rial only being paid for every twenty-five Caſtilian pounds. The quantity of pulque, which was conſumed in the capital in 1774, was two millions two hundred and fourteen thouſand, two hundred ninety-four and half *arrobas*, or upwards of ſixty-three millions eight hundred thouſand Roman pounds, excluſive of that which was ſmuggled in there, and that which the privileged Indians ſell in the great market-place.

SECT. LXVI. Dreſs.

The Mexicans were leſs ſingular in their dreſs than in their food. Their uſual habit was quite ſimple, conſiſting ſolely of the *maxtlatl* and *tilmatli* in the men, and of the *cueitl*, and the *huepilli*, in the women. The maxtlatl was a large belt or girdle, the two ends of which hung down before and behind to cover the parts of ſhame. The *tilmatli* was a ſquare mantle, about four feet long; the two ends were tied upon the breaſt, or upon one ſhoulder, as appears in our figures. The *cueitl*, or Mexican gown, was alſo a piece of ſquare cloth, in which the women wrapped themſelves from their waiſts down to the middle of the leg. The *huepilli* was a little under veſt, or waiſtcoat, without ſleeves.

The dreſs of the poor people was made of the thread of the maguei, or mountain palm, or at beſt the cloth of coarſe cotton; but thoſe of better ſtation wore the fineſt cotton, embelliſhed with various colours, and figures of animals, or flowers, or wove with feathers, or the fine hair of the rabbit, and adorned with various little figures of gold and looſe locks of cotton hanging about the girdle or *maxtlatl*. The men uſed to wear two or three mantles, and the women three or four veſts, and as many gowns, putting the longeſt undermoſt, ſo as that a part of each of them might be ſeen. The lords wore in winter waiſt-

coats

coats of cotton, interwoven with ſoft feathers, or the hair of the rabbit. Women of rank were, beſides the huepilli, an upper veſt, ſomething like the ſurplice or gown of our eccleſiaſtics, but larger and with longer ſleeves (*o*).

Their ſhoes were nothing but ſoles of leather, or coarſe cloth of the maguei, tied with ſtrings, and only covered the under part of the foot. The kings and lords adorned the ſtrings with rich ribbands of gold and jewels.

SECT. LXVII. Ornaments.

All the Mexicans wore their hair long, and were diſhonoured by being ſhaved, or having it clipped, except the virgins conſecrated to the ſervice of the temples. The women wore it looſe, the men tied in different forms, and adorned their heads with fine plumes, both when they danced and when they went to war.

It would be difficult to find a nation which accompanied ſo much ſimplicity of dreſs, with ſo much vanity and luxury in other ornaments of their perſons. Beſides feathers and jewels, with which they uſed to adorn their cloaths, they wore ear-rings, pendants at the under-lip, and many likewiſe at their noſes, necklaces, bracelets for the hands and arms, and alſo certain rings like collars about their legs. The ear-rings and pendants of the poor were ſhells, pieces of cryſtal, amber, or ſome other ſhining little ſtone; but the rich wore pearls, emeralds, amethyſts, or other gems, ſet in gold.

SECT. LXVIII. Domeſtic furniture and employments.

Their houſhold furniture was by no means correſpondent to this paſſion for perſonal finery. Their beds were nothing elſe than one or two coarſe mats of ruſhes, to which the rich added fine palm mats, and ſheets of cotton; and the lords, linen wove with feathers. The pillow of the poor was a ſtone or piece of wood; that of the rich, probably of cotton. The common people did not cover themſelves in bed with any thing elſe than the tilmatli, or mantle, but the higher ranks and nobles made uſe of counterpanes of cotton and feathers. At dinner, inſtead of a table, they ſpread a mat upon the ground; and they uſed napkins, plates, porringers, earthen pots, jugs, and other veſſels of fine clay, but not, as we can diſcover, either knives or forks. Their chairs were low ſeats of wood and ruſhes, or palm, or a kind

(*o*) We have ſpoken elſewhere of the habits of the kings, prieſts, and military perſons.

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of reed called *icpalli* (*p*). No houſe wanted the *metlatl*, or *comalli*. The metlatl was the ſtone in which they ground their maize, and the cacao, as is repreſented in our figure of their mode of making bread. This inſtrument is ſtill extremely common in all New Spain, and over the greateſt part of America. The Europeans have alſo adopted it, and in Italy and elſewhere the chocolate-makers uſe it to grind the cacao. The comalli was, and ſtill is, being as much uſed as the *metlatl*, a round and rather hollow pan, which is about an inch, thick and about fifteen in diameter.

The drinking veſſels of the Mexicans were made of a fruit ſimilar to gourds, which grow, in hot countries, on trees of a middling ſize. Some of them are large and perfectly round, which they call *Xicalli* (*q*), and others ſmaller and cylindrical, which they give the name of *Tecomatl*. Both theſe fruits are ſolid and heavy: their rind is hard, woody, and of a dark green colour, and the ſeeds are like thoſe of gourds. The xicalli is about eight inches in diameter; the tecomatl is not ſo long, and about four fingers in thickneſs. Each fruit when divided in the middle made two equal veſſels; they cut out all the ſeed, and gave them a varniſh with a particular mineral earth, of a pleaſing ſmell, and of different colours, particularly a fine red. At preſent they are frequently gilt with ſilver and gold.

The Mexicans made uſe of no candleſticks, nor wax, nor tallow candles, nor of oil to make light; for although they had many kinds of oil, they never employed it otherwiſe than in medicine, in painting, and in varniſhes; and although they extracted a great quantity of wax from the honey-combs, they either did not know, or were not at the pains to make lights with it. In maritime countries they made uſe of ſhining beetles for that purpoſe; but in general they employed torches of *ocotl*, which, although they made a fine light, and yielded

(*p*) The Spaniards corrupt the word into *Equipales*.

(*q*) The Spaniards of Mexico called the Xicalli *Xicara*. The Spaniards of Europe adopted this word to ſignify the little cup for taking chocolate, and thence came the Italian *Chicchera*. Bomare makes mention of the tree Xicalli, under the name of Calebaſſier d' Amerique, and ſays, that in New Spain, it is known under the names of Choyne, Cujete, and *Hyguero*; but this is a miſtake. The name *Hibuero* (not *Hyguero*) was that which the Indians of the Iſland of Hiſpaniola gave to this tree; the Spaniſh conquerors made uſe of it formerly, but no uſe was made of it afterwards in New Spain. None of the other trees were ever heard of by us in thoſe countries.

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an agreeable odour, ſmoked and ſoiled their habitations with ſoot. One of the European cuſtoms which they chiefly prized upon the arrival of the Spaniards, was that of candles; but thoſe people had certainly little occaſion for candles, as they devoted all the hours of the night to repoſe, after employing all thoſe of the day in buſineſs and toil. The men laboured at their different profeſſions, and the women baked, wove, embroidered, prepared victuals, and cleaned their houſes. All daily made oriſons to their gods, and burned copal in honour of them, and therefore no houſe, however poor the poſſeſſor, wanted idols or cenſers.

The method which the Mexicans and other nations practiſed to kindle fire, was the ſame which the ancient ſhepherds of Europe employed (*r*), by the friction of two pieces of wood. The Mexicans generally uſed the achiote, which is the *rocou* of the French. Boturini affirms, that they ſtruck fire alſo from flint.

After a few hours of labour in the morning they took their breakfaſt, which was moſt commonly *atolli*, or gruel of maize, and their dinner after mid-day; but among all the hiſtorians of Mexico, we have found no mention of their ſupper. They ate little, but they drank frequently, either of the wine of the maguei, or maize, or of chia, or ſome other drink of the cacao, and ſometimes plain water.

SECT. LXIX. The uſe of tobacco.

After dining, the lords uſed to compoſe themſelves to ſleep with the ſmoke of tobacco (*s*). This plant was greatly in uſe among the Mexicans. They make various plaſters with it, and took it not only in ſmoke at the mouth, but alſo in ſnuff at the noſe. In order to ſmoke it, they put the leaves with the gum of liquid amber, and other hot, warm, and odorous herbs, into a little pipe of wood, or reed, or ſome

(*r*) *Calidæ moræ, laurus; hederæ, & omnes ex quibus igniaria fiunt. Exploratores ignis in cacumine arboris Paſtorumque reperit; quoniam ad excutiendum ignem non ſuppetebant lapides illi nostri. Fit autem ergo ligneus ligno, igneumque concipit attritu, excipiente materia aridi fomitis, ſtupa, vel ſimili ſicca, celerime conceptum.* Plinius Hiſt. Nat. lib. xvi. c. 40. The ſame thing is obſerved in the ſecond book of the Queſtiones Naturales of Seneca, and alſo in other ancient writers.

(*s*) *Tabaco* is a name taken from the *Haytine* language. The Mexicans had two ſpecies of tobacco, very different in the ſize of the plant and the leaves, in the figure of the flower and the colour of the ſeed. The ſmalleſt, which is the common one, was called by them *Picietl*, and the largeſt *Quauhtietl*. This laſt becomes as high as a moderate tree. Its flower is not divided into five parts like that of the *Picietl*, but only cut into ſix or ſeven angles. Theſe plants vary much according to clime, not only in the quality of the tobacco, but alſo in the ſize of the leaves and other circumſtances, on which account ſeveral authors have multiplied the ſpecies.

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other more valuable ſubſtance. They received the ſmoke by ſucking the pipe and ſhutting the noſtrils with their fingers, ſo that it might paſs by the breath more eaſily towards the lungs. Who would have believed that the uſe of tobacco, which neceſſity made thoſe phlegmatic nations invent, would have become the vice or cuſtom of almoſt all the nations of the world; and that ſo humble a plant, of which the Europeans wrote and ſpoke ſo unfavourably, would have made one of the greateſt revenues of the kingdoms of Europe? But what ought to excite ſtill greater wonder, is, that although the uſe of tobacco is now ſo common among thoſe nations who formerly deſpiſed it, it is now ſo rare among its inventors, that there are extremely few of the Indians of New Spain who take it in ſmoke, and none at all who uſe it in ſnuff.

SECT. LXX. Plants uſed inſtead of ſoap.

As the Mexicans wanted candles to make light, they alſo were without ſoap to waſh with, although there were animals from which they might have obtained it (*t*); but they ſupplied that deficiency by a fruit and a root. The fruit was that of the *copalxocotl*, a tree of moderate ſize, which is found in Michuacan, Yucatan, Mizteca, and elſewhere (*u*). The pulp, that is under the rind of the fruit, which is white, viſcous, and very bitter, makes water white, raiſes a froth, and ſerves like ſoap to waſh and clean linen. The root is that of the *amolli*, a ſmall plant, but very common in that country, for which *Saponaria Americana* ſeems to be a more proper name, as it is not very diſſimilar to the Saponaria of the old continent; but the amolli is more uſed to waſh the body now, and more particularly the head, than for cloaths (*x*).

We have now given all that we think worthy of credit and public relation concerning the political œconomy of the Mexicans. Such was their government, their laws, their cuſtoms, and their arts, when the Spaniards arrived in the country of Anahuac, the war and memorable events of which make the ſubject of the following books.

(*t*) We have heard that an excellent ſoap is obtained from the *epatl*, or *Zorrillo*.

(*u*) Hernandez makes mention of it under the name of *Copalxocotl*, but ſays nothing of its detergent quality; Betancourt ſpeaks of it under the name of the *ſoap-tree*, by which it is known among the Spaniards; and Valmont deſcribes it under the name of *Savonier*, and *Saponaria Americana*. The root of this tree alſo is uſed inſtead of ſoap, but it is not ſo good as the fruit.

(*x*) There is a ſpecies of *amolli*, the root of which dyes hair the colour of gold. We ſaw this ſingular effect produced upon the hair of an old man.

APPEN-

APPENDIX.

THE MEXICAN CENTURY.

Years.	Years.
I. TOCHTLI.	I. TECPATL.
II. Acatl.	II. Calli.
III. Tecpatl.	III. Tochtli.
IV. Calli.	IV. Acatl.
V. Tochtli.	V. Tecpatl.
VI. Acatl.	VI. Calli.
VII. Tecpatl.	VII. Tochtli.
VIII. Calli.	VIII. Acatl.
IX. Tochtli.	IX. Tecpatl.
X. Acatl.	X. Calli.
XI. Tecpatl.	XI. Tochtli.
XII. Calli.	XII. Acatl.
XIII. Tochtli.	XIII. Tecpatl.
I. ACATL.	I. CALLI.
II. Tecpatl.	II. Tochtli.
III. Calli.	III. Acatl.
IV. Tochtli.	IV. Tecpatl.
V. Acatl.	V. Calli.
VI. Tecpatl.	VI. Tochtli.
VII. Calli.	VII. Acatl.
VIII. Tochtli.	VIII. Tecpatl.
IX. Acatl.	IX. Calli.
X. Tecpatl.	X. Tochtli.
XI. Calli.	XI. Acatl.
XII. Tochtli.	XII. Tecpatl.
XIII. Acatl.	XIII. Calli.

The years wrote with large characters are thoſe from which the four ſmall periods of thirteen years, of which their century was compoſed, began.

MEXICAN YEARS

From the Foundation to the Conqueſt of MEXICO, compared with Chriſtian Years.

Thoſe printed with large Characters are the firſt of every Period. Thoſe marked with an Aſteriſk are ſecular Years.

Mexican Years.	Chriſtian Years.	Mexican Years.	Chriſtian Years.
II. Calli	1325 (a)	III. Tecpatl	1352 (c)
III. Tochtli	1326	IV. Calli	1353 (d)
IV. Acatl	1327	V. Tochtli	1354
V. Tecpatl	1328	VI. Acatl	1355
VI. Calli	1329	VII. Tecpatl	1356
VII. Tochtli	1330	VIII. Calli	1357
VIII. Acatl	1331	IX. Tochtli	1358
IX. Tecpatl	1332	X. Acatl	1359
X. Calli	1333	XI. Tecpatl	1360
XI. Tochtli	1334	XII. Calli	1361
XII. Acatl	1335	XIII. Tochtli	1362
XIII. Tecpatl	1336	I. ACATL	1363
I. CALLI	1337	II. Tecpatl	1364
II. Tochtli	1338 (b)	III. Calli	1365
III. Acatl	1339	IV. Tochtli	1366
IV. Tecpatl	1340	V. Acatl	1367
V. Calli	1341	VI. Tecpatl	1368
VI. Tochtli	1342	VII. Calli	1369
VII. Acatl	1343	VIII. Tochtli	1370
VIII. Tecpatl	1344	IX. Acatl	1371
IX. Calli	1345	X. Tecpatl	1372
X. Tochtli	1347	XI. Calli	1373
XI. Acatl	1347	XII. Tochtli	1374
XII. Tecpatl	1348	XIII. Acatl	1375
XIII. Calli	1349	I. TECPATL	1376
*I. TOCHTLI	1350	II. Calli	1377
II. Acatl	1351	III. Tochtli	1378

(a) Foundation of Mexico. (b) Diviſion of thoſe of Tenochcho and Tlatelolco.
(c) Acamapitzin, firſt king of Mexico. (d) Quaquauhpitzahuac, firſt king of Tlatelolco.

IV. Acatl

Mexican Years.	Chriſtian Years.
IV. Acatl	1379
V. Tecpatl	1380
VI. Calli	1381
VII. Tochtli	1382
VIII. Acatl	1383
IX. Tecpatl	1384
X. Calli	1385
XI. Tochtli	1386
XII. Acatl	1387
XIII. Tecpatl	1388
I. CALLI	1389 *(e)*
II. Tochtli	1390
III. Acatl	1391
IV. Tecpatl	1392
V. Calli	1393
VI. Tochtl	1394
VII. Acatl	1395
VIII. Tecpatl	1396
IX. Calli	1397
X. Tochtli	1398
XI. Acatl	1399 *(f)*
XII. Tecpatl	1400
XIII. Calli	1401
*I. TOCHTLI	1402
II. Acatl	1403
III. Tecpatl	1404
IV. Calli	1405
V. Tochtli	1406 *(g)*
VI. Acatl	1407
VII. Tecpatl	1408
VIII. Calli	1409
IX. Tochtli	1410 *(h)*
X. Acatl	1411
XI. Tecpatl	1412
XII. Calli	1413 *(i)*
XIII. Tochtli	1414
I. ACATL	1415
II. Tecpatl	1416
III. Calli	1417
IV. Tochtli	1418
V. Acatl	1419
VI. Tecpatl	1420
VII. Calli	1421
VIII. Tochtli	1422 *(k)*
IX. Acatl	1423 *(l)*
X. Tecpatl	1424
XI. Calli	1425 *(m)*
XII. Tochtli	1426 *(n)*
XIII. Acatl	1427
I. TECPATL	1428
II. Calli	1425
III. Tochtli	1430
IV. Acatl	1431
V. Tecpatl	1432
VI. Calli	1433
VII. Tochtli	1434
VIII. Acatl	1435
IX. Tecpatl	1436 *(o)*
X. Calli	1437
XI. Tochtli	1438
XII. Acatl	1439
XIII. Tecpatl	1440
I. CALLI	1441 *(p)*
II. Tochtli	1442
III. Acatl	1443
IV. Tecpatl	1444
V. Calli	1445
VI. Tochtli	1446 *(q)*

(e) Huitzilihuitl, ſecond king of Mexico. *(f)* Tlacateotl, ſecond king of Tlatelolco.
(g) Ixtlilxochitl, king of Acolhuacan. *(h)* Chimalpopoca, third king of Mexico.
(i) Tezozomoc, the tyrant. *(k)* Maxtlaton, the tyrant.
(l) Itzcoatl, fourth king of Mexico. *(m)* Conqueſt of Azcapozalco.
(n) Nezahualcojotl, king of Acolhuacan, and Totoquihuatzin king of Tacuba.
(o) Montezuma Ilhuicamina, fifth king of Mexico. *(p)* Moquihuix, fourth king of Tlatelolco. *(q)* Inundation of Mexico.

Mexican Years.	Chriſtian Years.	Mexican Years.	Chriſtian Years.
VII. Acatl	1447	II. Calli	1481
VIII. Tecpatl	1448	III. Tochtli	1482 (*y*)
IX. Calli	1449	IV. Acatl	1483
X. Tochtli	1450	V. Tecpatl	1484
XI. Acatl	1451	VI. Calli	1485
XII. Tecpatl	1452	VII. Tochtli	1486 (*z*)
XIII. Calli	1453	VIII. Acatl	1487 (*A*)
*I. TOCHTLI	1454	IX. Tecpatl	1488
II. Acatl	1455	X. Calli	1489
III. Tecpatl	1456	XI. Tochtli	1490
IV. Calli	1457 (*r*)	XII. Acatl	1491
V. Tochtli	1458	XIII. Tecpatl	1492
VI. Acatl	1459	I. CALLI	1493
VII. Tecpatl	1460	II. Tochtli	1494
VIII. Calli	1461	III. Acatl	1495
IX. Tochtli	1462	IV. Tecpatl	1496
X. Acatl	1463	V. Calli	1497
XI. Tecpatl	1464 (*s*)	VI. Tochtli	1498 (*B*)
XII. Calli	1465	VII. Acatl	1499
XIII. Tochtli	1466	VIII. Tecpatl	1500
I. ACATL	1467	IX. Calli	1501
II. Tecpatl	1468	X. Tochtli	1502 (*C*)
III. Calli	1469 (*t*)	XI. Acatl	1503
IV. Tochtli	1470 (*u*)	XII. Tecpatl	1504
V. Acatl	1471	XIII. Calli	1505
VI. Tecpatl	1472	I. TOCHTLI	1506
VII. Calli	1473	II. Acatl	1507
VIII. Tochtli	1474	III. Tecpatl	1508
IX. Acatl	1475	IV. Calli	1509 (*D*)
X. Tecpatl	1476	V. Tochtli	1510
XI. Calli	1477 (*x*)	VI. Acatl	1511
XII. Tochtli	1478	VII. Tecpatl	1512
XIII. Acatl	1479	VIII. Calli	1513
I. TECPATL	1480	IX. Tochtli	1514

(*r*) Famous war of Cuetlachtlan.
(*s*) Axajacatl, ſixth king of Mexico.
(*t*) Chimalpopoca, king of Tacuba
(*u*) Nezahualpilli, king of Acolhuacan.
(*x*) Tizoc, ſeventh king of Mexico.
(*y*) Ahuitzotl, eighth king of Mexico.
(*z*) Dedication of the greater temple.
(*A*) Totoquihuatzin, ſecond king of Tacuba.
(*B*) New inundation of Mexico.
(*C*) Montezuma Xocojotzin, ninth king of Mexico.
(*D*) Memorable event of the princeſs Papantzin.

X. Acatl	- - 1515	I. ACATL	- - 1519 (*F*)
XI. Tecpatl	- - 1516 (*E*)	II. Tecpatl	- - 1520 (*G*)
XII. Calli	- - 1517	III. Calli	- - 1521 (*H*)
XIII. Tochtli	- 1518		

The exactneſs of this Table will appear from our Second Diſſertation.

(*E*) Cacamatzin, king of Acolhuacan. (*F*) Entry of the Spaniards into Mexico. (*G*) Cuitlahuatzin, tenth king, and Quauhtemotzin, eleventh king of Mexico, death of Montezuma, and defeat of the Spaniards. (*H*) The taking of Mexico, and fall of the empire.

MEXICAN CALENDAR,

From the Year I Tochtli, the firſt of the Century.

ATLACAHUALCO Firſt Month.

Modern Style.	Mexican Days.	Feſtivals.
February 26	I. CIPACTLI	The great ſecular feſtival.
27	II. Ehècatl	Feſtival of *Tlalocateuctli*, and the other gods of water, with the ſacrifice of infants, and the gladiatorian ſacrifice.
28	III. Calli	
March 1	IV. Cuetzpalin	
2	V. Coatl	
3	VI. Miquiztli	
4	VII. Mazatl	
5	VIII. Tochtli	
6	IX. Atl	
7	X. Itzcuintli	
8	XI. Ozomatli	Nocturnal ſacrifice of fattened priſoners.
9	XII. Malinalli	
10	XIII. Acatl	
11	I. OCELOTL	
12	II. Quauhtli	
13	III. Cozcaquauhtli	
14	IV. Olin	
15	V. Tecpatl	
16	VI. Quiahuitl	
17	VII. Xochitl	

TLACAXIPEHUALIZTLI Second Month.

18	VIII. Cipactli	The great feſtival of Xipe, god of the goldſmiths, with ſacrifices of priſoners and military exerciſes.
19	IX. Ehècatl	
20	X. Calli	
21	XI. Cuetzpalin	
22	XII. Coatl	Faſt of the owners of priſoners for twenty days.
23	XIII. Miquiztli	
24	I. MAZATL.	

The days marked in large characters are thoſe which began the ſmall periods of thirteen days.

March

Modern Style.	Mexican Days.	Feſtivals.
March 25	II. Tochtli	
26	III. Atl	
27	IV. Itzcuintli	
28	V. Ozomàtli	
29	VI. Malinalli	
30	VII. Acatl	Feſtival of the god *Chicomacatl.*
31	VIII. Ocelotl	
April 1	IX. Quauhtli	Feſtival of the god *Tequiztlimatlhuatl.*
2	X. Cozcaquauhtli	
3	XI. Olin	
4	XII. Tecpatl	
5	XIII. Quiahuitl	Feſtival of the god *Chancoti*,
6	I. XOCHITL.	with nocturnal ſacrifices.

TOZOZTONTLI Third Month.

7	II. Cipactli	Watch kept by the miniſters of
8	III. Ehècatl	the temples every night of
9	IV. Calli	this month.
10	V. Cuetzpalin	
11	VI. Coatl	The ſecond feſtival of the gods
12	VII. Miquitzli	of water, with ſacrifices of
13	VIII. Mazatl	children, and oblations of
14	IX. Tochtli	flowers.
15	X. Atl	
16	XI. Itzcuintli	
17	XII. Ozomatli	
18	XIII. Malinalli	
19	I. ACATL	Feſtival of the goddeſs *Coatlicue*, with oblations of flow-
20	II. Ocelotl	
21	III. Quauhtli	ers, and a proceſſion.
22	IV. Cozcaquauhtli	
23	V. Olin	
24	VI. Tecpatl	
25	VII. Quiahuitl	
26	VIII. Xochitl.	

HUEI-

HUEITOZOZTLI Fourth Month.

Modern Style.	Mexican Days.	Feſtivals.
April 27	IX. Cipactli	Watch kept in the temples, and a general faſt.
28	X. Ehècatl	
29	XI. Calli	
30	XII. Cuetzpalin	Feſtival of *Centeotl*, with ſacrifices of human victims and quails.
May 1	XIII. Coatl	
2	I. MIQUIZTLI	
3	II. Mazatl	
4	III. Tochtli	
5	IV. Atl	
6	V. Itzcuintli	Solemn convocation for the grand feſtival of the following month.
7	VI. Ozomatli	
8	VII. Malinalli	
9	VIII. Acatl	
10	IX. Ocelotl	
11	X. Quauhtli	
12	XI. Cozcaquauhtli	Faſt in preparation of the following feſtival.
13	XII. Olin	
14	XIII. Tecpatl	
15	I. QUIAHUITL	
16	II. Xochitl	

TOXCATL Fifth Month.

17	III. Cipactli	The grand feſtival of *Tezcatlipoca*, with a ſolemn penitential proceſſion, the ſacrifice of a priſoner, and diſmiſſion of all the marriageable youth from the temple.
18	IV. Ehècatl	
19	V. Calli	
20	VI. Cuetzpalin	
21	VII. Coatl	
22	VIII. Miquiztli	
23	IX. Mazatl	
24	X. Tochtli	
25	XI. Atl.	The firſt feſtival of *Huitzilopochtli*. Sacrifices of human victims and quails. Solemn incenſe-offering of Chapopotli, or bitumen of Judea. Solemn dance of the king, the prieſts, and the people.
26	XII. Itzcuintli	
27	XIII. Ozomatli	
28	I. MALINALLI.	
29	II. Acatl	
30	III. Ocelotl	
31	IV. Quauhtli	

Modern Style.	Mexican Days.	Feſtivals.
June 1	V. Cozcaquauhtli	
2	VI. Olin	
3	VII. Tecpatl	
4	VIII. Quiahuitl	
5	IX. Xochitl	

ETZALCUALIZTLI Sixth Month.

6	X. Cipactli	
7	XI. Ehècatl	
8	XII. Calli	The third feſtival of the gods of water, with ſacrifices and a dance.
9	XIII. Cuetzpalin	
10	I. COATL	
11	II. Miquiztli	
12	III. Mazatl	
13	IV. Tochtli	
14	V. Atl	
15	VI. Itzcuintli	
16	VII. Ozomàtli	
17	VIII. Malinalli	Puniſhments of prieſts negligent in the ſervice of the temple.
18	IX. Acatl	
19	X. Ocelotl	
20	XI. Quauhtli	
21	XII. Cozcaquauhtli	
22	XIII. Olin	
23	I. TECPATL	
24	II. Quiahuitl	
25	III. Xochitl	

TECUILHUITONTLI Seventh Month.

26	IV. Cipactli	
27	V. Ehècatl	
28	VI. Calli	
29	VII. Cuetzpalin	
30	VIII. Coatl	
July 1	IX. Miquiztli	Feſtival of Huixtocihuatl, with ſacrifices of priſoners, and a dance of the prieſts.
2	X. Mazatl	
3	XI. Tochtli	
4	XII. Atl	
5	XIII. Itzcuintli	

Modern Style.	Mexican Days.	Feſtivals.
July 6	I. OZOMATLI	
7	II. Malinalli	
8	III. Acatl	
9	IV. Ocelotl	
10	V. Quauhtli	
11	VI. Cozcaquauhtli	
12	VII. Olin	
13	VIII. Tecpatl	
14	IX. Quiahuitl	
15	X. Xochitl	

HUEITECUILHUITL Eighth Month.

16	XI. Cipactli	The ſecond feſtival of *Centeotl*, with the ſacrifice of a female ſlave; illumination of the temple, dance, and alms-giving.
17	XII. Ehècatl	
18	XIII. Calli	
19	I. CUETZPALIN	
20	II. Coatl	
21	III. Miquiztli	
22	IV. Mazatl	
23	V. Tochtli	Feſtival of *Maculitochtli*.
24	VI. Atl	
25	VII. Itzcuintli	
26	VIII. Ozomatli	
27	IX. Malinalli	
28	X. Acatl	
29	XI. Ocelotl	
30	XII. Quauhtli	
31	XIII. Cozcaquauhtli	
Auguſt 1	I. OLIN	
2	II. Tecpatl	
3	III. Quiahuitl	
4	IV. Xochitl	

TLAXOCHIMACO Ninth Month.

5	V. Cipactli	Feſtival of *Macuilcipactli*.
6	VI. Ehècatl	
7	VII. Calli	
8	VIII. Cuetzpalin	
9	IX. Coatl	

Modern Style.		Mexican Days.	Festivals.
August	10	X. Miquiztli	The second festival of *Huitzilopochtli*, with sacrifices of prisoners, oblations of flowers, general dance, and solemn banquet.
	11	XI. Mazatl	
	12	XII. Tochtli	
	13	XIII. Atl	
	14	I. ITZCUINTLI	
	15	II. Ozomàtli	
	16	III. Malinalli	
	17	IV. Acatl	Festival of *Jacateuctli*, god of the merchants, with sacrifices and entertainments.
	18	V. Ocelotl	
	19	VI. Quauhtli	
	20	VII. Cozcaquauhtli	
	21	VIII. Olin	
	22	IX. Tecpatl	
	23	X. Quiahuitl.	
	24	XI. Xochitl	

XOCOHUETZI Tenth Month.

	25	XII. Cipactli	The festival of *Xiuhteuctli*, god of fire, with a solemn dance, and sacrifice of prisoners.
	26	XIII. Ehècatl	
	27	I. CALLI	
	28	II. Cuetzpalin	
	29	III. Coatl	
	30	IV. Miquiztli	
	31	V. Mazatl	
September	1	VI. Tochtli	
	2	VII. Atl	
	3	VIII. Itzcuintli	
	4	IX. Ozomatli	
	5	X. Malinalli	
	6	XI. Acatl	
	7	XII. Ocelotl	
	8	XIII. Quauhtli	
	9	I. COZCAQUAUTLI	All festivals cease during those five days.
	10	II. Olin	
	11	III. Tecpatl	
	12	IV. Quiahuitl	
	13	V. Xochitl	

OCHPANIZTLI Eleventh Month.

Modern Style.	Mexican Days:	Feſtivals.
September 14	VI. Cipactli	Dance preparatory to the following feſtival.
15	VII. Ehècatl	
16	VIII. Calli	
17	IX. Cuetzpalin	
18	X. Coatl	
19	XI. Miquiztli	
20	XII. Mazatl	
21	XIII. Tochtli	
22	I. ATL	Feſtival of *Teteoinan*, mother of the gods, with the ſacrifice of a female ſlave.
23	II. Itzcuintli	
24	III. Ozomatli	
25	IV. Malinalli	
26	V. Acatl	
27	VI. Ocelotl	The third feaſt of the goddeſs *Centeotl* in the temple Xiuhcalco, with a proceſſion and ſacrifices.
28	VII. Quauhtli	
29	VIII. Cozcaquauhtli	
30	IX. Olin	
October 1	X. Tecpatl	
2	XI. Quiahuitl	
3	XII. Tochtli	

TEOTLECO Twelfth Month.

4	XIII. Cipactli	
5	I. EHECATL	
6	II. Calli	
7	III. Cuetzpalin	
8	IV. Coatl	
9	V. Miquiztli	
10	VI. Mazatl	
11	VII. Tochtli	
12	VIII. Atl	
13	IX. Itzcuintli	Feſtival of *Chiucnahuitzcuintli*, *Nahualpilli*, and *Centeotl*, gods of the lapidaries.
14	X. Ozomatli	
15	XI. Malinalli	
16	XII. Acatl	
17	XIII. Ocelotl	
18	I. QUAUHTLI	

Modern Style.		Mexican Days.	Feſtivals.
October	19	II. Cozcaquauhtli	
	20	III. Olin	Watch kept for the following feſtival.
	21	IV. Tecpatl	Feſtival of the arrival of the gods,
	22	V. Quiahuitl	with a great ſupper and ſacri-
	23	VI. Xochitl	fices of priſoners.

TEPEILHUITL Thirteenth Month.

	24	VII. Cipactli	Feſtival of the gods of the mountains, with the ſacrifices of four
	25	VIII. Ehècatl	female ſlaves and a priſoner.
	26	IX. Calli	
	27	X. Cuetzpalin	Feſtival of the god *Tochinco*,
	28	XI. Coatl	with the ſacrifice of a pri-
	29	XII. Miquiztli	ſoner.
	30	XIII. Mazatl	Feſtival of *Nappateuctli*, with
	31	I. TOCHTLI.	the ſacrifice of a priſoner.
November	1	II. Atl	
	2	III. Itzcuintli	
	3	IV. Ozomatli	
	4	V. Malinalli	Feſtival of *Centzontotochtin*, god
	5	VI. Acatl	of wine, with the ſacrifice
	6	VII. Ocelotl	of three ſlaves of three differ-
	7	VIII. Quauhtli	ent places.
	8	IX. Cozcaquauhtli	
	9	X. Olin	
	10	XI. Tecpatl	
	11	XII. Quiahuitl	
	12	XIII. Xochitl *	

QUECHOLLI Fourteenth Month.

13	I. CIPACTL	The faſt of four days, in prepa-
14	II. Ehècatl	ration for the following feſ-
15	III. Calli	tival.
16	IV. Cuetzpalin	Feſtival of *Mixcoatl*, god of the
17	V. Coatl	chace; a general chace; pro-
18	VI. Miquiztli	ceſſion and ſacrifice of ani-
19	VII. Mazatl	mals.

* Here ends the firſt cycle of two hundred and ſixty days, or twenty periods of thirteen days.

November

Modern Style.	Mexican Days.	Feſtivals.
November 20	VIII. Tochtli	
21	IX. Atl.	
22	X. Itzcuintli	
23	XI. Ozomatli	
24	XII. Malinalli	
25	XIII. Acatl	
26	I. OCELOTL	
27	II. Quauhtli	
28	III. Cozcaquauhtli	
29	IV. Olin	Feſtival of *Tlamatzincatl*, with
30	V. Tecpatl	ſacrifices of priſoners.
December 1	VI. Quiahuitl	
2	VII. Xochitl	

PANQUETZALIZTLI Fifteenth Month.

3	VIII. Cipactli	
4	IX. Ehècatl	The third and principal feſtival
5	X. Calli	of *Huitzilopochtli* and his
6	XI. Cuetzpalin	companions. Severe faſt, ſo-
7	XII. Coatl	lemn proceſſion. Sacrifices of
8	XIII. Miquiztli	priſoners and quails, and the
9	I. MAZATL	eating of the ſtatue of paſte
10	II. Tochtli	of that god.
11	III. Atl	
12	IV. Itzcuintli	
13	V. Ozomatli	
14	VI. Malinalli	
15	VII. Acatl.	
16	VIII. Ocelotl	
17	IX. Quauhtli	
18	X. Cozcaquauhtli	
19	XI. Olin	
20	XII. Tecpatl	
21	XIII. Quiahuitl	
22	I. XOCHITL	

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APPENDIX.

ATEMOZTLI Sixteenth Month.

Modern Style.	Mexican Days.	Feſtivals.
December 23	II. Cipactli	
24	III. Ehècatl	
25	IV. Calli	
26	V. Cuetzpalin	
27	VI. Coatl	
28	VII. Miquiztli	
29	VIII. Mazatl	
30	IX. Tochtli	
31	X. Atl	
January 1	XI. Itzcuintli	
2	XII. Ozomatli	
3	XIII. Malinalli	
4	I. ACATL	
5	II. Ocelotl	
6	III. Quauhtli	
7	IV. Cozcaquauhtli	Faſt of four days in preparation
8	V. Olin	of the following feſtival.
9	VI. Tecpatl	
10	VII. Quiahuitl	The fourth feſtival of the gods
11	VIII. Xochitl	of water, with a proceſſion and ſacrifices.

TITITL Seventeenth Month.

12	IX. Cipactli	
13	X. Ehècatl	
14	XI. Calli	Feſtival of the goddeſs *Ilamateuctli*, with a dance and ſa-
15	XII. Cuetzpalin	
16	XIII. Coatl	facrifice of a female ſlave.
17	I. MIQUIZTLI	Feſtival of *Mictlanteuctli*, god
18	II. Mazatl	of hell, with the nocturnal
19	III. Tochtli	ſacrifice of a priſoner.
20	IV. Atl	
21	V. Itzcuintli	
22	VI. Ozomatli	The ſecond feſtival of *Yacatecuhtli*, god of the merchants,
23	VII. Malinalli	with the ſacrifice of a priſoner.
24	VIII. Acatl.	

January

Modern Style.	Mexican Days.	Feſtivals
January 25	IX. Ocelotl	
26	X. Quauhtli	
27	XI. Cozcaquauhtli	
28	XII. Olin	
29	XIII. Tecpatl	
30	I. QUIAHUITL.	
31	II. Xochitl	

IZCALLI Eighteenth Month.

February 1	III. Cipactli	
2	IV. Ehècatl	
3	V. Calli	
4	VI. Cuetzpalin	
5	VII. Coatl	
6	VIII. Miquiztli	
7	IX. Mazatl	
8	X. Tochtli	
9	XI. Atl	
10	XII. Itzcuintli	General chace for the ſacrifices
11	XIII. Ozomatli	of the next feſtival.
12	I. MALINALLI	
13	II. Acatl	
14	III. Ocelotl	
15	IV. Quauhtli	
16	V. Cozcaquauhtli	
17	VI. Olin	The ſecond feſtival of *Xiuhteuctli*, god of fire, with ſa-
18	VII. Tecpatl	crifices of animals.
19	VIII. Quiahuitl	
20	IX. Xochitl.	Renewal of fire in the houſes.

NEMONTEMI, or uſeleſs Days.

21	X. Cipactli	During theſe days there was no
22	XI. Ehècatl	feſtival.
23	XII. Calli	
24	XIII. Cuetpalin	
25	I. COATL	

The following year II. Acatl, begins with II. *Miquiztli*, and continues in the ſame order.

EXPLA-

EXPLANATION of the Obſcure FIGURES.

I. *Of the figures of the Mexican Century.*

IN the wheel of the Mexican century are four figures, thirteen times repeated, to ſignify, as we have already mentioned, the four periods (by ſome authors called *indictions*), of thirteen years, of which their century conſiſted. The four figures are, firſt, the head of a rabbet, expreſſive of that quadruped; ſecondly, a reed; thirdly, a knife or the point of a lance, repreſenting a flint ſtone; fourthly, a part of a building, ſignifying a houſe. The years of the century are counted by beginning at the upper twiſt of the ſerpent, and deſcending towards the left. The I. figure, with a ſmall point, denotes I. rabbet; the ſecond, with two points, ſignifies II. reed; the third, with three points, ſignifies III. flint; the fourth, with four points, IV. houſe; the fifth, with five points, V. rabbet; and ſo it continues until the twiſt upon the left, where the ſecond period begins with the figure of the reed, and terminates in the lower twiſt; and then the third period commences.

II. *Of the figures of the year.*

The firſt figure is that of water, ſpread upon a building to denote the firſt month, whoſe name *Acahualco*, or *Atlacahualco*, ſignifies, the ceaſing of water; becauſe, in the month of March the winter rains ceaſe in northern countries, where the Mexican or Toltecan calendar took its origin. They called it alſo *Quahitlehua*, which ſignifies the budding of trees, which happens at this time in hot countries. The Tlaſcalans called this month *Xilomanilizth*, or the oblation of ears of maize; becauſe in it they offered to their gods thoſe of the paſt year, to obtain proſperity to the ſeed, which about this time began to be ſown in high grounds.

The figure of the ſecond month, appears at firſt ſight to be a pavilion, but we believe it is rather a human ſkin ill deſigned, to expreſs that which is meant by the name *Tlacaxipehualitzli*, which they gave to this month, or ſkinning of men, on account of the barbarous rite

of ſkinning human victims, at the feſtival of the god of the goldſmiths. The Tlaſcalans called this month *Coailhuitl*, or general feſtival, and repreſented it by the figure of a ſerpent wound about a fan, and an *Ajacaxtli*. The fan and the Ajacaxtli denote the dances which were then made, and the coiled ſerpent ſignifies their generality.

The figure of the third month is that of a bird upon a lancet. The lancet ſignifies the ſpilling of blood, which was made during the nights of this month; but we do not know what bird it is, nor what it means.

The fourth month is repreſented by the figure of a ſmall building, upon which appear ſome leaves of ruſhes, ſignifying the ceremony which they performed in this month of putting ruſhes, ſword-graſs, and other herbs, dipped in blood, which they ſhed in honour of their gods, over the doors of their houſes.

The Tlaſcalans repreſented the third month by a lancet, to ſignify the ſame kind of penance; and the fourth month by a large lancet, to denote that during it they did ſtill greater penance.

The figure of the fifth month is that of a human head, with a necklace under it, repreſenting thoſe chaplets or wreaths of criſp maize which they wore about their necks, and with which they adorned alſo the idol of Tezcatlipoca, from whence the month took the name of *Toxcatl*, as we have ſaid above.

The ſixth month is repreſented by an earthen pot or jug, ſignifying a certain gruel, which they took then called *Etzalli*, from which the month took the name of *Etzalqualiztli*.

The two figures of the ſeventh and eighth months, appear deſigned to ſignify the dances which they made then, and becauſe the dances of the eighth month were the greateſt, the figure alſo which repreſents it is greater. Near to theſe figures appear lancets, denoting the auſterities practiſed preparatory to theſe feſtivals. The Tlaſcalans repreſented thoſe two months by the heads of two lords, that of the month *Tecuilhuitontli*, or little feſtival of the lords, appears a young man, and that of the month *Huitecuilhuitl*, or grand feſtival of the lords, ſeems an old man.

The figures of the ninth and tenth months, are evidently expreſſive of the mourning which they put on, and the lamentation which they made

made for their dead, which obtained the ninth month the name of *Miccailhuitl*, or feſtival of the dead, and the tenth *Hueimiccailhuitl*, or great feſtival of the dead; and becauſe the mourning of the tenth month was the greater, the figure of it alſo is larger. The Tlaſcalans painted for each of theſe two months a ſkull with two bones, but the ſkull of the tenth was the larger.

The figure of the eleventh month is a broom, by which is ſignified the ceremony of ſweeping the pavement of the temples, which was in this month performed by all; from whence the name *Ochpaniztli*. The Tlaſcalans painted a hand graſping a broom.

The figure of the twelfth and thirteenth months is that of a *paraſite* plant, called by the Mexicans *pachtli*, which in this ſeaſon twines about oaks, and from them the twelfth month took its name; becauſe in the next month this plant is grown up, the figure of it is larger, and the month takes the name of *Hueipachtli*. Theſe names, although more uſed by the Tlaſcalans, were alſo employed by the Mexicans; we have, however, adopted the names *Teotleco* and *Tepeilhuitl* in this hiſtory, as being more commonly uſed by the Mexicans.

The figure of the fourteenth month is very ſimilar to that of the ſecond; but we know nothing of its meaning.

The Tlaſcalans uſed to repreſent this month by the figure of that bird which ſome have called *Flamingo*, and the Mexicans *Quechölli*, which name the Mexicans gave alſo to the month; becauſe, at this time, theſe birds reſorted to the Mexican lake.

The figure of the fifteenth month is a piece of a Mexican ſtandard, ſignifying the one which was carried at the ſolemn proceſſion of Huitzilopochtli, made in this month. The name *Panquetzaliztli*, by which it was called, ſignifies no more, as we have already ſaid, than the mounting the ſtandard.

The figure of the ſixteenth is that of water upon a ſtair, ſignifying the deſcent of water, expreſſed by the name *Atemoztli*, which was given to this month, either becauſe this is the ſeaſon of rain in northern countries, or becauſe at this time they held the feſtival of the gods of the mountains and water, to obtain the neceſſary ſhowers.

The figure of the ſeventeenth month, is two or three pieces of wood tied with a cord, and a hand, which, pulling the cord forcibly, binds

the wood, denoting the conſtriction occaſioned by the cold of this ſeaſon, which is the meaning of the name *Tititl*. The Tlaſcalans painted two ſticks caſed, and firmly fixed in a plank.

The figure of the eighteenth month is the head of a quadruped upon an altar, ſignifying the ſacrifices of animals which were made during this month to the god of fire. The Tlaſcalans repreſented it by the figure of a man holding up a child by the head; this makes an interpretation which ſome authors give of the name *Izcalli*, very probably, as they ſay that word means, *riſen from the dead*, or *new creation*.

The figure of the moon, which is in the centre of the wheel, or circle of the year has been copied from a Mexican painting, from which it appears, that thoſe ancient Indians knew well that the moon has her light from the ſun.

In ſome wheels of the Mexican year which we have ſeen, after the figures of the eighteen months, there followed five large points or dots denoting the five days called Nemontemi.

III. *Of the figures of the month.*

Authors differ greatly in opinion concerning the ſignification of *Cipactli*, the name of the firſt day. According to Boturini, it ſignifies a ſerpent; with Torquemada, the ſword-fiſh; and with Betancourt, the tiburon. In the only wheel yet publiſhed of the Mexican month, which is that by Valades, the figure repreſenting the firſt day, is almoſt totally ſimilar to that of a lizard, which appears in the fourth day. As we do not know the truth, we have put the head of a tiburon, according to Betancourt.

The ſecond day is called *Ehècatl*, or wind, and is repreſented by a human head blowing with the mouth.

The third day is called *Calli*, or houſe, repreſented by a ſmall building.

The name of the fourth day is *Cuetzpalin*, or lizard, and the figure is that animal.

The name of the fifth day is *Coatl*, or ſerpent, and the figure is that animal.

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The name of the ſixth month is *Miquiztli*, that is, death, repreſented by a ſkull.

The ſeventh day is called *Mazatl*, or ſtag, repreſented by the head of that quadruped, as the eighth day is by that of the rabbet *Tochtli*, and ſo it is called.

The name of the ninth day is *Atl*, or water, and is repreſented by the figure of that element.

The tenth day is named *Itzcuintli*, that is, a certain Mexican quadruped, ſimilar to a little dog, and the figure of it is that little animal.

The eleventh day was called *Ozomatli*, or ape, repreſented alſo by the figure of that animal.

The twelfth day was called *Malinalli*, the name of a certain plant of which they made brooms, and is repreſented by the figure of the ſame plant.

The thirteenth day is named *Acatl*, or reed, and is repreſented by a reed.

The fourteenth day is named *Ocelotl*, tyger; and the fifteenth *Quauhtli*, eagle, repreſented by the heads of theſe animals.

The ſixteenth day is *Cozcaquauhtli*, the name of a Mexican bird, deſcribed in the firſt book of this hiſtory, and repreſented by the figure of it, though it is very imperfect.

The ſeventeenth day is *Olin tonatiuh*, or motion of the ſun, repreſented by the figure of the ſame luminary.

The eighteenth day is *Tecpatl*, or flint, and the figure of it is the point of a lance, which uſed to be made of flint.

The nineteenth day is *Quiahuitl*, rain, and is repreſented by a cloud raining.

The twentieth day is *Xochitl*, flower, and the figure that of a flower.

In the centre of this wheel we have put the figure of the fifteenth month, in order to reduce it to a determined month.

IV. *Of the figures of cities.*

The firſt figure is that of an opuntia, or nopal upon a ſtone, the ſymbol of the city of *Tenochtitlan*, or Mexico. *Tenochtitlan* means the

the place where the opuntia is in the ſtone, alluding to what we have already ſaid reſpecting the foundation of this great city.

The ſecond figure is that by which they expreſſed a gem. The name *Chalco* means in or upon the gem *(y)*.

The third figure is the hinder part of a man cloſe to a ruſh plant, and the fourth is the ſame cloſe to a flower, ſignifying the cities of *Tollantzinco* and *Xochitziucho*, the names of which ſignify, at the end of the place full of ruſhes, and at the end of the flowers, or flowery field: and almoſt all the names of places which have the termination in *tzinco*, and which are numerous, have a ſimilar ſignification, and are repreſented by ſimilar figures.

The fifth figure is a little branch of the tree *Huaxin* upon a noſe, in order to repreſent the city of *Huaxjacac*, a name compoſed of *Huaxin* and *jacatl*, and means upon the point or extremity of the little tree *Huaxin*; becauſe although *jacatl*, ſignifies properly the noſe, it alſo is uſed to ſignify any other point. As *Tepejacac*, the name of two places means, upon the point of the mountain.

In the ſixth figure appears an earthen pot upon three ſtones, as the Indians uſed to place it, and ſtill do ſo, in order to keep it over fire, and in the mouth of the pot is the figure of water, to repreſent the city of *Atotonilco* (*z*), which name ſignifies, in hot water, or the place of the baths.

The ſeventh figure is that of water, in which appears a man with his arms opened, in token of rejoicing, repreſenting the city of *Ahuilizapan*, called by the Spaniards Orizaba, the name of which means, in the water of pleaſure, or in the chearful river.

The eighth figure is alſo that of water in a mouth, repreſenting the city of *Atenco* (*a*). This name is compounded of *Atl*, water, of *Tentli*, lip, or metaphorically bank, ſhore, edge, &c. &c. and the prepoſition, or article *co*, which means *in*, ſo that *Atenco* means upon

(*x*) Acoſta ſays, that *Chalco* means, in the mouths, but the Mexican name ſignifying the mouth is *Camatl*, and when they would ſay, in the mouth, they expreſs it *Camac*.

(*z*) There were, and are many places, called Atenco, but the moſt conſiderable was that which appears cloſe to Tezcuco, in our chart of the lakes of Mexico.

(*a*) On the 26th day of February of the above mentioned year, the year according to the meridian of Alexandria, which was built three centuries after, properly began. Q. Curt. lib. iv. c. 21. — La Lande Aſtronomie, n. 1597.

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the bank, ſhore, or edge of the water; and all the places which have ſuch a name are ſituated upon the bank of ſome lake or river.

The ninth figure is that of a Mexican mirror, to repreſent the city of Tehuillojocean, which term ſignifies, place of the mirrors.

The tenth figure is that of a hand in the act of counting by the fingers, to repreſent the village of *Nepohualco*, which word ſignifies, the place where they count, or the place of enumeration.

The eleventh figure is that of an arm holding a fiſh, repreſenting the city of *Michmalojan*, which word ſignifies, place where the fiſh are taken, or place of fiſhing.

The twelfth is a piece of an edifice, with the head of an eagle within it, to repreſent the city of *Quauhtinchan*, which ſignifies, houſe of eagles.

The thirteenth figure is that of a mountain, ſuch as they uſed to paint in their pictures, and a little above a ſmall knife, to repreſent the city of *Tlacotepec*, which name ſignifies, the cut mountain.

The fourteenth figure is that of a flower, and beneath it five of thoſe points by which they uſed to expreſs numbers from one to twenty. With ſuch a figure they repreſented the place called *Macuilxochitl*, which ſignifies, five flowers. This name is ſtill uſed to ſignify a day of the year; and it is probable, that the foundation of that place having been laid on ſuch a day it obtained ſuch a name.

The fifteenth figure is the game of football, repreſenting the city of *Tlachco*, called by the Spaniards *Taſco*, which name ſignifies the place where they played at this game. Thoſe two ſmall round figures in the middle are two mill-ſtones, pierced in the center, which were uſed in that game. There were at leaſt two cities or villages of this name.

The figure of the ſixteenth, repreſents the place of *Tecotzaultla*, ſignifying the place abounding with ochre.

V. *Of the figures of the Mexican kings.*

Theſe figures are not portraits of the kings, but ſymbols of their names. In all of them appears a head, crowned in the Mexican ſtyle, and each has its mark to ſhew the name of the king repreſented by it.

Acamapitzin, the name of the firſt king of Mexico, ſignifies, he who has reeds in his fiſt, which alſo appears in the figure.

Huitzilihuitl, the name of the ſecond king ſignifies, feather of the little flower-ſucking bird; and therefore the head of that little bird is repreſented, though imperfectly, with a feather in its mouth.

Chimalpopoca, name of the third king, means, ſmoaking ſhield, which is repreſented in his figure.

Itzcoatl, name of the fourth king, means, ſerpent of itzli, or armed with lancets, or razors of the ſtone itzli, which is repreſented by the fourth figure.

Ilhuicamina, the ſurname of Montezuma I. the fifth king of Mexico, means, he who ſhoots into the ſky, and therefore an arrow is repreſented ſhot at that figure, by which the Mexicans uſed to ſignify the ſky.

Axajacatl, the name of the ſixth king, means alſo a marſh-fly, and ſignifies the face or aſpect of water, and therefore a face is repreſented, above which is the figure of water.

Tizoc, the name of the ſeventh king, ſignifies, pierced, and therefore he is repreſented by a perforated leg.

Ahuitzotl, the name of the eighth king, is alſo that of an amphibious quadruped, mentioned in our firſt book, and is therefore repreſented by the figure of that quadruped; and to ſhew that this animal lives in the water, the figure of that element appears on its back and tail.

Moteuczoma, the name of the ninth king, means, angry lord; but we do not underſtand the figure of it.

The figures of the two laſt kings *Cuitlahuatzin* and *Quauhtemotzin*, are wanting; but we do not doubt but that that of *Quauhtemotzin*, ſignifies, a dropping eagle, as the name has that meaning.

VI. *Of the figure of the deluge, and the confuſion of tongues.*

The water ſignifies the deluge; the human head, and the bird in the water, ſignify the drowning of men and animals. The ſhip, with a man in it, denotes the veſſel in which, according to their tradition,

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one man, and one woman, were ſaved to preſerve the human race. The figure in one corner is that of the mountain Colhuacan, near to which, according to their account, the man and the woman who were ſaved diſembarked from the deluge. In all the Mexican paintings, in which mention is made of that mountain, it is repreſented by the ſame figure. The bird upon the tree repreſents the pigeon, which, as they ſay, communicated ſpeech to men, as they were all born dumb after the deluge. Thoſe rods which iſſue from the mouth of the pigeon towards men, are the ſymbols of languages. Wherever the Mexican paintings allude either to languages or words, they employ theſe rods. The multitude of them in one figure, ſignifies the multitude of thoſe which were thus communicated. Thoſe fifteen men, who receive the languages from the pigeon, repreſent ſo many families ſeparated from the reſt of mankind, from whom, as they account, deſcended the nations of Anahuac.

LETTER from Abbé Don Lorenzo Hervas, to the Author, upon the Mexican Calendar.

Ab. Hervas, author of the work entitled, Idea of the Univerſe, *having read this work in manuſcript, and made ſome curious and learned obſervations on the Mexican Calendar, communicated them in the following letter, which we truſt will prove acceptable to our readers.*

FROM the work of your Reverence I learn with infinite pain, how much the loſs of thoſe documents which aſſiſted the celebrated Dr. Siguenza to form his *Ciclography*; and the Cav. Boturini to publiſh his *Idea of the General Hiſtory of New Spain*, is to be regretted; and at the ſame time I am farther confirmed in my opinion, that the uſe of the ſolar year was contemporary, or, perhaps, anterior to the Deluge, as I attempt to prove in the eleventh volume of my work, in which is inſerted The Extatic Journey to the Planetary World, wherein I propoſe ſome reflexions on the Mexican Calendar, which I ſhall here anticipate and ſubmit to your cenſure.

The year and century have, from time immemorial, been regulated by the Mexicans with a degree of intelligence which does not at all correſpond with their arts and ſciences. In them they were certainly extremely inferior to the Greeks or Romans; but the diſcernment which appears in their Calendar, equals them to the moſt cultivated nations. Hence we ought to imagine, that this Calendar has not been the diſcovery of the Mexicans, but a communication from ſome more enlightened people; and as the laſt are not to be found in America, we muſt ſeek for them elſewhere, in Aſia, or in Egypt. This ſuppoſition is confirmed by your affirmation; that the Mexicans had their Calendar from the Toltecas (originating from Aſia), whoſe year, according to Boturini, was exactly adjuſted by the courſe of the ſun, more than a hundred years before the Chriſtian era; and alſo from obſerving that other nations, namely, the Chiapaneſe, made uſe of the ſame Calendar with the Mexicans, without any difference but that of their ſymbols.

The Mexican year began upon the 26th of February, a day celebrated in the era of Nabonaſſar, which was fixed by the Egyptians 747 years before the Chriſtian era; for the beginning of their month *Toth*, correſponded with the meridian of the ſame day. If thoſe prieſts fixed alſo upon this day as an epoch, becauſe it was celebrated in Egypt (*a*), we have there the Mexican Calendar agreeing with the Egyptian. But independent of this, it is certain, that the Mexican Calendar conformed greatly with the Egyptian.

On this ſubject Herodotus ſays (*b*), that the year was firſt regulated by the Egyptians, who gave to it twelve months, of thirty days, and added five days to every year, that the circle of the year might revolve regularly: that the principal gods of the Egyptians were twelve in number, and that each month was under the tutelage and protection of one of theſe gods. The Mexicans alſo added to every year, five days, which they called Nemontemi, or uſeleſs; becauſe during theſe they did nothing. Plutarch ſays (*c*), that on ſuch days the Egyptians celebrated the feſtival of the birth of their gods.

(*a*) On the 26th day of February, of the above mentioned year, the year according to the meridian of Alexandria, which was built three centuries after, properly began. Q. Curt. lib. iv. c. 21. See La Lande Aſtronomie, n. 1597.

(*b*) Herod. lib. ii. cap. 1. and 6. (*c*) Plut. de Iſide & Oſiride.

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It is certainly true, that the Mexicans divided their year into eighteen months, not into twelve like the Egyptians; but as they called the month *mistli*, or moon, as you have obſerved, it ſeems undeniable, that their ancient month had been lunar, as well as that of the Egyptians and Chineſe, the Mexican month verifying that which the ſcriptures tell, that the month is obliged for its name to the moon. The Mexicans, it is probable, received the lunar month from their anceſtors, but for certain purpoſes afterwards inſtituted another. You have affirmed in your hiſtory, upon the faith of Boturini, that the Miztecas formed their year into thirteen months, which number was ſacred in the Calendar of the Mexicans, on account of their thirteen principal gods, in the ſame manner as the Egyptians conſecrated the number twelve, on account of their twelve greater gods.

The ſymbols and periods of years, months, and days in the Mexican Calendar, are truly admirable. With reſpect to the periods it appears to me, that the period of five days might not improperly be termed their civil week, and that of thirteen their religious week. In the ſame manner, the period of twenty days might be called their civil month; that of twenty-ſix their religious month; and that of thirty, their lunar and aſtronomical month. In their century, it is probable, that the period of four years was civil, and that of thirteen religious. From the multiplication of theſe two periods they had their century, and from the duplication of their century, their age of one hundred and four years. In all thoſe periods an art is diſcovered not leſs admirable than that of our indictions, cycles, &c. The period of civil weeks was contained exactly in their civil and aſtronomical month; the latter had ſix, the former four, and the year contained ſeventy-three complete weeks; in which particular our method is excelled by the Mexican; for our weeks are not contained exactly in the month, nor in the year. The period of religious weeks was contained twice in their religious month, and twenty-eight times in the year; but in the latter there remained a day over, as there is in our weeks. From the periods of thirteen days, multiplied by the twenty characters of the month, the cycle of two hundred and ſixty days was produced, of which you have made mention; but as there remained a day over the twenty-eight religious weeks of the ſolar year, there aroſe another cycle of

two hundred and ſixty days, in ſuch a manner, that the Mexicans could, from the firſt day of every year, diſtinguiſh what year it was. The period of civil months, multiplied by the number of days, (that is eighteen by twenty), and the period of lunar months, multiplied by the number of days, (that is, twelve by thirty), give the ſame product, or the number three hundred and ſixty; a number certainly not leſs memorable, and in uſe among the Mexicans than among the moſt ancient nations; and a number, which from time immemorial, has ruled in geometry and aſtronomy, and is of the utmoſt particularity on account of its relation to the circle, which is divided into three hundred and ſixty parts, or degrees. In no nation of the world do we meet with any thing ſimilar to this clear and diſtinct method of Calendar. From the ſmall period of four years, multiplied by the above mentioned cycle of two hundred and ſixty years, aroſe another admirable cycle of one thouſand and forty years. The Mexicans combined the ſmall period of four years with the period above named *week* of thirteen years; thence reſulted their noted cycle or century of fifty-two years; and thus with the four figures, indicating the period of four years, they had, as we have from the dominical letters, a period, which, to ſay the truth, exceeded ours; as it is of twenty-eight years, and the Mexican of fifty-two; this was perpetual, and ours in Gregorian years is not ſo. So much variety and ſimplicity of periods of weeks, months, years, and cycles, cannot be unadmired; and the more ſo, as there is immediately diſcovered that particular relation which theſe periods have to many different ends, which Boturini points out by ſaying: "The Mexi- "can Calendar was of four ſpecies; that is, natural, for agriculture; "chronological, for hiſtory; ritual, for feſtivals; and aſtronomical, "for the courſe of the ſtars; and the year was luniſolar." This year, if we do not put it at the end of three Mexican ages, after ſeveral calculations I am not able to find it.

Boturini determines by the Mexican paintings the year of the confuſion of tongues, and the years of the creation of the world; which determination appears not to be difficult, becauſe as the eclipſes are noted in the Mexican paintings, there is not a doubt but the true epoch

(*d*) A luna ſignum dici feſti . . . Menſis ſecundum nomen ejus eſt. Eccl. xliii.

of

of chronology may be obtained from them, as P. Souciet obtains the Chineſe from the ſolar eclipſe which he fixed in the year 2155, before the Chriſtian era. An eclipſe well circumſtantiated, as P. Briga *(e)* Romagnoli proves at length, may aſſiſt us to fix the epoch of chronology in the ſpace of twenty thouſand years, and although in the Mexican paintings, all the circumſtances of eclipſes are not deſcribed, yet the defect of them is remedied by many eclipſes which are marked there. The Mexican lords therefore, who ſtill preſerve great number of paintings, might by ſtudy of them adduce many lights to chronology.

Reſpecting the ſymbols of the Mexican months and year, they diſcover ideas entirely conformable with thoſe of the ancient Egyptians. The latter diſtinguiſhed, as appears from their monuments, each month or part of the zodiac, where the ſun ſtood, with characteriſtical figures of that which happened in every ſeaſon of the year. Therefore we ſee the ſigns of Aries, Taurus, and the two young Goats (which now are Gemini), uſed to mark the months of the birth of thoſe animals; the ſigns of Cancer, Leo, and Virgo, with the ear of corn, for thoſe months, in which the ſun goes backward like a crab; in which there is greater heat, and in which the harveſts are reaped. The ſign of the Scorpion (which in the Egyptian ſphere occupied the ſpace which at preſent is occupied by the ſign of Libra), and that of Sagittarius, in the months of virulent, or contagious diſtempers, and the chace; and laſtly, the ſigns of Capricorn, Aquarius, and Piſcis, in thoſe months in which the ſun begins to aſcend towards others; in which it rains much, and in which there is abundant fiſhing. Theſe ideas at leaſt are ſimilar to thoſe which the Mexicans aſſociated with their clime. They called their firſt month *Acahualco*, that is, the ceſſation of the waters, which began on the 26th of February, and they ſymbolize this month by a houſe, with the figure of water above it; they gave alſo to the ſame month the name of *Quahuitlehua*, that is, the moving or budding of trees. The Mexicans afterwards diſtinguiſhed their firſt month by two names, of which the firſt Acahualco, or the ceſſation of the waters, did not correſpond with their climate where the

(*e*) Scientia Eclipſium ex Europa in Sinas, Pars iii. c. 2. ſect. 20.

rains

rains came in October: but it agrees with the fields of Sennaar, and the northern climes of America, from whence their anceſtors came; and from that the origin of this name appears evidently to be very ancient. The ſecond name, that is, Quahuitlchua, or budding of the trees, agrees much with the word *Kimath*, uſed by Job to ſignify the Pleiades *(f)*, which, in his time announced the ſpring, when the trees begin to move. The ſymbol of the ſecond Mexican month was a pavilion, which indicated the great heat prevalent in Mexico in April, before the rains of May come on. The ſymbol of the third month was a bird which appeared at that time. The twelfth and thirteenth month had for their ſymbol the plant *pactli*, which ſprings up and matures in theſe months. The ſymbol of the fourteenth month was expreſſed by a cord, and a hand which pulled it, expreſſive of the binding power of the cold in that month, which is January; and to this ſame circumſtance the name Tititl, which they gave it alludes. The conſtellation *Keſil*, of which Job ſpeaks to ſignify winter, ſignifies in the Arabic root (which is *Keſal*) *to be cold and aſleep*, and in the text of Job it is read, "Couldſt thou break the cords or ties of Keſil?"

Leaving a-part the evident conformity which the ſymbols and expreſſions of ſpring and winter have with thoſe of Job, who, in my opinion, flouriſhed a ſhort time after the Deluge (as I ſay in my eleventh volume), it ought to be noted, that theſe ſymbols, which are excellent for preſerving the year invariable, demonſtrate the uſe of the intercalary days of the Mexicans; otherwiſe it would happen that in two centuries, the ſymbol of the month of cold would fall in the month of heat. Thus it is found, from the Mexican paintings, that in them the conqueſt of Mexico was marked in the ninth month called *Tlaxochimaco*; from thence it ought to be concluded, that the intercalary days were in uſe. The ſame deduction might be made from ſeeing that the Mexicans, at the entry of the Spaniards, preſerved that order of months, which, according to the ſignification of their names, agreed with the ſeaſons of the year, and the productions of the earth. Farther, to aſcertain how the Mexicans regulated their leap years, and if their year was juſt, an exact examination and compariſon ought to

(*f*) Job, chap. ix. v. 9. and chap. xxxviii. v. 31.

be

be made of ſome event known to us, which has been marked by them. You have, for example, fixed the death of Montezuma on the 29th of June, 1520: if in the Mexican paintings this is found in the ſeventh day, *Cuetzpalin*, of the ſeventh month, we muſt infer their year to be juſt, and that the leap years were interpoſed every four years; if it correſponds to the fourth day *Cipactli*, it would be a ſign that their year was juſt, and that the leap years were added after the century; if it ſhould correſpond with the ſeventh, *Ozomatli*, then it muſt be concluded that their leap years were put after the century, and their year was as eroneous as ours was at that time. The propoſed example is grounded upon the Calendar, at the end of your ſecond volume; this I did for the ſake of perſpicuity: but to make an exact calculation, it would be neceſſary to ſee that your Calendar correſponds with the firſt year of the Mexican century, and that the year 1520, was the fourteenth year of the century; whence the name of days would have taken a very different order from that which is propoſed for more clearneſs.

Laſtly, the ſymbol which you have put for the Mexican century, convinces me, that it is the ſame which the ancient Egyptians and Chaldeans had. In the Mexican ſymbol, we ſee the ſun as it were eclipſed by the moon, and ſurrounded with a ſerpent, which makes four twiſts, and embraces the four periods of thirteen years. This very idea of the ſerpent with the ſun has, from time immemorial in the world, ſignified the periodical or annual courſe of the ſun. We know that in aſtronomy, the points where eclipſes happen have, from time immemorial been called, (as P. Briga *(g)* Romagnoli has noted), the head and tail of a dragon. The Chineſe, from falſe ideas, though conformable to this immemorial alluſion, believe that at eclipſes a dragon is in the act of devouring the ſun. The Egyptians more particularly agree with the Mexicans; for to ſymbolize the ſun they employed a circle, with one or two ſerpents; but ſtill more the ancient Perſians, among whom their *Mitras* (which was certainly the ſun), was ſymbolized by a ſun *(h)* and a ſerpent; and from P. Montfaucon *(i)*, we are

(*g*) Vol. cited, p. 4. Inv. iii. c. 2.

(*h*) See Banier Mythologie, vol. ii. book iv. cap. iv. vol. iii. book vii. c. xii. Pluche, Hiſtory of the Heavens, vol. i. c. ii. ſect. 1. Goguet, Origin of Sciences, &c. vol. i. Diſſert. 2.

(*i*) Tom. i. p. 378.

given

given, in his Antiquities, a monument of a ſerpent which ſurrounding the ſigns of the Zodiac, cuts them, by rolling itſelf in various modes about them. In addition to theſe inconteſtible examples, the following reflexion is moſt convincing. There is not a doubt that the ſymbol of the ſerpent is a thing totally arbitrary to ſignify the ſun, with which it has no phyſical relation; wherefore then I aſk, have ſo many nations diſperſed over the globe, and of which ſome have had no reciprocal intercourſe, unleſs in the firſt ages after the deluge, agreed in uſing one ſame ſymbol ſo arbitrary, and choſe to expreſs by it the ſame object? When we find the word *facco* in the Hebrew, Greek, Teutonic, Latin languages, &c. it obliges us to believe that it belongs to the primitive language of men after the deluge, and when we ſee one ſame arbitrary ſymbol, ſignifying the ſun and his courſe, uſed by the Mexicans, the Chineſe, the ancient Egyptians, and Perſians, does it not prompt us to believe the real origin of it was in the time of Noah, or the firſt men after the deluge? this fair concluſion is ſtrongly confirmed by the Chiapaneſe Calendar (which is totally Mexican), in which the Chiapaneſe, according to Monſig. Nugnez de la Vega, biſhop of Chiapa, in his Preface to his Synodal Conſtitutions, put for the firſt ſymbol or name of the firſt year of the century a *Votan*, nephew of him who built a wall up to heaven, and gave to men the languages which they now ſpeak. Here is a fact connected with the Mexican Calendar, relative to the building of the tower of Babel and the confuſion of tongues. Many ſimilar reflexions are ſuggeſted by the obſervations and remarks which occur in your hiſtory, &c. Ceſena, July 31, 1780. So far the letter of Sig. Ab. Hervas. Whatever may have been the truth reſpecting the uſe of the ſolar year among theſe firſt men, in which diſpute I do not mean to engage, I cannot be perſuaded that the Mexicans, or the Toltecas, have been indebted to any nation of the old continent for their Calendar, and their method of computing time. From whom did the Toltecas learn their age of one hundred and four ye rs, their century of fifty-two, their year of eighteen months, their months of twenty days, their periods of thirteen years and thirteen days, their cycle of two hundred and ſixty days, and in particular their thirteen intercalary days, at the end of the century, to adjuſt the year with the courſe of the ſun? The Egyptians

were the greateſt aſtronomers of thoſe remote times, but they adopted no intercalary ſpace to adjuſt the year with the annual retardation of the ſolar courſe. If the Toltecas of themſelves diſcovered that retardation, it is not to be wondered at if they diſcovered other things which did not require ſuch minute and prolix aſtronomical obſervations. Boturini, of whoſe teſtimony Ab. Hervas avails himſelf, ſays expreſly upon the faith of the annals of the Toltecas, which he ſaw, that the ancient aſtronomers of that nation having obſerved in their native country Huehuetlapallan, (a northern country of America), the exceſs of about ſix hours of the ſolar, over the civil year which was obſerved among them, corrected it by the uſe of intercalary days, more than one hundred years before the Chriſtan era. With reſpect to the conformity between the Mexicans and Egyptians, we ſhall treat of it in our Diſſertations.

Animadverſions of the Author on the Work entitled, LETTERE AMERICANE, *or American Letters.*

Some of the obſervations made by Ab. Hervas have alſo been made by the learned author of the *American Letters*, a work full of erudition, recently publiſhed in the Literary Magazine of Florence, and come to us at the time the laſt ſheets of this volume were printing. The author, in oppoſing the abſurd opinions of M. de Paw, from a juſt though imperfect idea of the culture of the Mexicans, diſcourſes in general very intelligently of their cuſtoms, their arts, and, above all, their aſtronomical knowledge, explains their calendar and their cycles, and in theſe points compares them with the ancient Egyptians, as was done in the laſt century by the learned Mexican, Siguenza, to prove their conformity and the antiquity of the population of America. In the peruſal of theſe letters, I have had the pleaſure of ſeeing ſome of my own ſentiments ſupported and explained; although the author has committed many miſtakes, and ſhewn more acrimony againſt the Spaniſh nation than is conſiſtent with candour and impartiality. The alteration of the Mexican names in his work, is a treſpaſs upon all the rules of literary propriety and accuracy with reſpect to etymology.

In the ninth letter of the ſecond part, where he ſpeaks of the Mexican year, he cites Gemelli, and accuſes him, though falſely, of an error. Gemelli ſays, that the Mexican year at the commencement of their century, began upon the 10th of April; but that every four years it anticipated one day on account of our biſſextile; ſo that at the end of four years it began upon the 9th of that month; at the end of eight years it began upon the 8th, and ſo it went on anticipating every four years, one day, unto the end of the Mexican century, where by the interpoſition of the thirteen intercalary days, omitted in the progreſs of the century, the year returned to begin upon the 10th of April. This, adds the author of the Letters, is a contradiction of fact, as the year at the end of the four years ſhould have begun upon the 11th, and not the ninth, and thus every four years it ought to have increaſed a day; and in ſuch caſe, the correction of thirteen days after the end of fifty-two years became ſuperfluous, or without the retroceſſion of a day every four years, the difference of the ſolar year, at the end of the cycle ſhould have been double, that is twenty-ſix days.

We wonder much that an author, who appears to be a good calculator, ſhould err in a calculation ſo ſimple and clear. The year 1506, was a ſecular year among the Mexicans. Let us ſuppoſe for the ſake of perſpicuity, that their year began as ours on the firſt day of January. This firſt year of the Mexican century, compoſed like ours of 365 days, ended as ours on the 31ſt of December, and in like manner the ſecond year correſponding to 1507; but in 1508, the Mexican year ought to finiſh a day before ours; becauſe ours being biſſextile, or leap year, had 366 days, whereas the Mexican had only 365; therefore the fourth year of the Mexican century correſponding to 1509, ought to commence a day before ours, that is on the 31ſt of December 1508. In the ſame manner, the eighth year, correſponding to 1513, ought to commence on the 30th of December, 1512, for the ſame reaſon of that year having been biſſextile. The twelfth year, correſponding to 1517, ought to begin on the 29th of December 1516, and ſo forth, unto the year 1557, the laſt of the Mexican century, in which the Mexican year ought to anticipate ours as many days as there were biſſextile years. Thus in the 52 years of the Mexican century, there

MOTEZUMA IX. king of Mexico, married with *Miahuaxochitl* his niece.

|

Don Pedro *Jckualicahuatzin* Motezuma, married Donna Caterina *Quauxochitl* his niece.

|

D. Diego Luis *Ihuitemotzin* Motezuma, married in Spain Donna Franciſca de Cueva.

|

D. Pedro Teſifon Motezuma de Cueva I. Count of Motezuma, and Tula, and viſcount Iluca, married Donna Jeroma Porras.

D. Diego Luis Motezuma and Porras II. Count of Motezuma, &c. married Donna Luiſa Jofre Loaiſa and Carilla, daughter of the count of Arco.

|

Donna Maria Jeroma Motezuma Jofre de Loaiſa III. counteſs of Motezuma, &c. married to D. Joſeph Sarmiento de Valladares, who was viceroy of Mexico, and I. duke of Atriſco.

Donna Fauſta Dominica Sarmiento, Motezuma IV. counteſs of Motezuma, died a child in Mexico in 1697.

Donna Melchiorra Sarmiento Motezuma, V. counteſs of Motezuma, died without iſſue, in 1717, by which the eſtates of Motezuma reverted to Donna Tereſa Nieto de Sylva, daughter of the I. marquis of Tenebron.

Donna Tereſa Franciſca Motezuma and Porras, married to D. Diego Ciſneros de Guzman.

|

Donna Jeroma de Ciſneros Motezuma, married to D. Felix Nieto de Silva, I. marquis of Tenebron.

|

Donna Tereſa Nieto de Sylva and Motezuma, II. marchioneſs of Tenebron, and VI. counteſs of Motezuma, married to D. Gaſpar d'Oca Sarmiento and Zuniga.

|

D. Jerom d'Oca Motezuma, &c. III. marquis of Tenebron, and VII. count of Motezuma, married Donna Maria Joſepha de Mendoza.

|

D. Jerom d'Oca Motezuma and Mendoza, VIII. count of Motezuma, IV. marquis of Tenebron, and grandee of Spain, now living.

There are other branches of this moſt noble line in Spain as well as Mexico.

DESCENDANTS OF FERDINAND CORTES.

D. Fernando Cortez, conqueror, governor, and captain-general of Mexico, I. marquis of the valley of Oaxaca, had, in ſecond marriage, Donna Jeroma Ramirez d' Arrellano and Zuniga, daughter of D. Carlos Ramirez d' Arrellano, II. count of Aguilar, and Donna Jeroma de Zuniga, daughter of the count of Benares, eldeſt ſon of D. Alvaro de Zuniga, I. duke of Bejar. Their ſon was

I.

D. Martinez Cortez Ramirez d'Arrellano, II. marquis of the Valley, married his niece, Donna Anna Ramirez d' Arrellano. Their iſſue were

II.

D. Fernando Cortez Ramirez d'Arellano, III. marquis of the Valley, married Donna Mencia Fernandez de Cabrera and Mendoza, daughter of D. Pedro Fernandez Cabrera and Bobadilla. II. count of Chinchon, and Donna Maria de Mendoza and Cerda, ſiſter of the prince of Melito. D. Ferdinand had but one ſon, who died in childhood; and was ſucceeded by his brother.

2. D. Pedro Cortez Ramirez d'Arrellano, IV. marquis of the Valley, married Donna Anna Pacheco de la Cerda, ſiſter of the II. count of Montalban. Died without iſſue, and was therefore ſucceeded by his ſiſter,

3. Donna Jeroma Cortez Ramirez d'Arrellano, V. marchioneſs of the Valley, married to D. Pedro Carillo de Mendoza, IX. count of Priego, aſſiſtant, and captain-general of Seville, and great major domo to queen Margaret of Auſtria. Their daughter was

III.

Donna Stephania Carillo de Mendoza and Cortez. VI. marchioneſs of the Valley, was the wife of D. Diego of Arragon. IV. duke of Terranova, prince of Caſtel Vetrano, and of S. R. J. marquis of Avola and Favora, conſtable and admiral of Sicily, commander of Villafranca, viceroy of Sardinia, knight of the illuſtrious order of Toſon d'Oro. Their only daughter was

IV. Donna

IV.

Donna Juana d'Arragon Carilla de Mendoza and Cortez, V. Ducheſs of Terranova, and VII. marchioneſs of the Valley, great chamberlain to queen Luiſa of Orleans, and afterwards to queen Mariana of Auſtria, married to D. Hector Pignatelli, V. duke of Montelione, prince of Noja, marquis of Cerchiara, count of Borello, Catalonia, and Santangelo, viceroy of Catalonia, grandee of Spain, &c. Their only ſon was

V.

D. Andrea Fabrizio Pignatelli d'Arragon Carillo de Mendoza and Cortez IV. duke of Montelione. VI. duke of Terranova. VIII. marquis of the Valley, grandee of Spain, great chamberlain of the kingdom of Naples, knight of the order of Toſon d'Oro, married Donna Tereſa Pimentel and Benavides, daughter of D. Antonio Alfonſo de Quinones, XI. count of Benavente, of Luna, and Majorca, grandee of Spain, &c. and Donna Eliſabetta Franciſca de Benavides, III. marchioneſs of Javalquinto, and Villareal. Their daughter was

VI.

Donna J Pignatelli d'Arragon Pimentel, Carillo de Mendoza and Cortez, VII. ducheſs of Montelione, VII. ducheſs of Terranova, IX. marchioneſs of the Valley, grandee of Spain, &c. wife of D. Nicolas Pignatelli, of the princes of Noja and Cerchiara, prince of S. R. I. knight of Toſon d'Oro, &c. viceroy of Sardinia and Sicily, &c. Their ſon was

VII.

D. Diego Pignatelli d'Arragon, &c. VIII. duke of Montelione, VIII. duke of Terranova, X. marquis of the Valley, great admiral and conſtable of Sicily, knight of Toſon d'Oro, grandee of Spain, and prince of S. R. I. &c. married Donna Margarita Pignatelli, of the Dukes of Belloſguardo. Their ſon was

VIII.

D. Fabrizio Pignatelli d'Arragon, &c. IX. duke of Montelione, IX. duke of Terranova, XI. marquis of the Valley, grandee of Spain, prince of S. R. I. &c. married Donna Coſtanza Medici, of the princes of Otajano. Their ſon was

IX. D. Hec-

IX.

D. Hector Pignatelli d'Arragon, &c. X. duke of Montelione, X. duke of Terranova, XII. marquis of the Valley of Oaxaca, grandee of Spain, prince of S. R. I. living at preſent in Naples, and married with Donna N. Piccolomini, of the dukes of Amalfi.

Of that noble couple whom we have placed under Number VI. were born four ſons, Diego, Fernando, Antonio, and Fabrizio; and as many daughters, Roſa, Maria Tereſa, Stephania, and Caterina. 1. Don Diego was heir of the marquiſate of the Valley, and the dukedoms of Montelione and Terranova. 2. Don Ferdinand married Donna Lucretia Pignatelli, princeſs of Strongoli, whoſe ſon D. Salvatore took to wife donna Julia Maſtrigli, of the dukes of Marigliano. 3. D. Antonio, married in Spain, an only daughter of the count of Fuentes. Of this marriage was born D. Jerom Pignatelli d'Arragon, Moncayo, &c. count of Fuentes, marquis of Goſcojuela, grandee of Spain, prince of S. R. I. knight of Toſon d'Oro, of St. Jago, &c. ambaſſador from the court of Spain to the courts of England and France, and preſident of the royal council of military orders; whoſe ſon, now living, has married the only daughter and heireſs of Caſimiro Pignatelli, count of Egmont, duke of Biſaccia, &c. knight of Toſon d'Oro, and lieutenant-general of the armies of his moſt Chriſtian majeſty. 4. D. Fabrizio took to wife Virginia Pignatelli, ſiſter to the princeſs of Strongoli, whoſe ſon, D. Michael, is marquis of Salice and Guagnano. 5. Roſa was given in marriage to the prince of Scalea. 6. Maria Tereſa, to the marquis of Weſterlo, Señor Boemo. 7. Stephania, to the prince of Biſignano. 8. Caterina, to the count of Acetra.

there are thirteen biſſextile; the laſt year of the century, therefore, ought to anticipate ours by thirteen days, and not twenty-ſix. Conſequently, the interpoſition of the thirteen days to adjuſt the year at the end of the century with the courſe of the ſun was not ſuperfluous. So that Gemelli ſaid properly as to the anticipation of the day, although he erred in ſaying that the Mexicans began the year upon the 10th of April, as it began as we have often repeated on the 26th of February. The author of the Letters believes, that the Mexicans began their year at the vernal equinox. We are of the ſame opinion as to their aſtronomical year; but we have not ventured to affirm it as we do not know it. The ancient Spaniſh hiſtorians of Mexico were not aſtronomers, and were leſs attentive to explain in their hiſtories the progreſs of the Mexicans in ſciences than their ſuperſtitious rites. The *Mexican Cyclography*, compoſed by the great aſtronomer Siguenza, after a diligent ſtudy of the Mexican paintings, and various calculations of the eclipſes and comets marked in their paintings, has not reached us.

We cannot pardon the Author of the Letters the injuſtice he does this great Mexican in his third Letter of the ſecond volume, where he ſpeaks, on the faith of Gemelli, of the pyramids of Teotihuacan. *Carlos Siguenza*, ſays that author, *imagines theſe pyramids anterior to the deluge*. This is not true; how could Siguenza imagine theſe pyramids anterior to the deluge, if he believed the population of America poſterior to the confuſion of tongues, and the firſt ſettlers deſcendants of Nephtuim, grand nephew of Noah, as Boturini atteſts, who ſaw ſome of the works of Siguenza? Gemelli alſo, on whoſe teſtimony the author of the Letters reſts, gives expreſs contradiction to this particular in his ſixth volume, ſecond book, and eighth chapter. "*No Indian hiſtorian*, ſays this traveller, "*has been able to inveſtigate the time of the erection* "*of the pyramids of America; but D. Carlos Siguenza imagined them* "*very ancient, and built a little time after the Deluge.*" Nor has Gemelli properly explained the opinion of Siguenza; for Dr. Eguiara, treating in the *Biblioteca Mexicana*, of the works of Siguenza, and amongſt others of that which he wrote upon the peopling of America, ſays, that in that work he fixed the firſt peopling of the new world

paulo

paulo poſt Babylonicam confuſionem, that is, a little after the time which Gemelli has mentioned.

With reſpect to ſome other more important points treated of in thoſe Letters, we ſhall ſpeak of them in our Diſſertations, in which we ſhall ſometimes concur, and at other times differ in opinion with the author.

END OF THE FIRST VOLUME.

THE

HISTORY

OF

MEXICO.

COLLECTED FROM

SPANISH and MEXICAN HISTORIANS,

FROM

MANUSCRIPTS, and Ancient PAINTINGS of the INDIANS.

ILLUSTRATED BY

CHARTS, and other COPPER PLATES.

TO WHICH ARE ADDED,

CRITICAL DISSERTATIONS

ON THE

LAND, the ANIMALS, and INHABITANTS of MEXICO.

By Abbé D. FRANCESCO SAVERIO CLAVIGERO.

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By CHARLES CULLEN, Eſq.

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SECT. I. First voyage of the Spaniards to the coaſt of Anahuac.

THE Spaniards, who ever ſince the year 1492, had diſcovered the New World, under the conduct of the celebrated Genoeſe Chriſtopher Columbus; and, in the ſpace of a few years, ſubjected to the crown of Caſtile the principal iſlands of the Antilles, made frequent cruiſes from thence to diſcover new countries, and barter European toys for American gold. In the year 1517, amongſt other adventurers, Franciſco Hernandez, of Cordova, weighed anchor from the port of Ajaruco, now called the Havanna, with one hundred and ten ſoldiers, and proceeding to the weſtward by the advice of Antonio Alaminas, one of the moſt

BOOK VIII. famous and ſkilful pilots of that time, and then veering to the ſouthward, diſcovered, in the beginning of March, the eaſtern cape of the peninſula of Yucatan, which they called *Capo Catoche*. They coaſted along a part of that country, admiring the beautiful edifices and lofty towers which appeared upon the coaſt, and the (*a*) different coloured habits which the Indians wore; objects never before ſeen in the New World. The Yucataneſe, on their part, marvelled at the ſize, the form, and decorations of their veſſels. At two places where the Spaniards landed, they had ſome ſkirmiſhes with the Indians, in which, and by other diſtreſſes that attended them, they loſt the half of their ſoldiers, and their captain himſelf received twelve wounds, which in a few days occaſioned his death. Having returned precipitately to Cuba, with the accounts of their expedition, and ſome gold which they had robbed from a temple and brought with them for ſhew, they awoke the avaricious paſſions of Diego de Velaſquez, formerly a conqueror, and then governor of that iſland; upon which he next year fitted out his relation Juan de Grijalva, with four veſſels, and two hundred and forty ſoldiers. This commander, after having diſcovered the iſland of Cozumel, a few miles diſtant from the eaſtern ſhore of Yucatan, coaſted along all that country, which lies from thence to the river Panuco, exchanging little glaſs balls, and ſuch like trifling wares, for gold, which they anxiouſly ſought, and the proviſions they required.

(*a*) Dr. Robertſon ſays, in book iii. that the Spaniards *landed, and advancing into the country (of Yucatan), obſerved, with amazement, large houſes built of ſtone.* Thus he ſpeaks where he recounts the voyage of Hernandez. But a few pages after, ſpeaking of the voyage of Grijalva, he writes thus: *Many villages were ſcattered along the ſhore, among which, they (the Spaniards) could diſcern houſes of ſtone, which at a diſtance appeared white and magnificent. In the heat of their imagination, they repreſented to themſelves that theſe were ſo many cities adorned with towers and cupolas.* Among all the hiſtorians of Mexico, we have not found one who has ſaid, that the Spaniards imagined there were cupolas in Yucatan. This idea belongs to Robertſon, not to them. They thought they ſaw high towers and large houſes, as, in fact, they were. The temples of Yucatan, like thoſe of Anahuac, were built for the moſt part in the form of towers, and were very lofty. Bernal Diaz, an author of the utmoſt veracity, and an eye-witneſs of all that happened to the Spaniards in their firſt voyages to Yucatan, when he ſpeaks of the diſembarkment they made in their firſt voyage to the coaſt of Campeachy, ſays thus: *They, the Indians, conducted us to ſome houſes, which were large and tolerably well built of ſtone and lime.* From which it appears they not only ſaw the buildings at a diſtance, but approached to them and entered them. The uſe of lime having been ſo common among thoſe nations, it is not wonderful that the practice of whitening them alſo was common. See our ſeventh book. At any rate we cannot comprehend, how a houſe at a diſtance ſhould ſeem white if it really was not ſo.

When

When they arrived at that little iſland, which they called *St. Juan de Ulua (b)*, little more than a mile diſtant from the ſhore of Chalchiuhcuecan; the Mexican governors of thoſe coaſts, confounded at the ſight of veſſels ſo large, and men of ſo ſtrange an aſpect and figure, conſulted together what they ſhould do on the occaſion, and determined to repair in perſon to the court to give intelligence to the king of ſo extraordinary an occurrence. But in order to convey to him a more perfect idea of the particulars, they cauſed the veſſels, artillery, arms, dreſs, and appearance of the new people to be repreſented in ſome meaſure by their painters; after which, they ſet off without farther delay to the court, to relate what had arrived upon the coaſt, preſenting to the king, along with the paintings, ſome little balls of glaſs, which they had got from the Spaniards. Montezuma was extremely diſturbed on hearing their account; but, to avoid any raſh ſtep in an affair of ſuch conſequence and alarm, he held a council with Cacamatzin, king of Acolhuacan, his nephew, Cuitlahuatzin, lord of Iztapalapan, his brother, and other twelve perſonages, his ordinary counſellors. After a long conference they concluded unanimouſly, that he who had landed upon that ſhore, with ſo great an army, could be no other perſon than *Quetzalcoatl*, the god of air, who had for many years been expected in that country; for there prevailed among thoſe nations, as we have already mentioned, an ancient tradition, that ſuch a deity, after having, by his beneficence and innocence of life, acquired the eſteem and veneration of the people in Tollan, Cholula, and Onohualco, had diſappeared to them, promiſing to return after a certain period, to govern them in peace, and render them happy. The kings of thoſe countries conſidered themſelves the viceroys of that god, and truſtees of the crown, which they were to cede to him whenever he made his appearance. This immemorial tradition, a variety of

(*b*) They gave to this iſland the name of S. Juan; becauſe they arrived there on the day of S. Precurſor, and becauſe this was the name of the commander. They called it Ulua alſo, becauſe they found there two human victims recently ſacrificed, and upon demanding, by means of ſigns, the reaſon of ſuch barbarity, the Indians pointing towards the country of the weſt, anſwered *Acolhua, Acolhua*, meaning to be underſtood, that they did it by order of the Mexicans; as all the inhabitants of the Mexican vale were called Acolhuas by the people at a diſtance from the capital. On this little iſland there is at preſent a good fortreſs to defend the entry into the port of *Vera Cruz*.

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marks obſerved by them in the Spaniards conforming with thoſe which their mythology aſcribed to Quetzalcoatl, the ſurpriſing largeneſs of the veſſels compared with their little ſkiffs and canoes, the loud noiſe and force of the artillery, reſembling ſo ſtrongly that of the clouds, all together awed and inſpired them to believe it was the god of air who had arrived upon their coaſts, with all the apparatus of thunder, lightning, and divinity. Moved by this perſuaſion, Montezuma ordered five perſons of his court to repair immediately to Chalchiuhcuecan, to make congratulations, in the name of him and the whole kingdom, to this ſuppoſed power of the air, on his happy arrival in that land, and to offer him in homage a large preſent; but, before he diſpatched them, he previouſly ſent orders to the governors of the coaſts, to place centinels on the high mountains of Nauhtlan, Quauhtla, Mictlan, and Tochtlan, that they might obſerve the motions of the armament, and ſend ſpeedy advice of every thing which happened to the court. The Mexican ambaſſadors were unable, in ſpite of their utmoſt expedition, to overtake the Spaniards, who, when they had finiſhed their commerce on that coaſt, continued their courſe along ſhore, as far as the river of Panama, from whence they returned to Cuba with ten thouſand ſequins in gold, part acquired in exchange for toys, part obtained in a preſent made to the commander by a lord of Onohualco.

SECT. II. Characters of the principal conquerors of Mexico.

The governor of Cuba was much diſpleaſed that Grijalva did not plant a colony in that new country, which was repreſented by all to be the moſt rich and happy in the world. Upon this he immediately fitted out another larger armament, for the command of which ſeveral of the principal coloniſts of that iſland contended; but the governor, by the advice of his confidants, committed it to Ferdinand Cortes, a perſon of noble birth, and ſufficiently rich to be able to ſupport, with his own private capital, and the aſſiſtance of his friends, a conſiderable ſhare of the expences of the expedition. He was born in Medellin, a ſmall city of Eſtremadura, in the year 1485. By the father he was *Cortes* and *Monroi*, and by his mother *Pizarro* and *Altamirano*, uniting in himſelf the blood of thoſe four lineages, which were the moſt renowned and ancient of that city. At the age of fourteen, he was ſent by his parents to Salamanca, in order that by learning the Latin tongue, and the civil law, at that famous univerſity, he might become

become the ſupport of his family which was reduced to poverty; but it was not long before his military genius diverted him from ſtudy, and led him to the New World, after the example of many illuſtrious youths of his nation. He accompanied Diego Velaſquez, in the conqueſt of the iſland of Cuba, where he gained much wealth and acquired conſiderable authority. He was a man of great talents, diſcernment, and courage, dextrous in the uſe of arms, fruitful in expedients and reſources to carry his projects into execution, and highly ingenious in making himſelf be obeyed and reſpected even by his equals; great in his deſigns and actions, cautious in operations, modeſt in ſpeech, ſteady in his enterpriſes, and patient in adverſity. His zeal in religion was by no means inferior to his conſtant and inviolable fidelity to his ſovereign; but the ſplendor of thoſe and other good qualities which placed him in the rank of heroes, was ſullied and darkened by ſome actions unworthy of his greatneſs of ſoul. His immoderate love of the ſex engaged him perpetually in criminal connections, and had formerly been attended with many difficulties and much danger. His too great ardour, or rather obſtinacy, in enterpriſes, and the fear of fruſtrating his hopes of fortune, made him ſometimes wanting in juſtice, gratitude, and humanity; but, perhaps, there never was a general and conqueror, brought up in the ſchool of the world, in whom the virtues were not foiled by his vices. Cortes was of a good ſtature and well proportioned, robuſt and active. His cheſt was rather prominent, his beard black, and his eyes ſparkling and amorous. Such is the portrait of the famous conqueror of Mexico, which the firſt hiſtorians who knew him have left us.

As ſoon as he found himſelf honoured with the poſt of general of the expedition, he uſed the utmoſt diligence in preparing for the voyage, and began to aſſume the ſtyle of a great lord, both in his carriage and in his attendants; fully ſenſible of the influence ſuch a conduct has in dazzling the vulgar, and creating authority. He immediately erected the royal ſtandard before his houſe, and publiſhed a proclamation through the iſland to enliſt ſoldiers. Men, the moſt conſpicuous of all that country, both in rank and office, were emulous to put themſelves under his command, namely, Alonzo Hernandez de Porto-

BOOK VIII. Portocarrero, couſin of the count de Medellin, Juan Velaſquez de Leon, a near relation to the governor, Diego Ordaz, Franciſco de Montejo, Franciſco de Lugo, and others, whom we ſhall name in the courſe of our hiſtory. Amongſt all theſe, Pedro de Alvarado de Badajos, Chriſtoval de Olid de Baeza, in Andaluſia, and Gonzales de Sandoval de Medellin, merit particular mention, as they were the firſt commanders of the troops employed in that conqueſt, and thoſe who made the moſt diſtinguiſhed figure: all three warriors, extremely courageous, enured to the fatigues of war, and ſkilled in the military art, though otherwiſe different in character. *Alvarado* was a young man of handſome ſhape, and extreme agility, fair, graceful, lively, popular, addicted to luxuries and pleaſures, greedy of gold, of which he ſtood in need to ſupport his love of grandeur, and, as ſome authors affirm, unſcrupulous how he obtained it, inhumane and violent in his conduct in ſome expeditions. Olid was ſtout limbed, dark, and double. Both of them were very ſerviceable to Cortes in the conqueſt; but they proved ungrateful to him afterwards, and met with a tragical end. Alvarado died in New Gallicia, killed by a horſe which tumbled from a precipice. Olid was beheaded by his enemies in the ſquare or market-place of Naco, in the province of Honduras. Sandoval, a youth of a good family, was ſcarcely twenty-two when he enliſted in the expedition of his countryman Cortes. He was well-ſhaped, manly in ſtature, and of a robuſt complexion, his hair was of a cheſnut colour and curly, his voice ſtrong and thick; a perſon of few words but excellent deeds. Cortes ſent him on the moſt difficult and dangerous expeditions, in all of which he came off with ſucceſs and with honour. In the war againſt the Mexicans, he headed a part of the Spaniſh army, and at the ſiege of the capital, he had more than thirty thouſand men under his command, continually enjoying from his good conduct the favour of the general, the reſpect of the ſoldiers, and even the love of his enemies. He founded the colony of Medellin, on the coaſt of Chalchiuhcuecan, and that of Spirito Santo, on the river Coatzacualco. He was commander of the garriſon of Vera Cruz, and ſome time governor of Mexico; and in all his employments his equity was conſpicuous. He was conſtant and aſſiduous in labour, obedient and faithful

ful to his general, kind to the ſoldiers, humane (*c*) to his enemies, and entirely free from the prevailing contagion of avarice. In ſhort, in all the ſeries of conquerors, we do not find a more accompliſhed or praiſe-worthy character, as there was no one among them who knew ſo well how to unite prudence and diſcretion with the ardour of youth, bravery and intrepidity with humanity, modeſty with merit, and humility with ſucceſs. He died in the flower of his age at a place of Andaluſia, on his way to the court of Spain with Cortes.

SECT. III. Armament and voyage of Cortes.

As ſoon as all the preparations for the voyage were made, the governor of Cuba, from the ſuggeſtions and inſinuations of the rivals of Cortes, recalled his commiſſion, and ordered him to be impriſoned; but thoſe who were charged with his apprehenſion had not courage to attempt it, from ſeeing ſo many reſpectable and brave men united to ſupport the part of their new general; ſo that Cortes who had not only ſpent all his own capital in preparations, but alſo contracted large debts, retained his poſt in ſpite of his enemies; and having all things in order and readineſs, weighed anchor from the port of Ajaruco upon the 10th of February, 1519. The armament conſiſted of eleven veſſels, five hundred and eight ſoldiers, divided into eleven companies, one hundred and nine ſeamen, ſixteen horſes, ten pieces of cannon, and four falconets. They ſteered under the direction of the pilot Alami-

(*c*) Dr. Robinſon accuſes Sandoval of that horrid example of ſeverity made of the *Panuchefe*, where the Spaniards burned ſixty lords and four hundred nobles, under the eyes of their children and kindred, and cites the teſtimony of Cortez and Gomara; but Cortes neither affirms that Sandoval executed that puniſhment, nor even names it. Bernal Diaz, whoſe authority in this point is more to be depended on than Gomara, ſays, that Sandoval after he had conquered the Panucheſe, and taken twenty lords, and ſome other perſons of note priſoners, wrote to Cortes to know his determination with reſpect to them; and Cortes, in order to make their condemnation more juſtifiable, ſubmitted the proceſs to Diego de Ocampo, judge of that province, who, after having heard their confeſſion, ſentenced them to be burned, which judgment was executed. Bernal Diaz does not expreſs the number of thoſe who were condemned; Cortes ſays, that including lords and other principal perſons, four hundred were burned. Such a ſentence was no doubt cruel and ſevere; but Robertſon, who calls many reproaches on the Spaniards, ought to have evinced his impartiality by declaring the motives which they had to act ſo violently againſt the *Panuchefe*. The latter having ſubjected themſelves to the crown of Spain, renounced their obedience, and, running to arms, diſturbed that whole province; they killed four hundred Spaniards, forty of whom they burned alive and eat the others. Such atrocious doings are not ſufficient to excuſe the Spaniards, but they certainly extenuate the ſeverity of their conduct. Robertſon read equally in Gomara of the rebellious deeds of the *Panuchefe*, and the rigour of the Spaniards, but he conceals the former and exaggerates the latter.

nos,

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nos, to the iſland of Cozumel, where they recovered Jerom de Aguilar, a Spaniſh dean, who, in going from Darien to the iſland of Hiſpaniola a few years before, had been ſhipwrecked on the coaſt of Yucatan, and was made a ſlave to the Indians. Hearing of the arrival of the Spaniards at Cozumel, he obtained liberty from his maſter, and joined the fleet. From long commerce with the Yucataneſe, he had learned the Maja language which is ſpoken there, on which account he obtained the office of interpreter to Cortes.

SECT. IV. Victory of the Spaniards in Tabaſco.

From Cozumel they proceeded along the coaſt of the peninſula of Yucatan to the river Chiapa, in the province of Tabaſco, by which they advanced into the country, in barges and the ſmalleſt veſſels, until they reached a grove of palm-trees, where they landed under pretence of wanting water and proviſions, directed their courſe to a large village, which was not quite two miles diſtance, combating all the way with a croud of Indians, who annoyed their progreſs with arrows, darts, and other offenſive weapons, and forcing through the paliſadoes which they had placed for their defence. The Spaniards having made themſelves maſters of the village, made frequent excurſions among the neighbouring places, in which they had many dangerous ſkirmiſhes, until at laſt there happened a deciſive engagement on the 25th day of March. The battle was fought on the plains of Ceutla, a village but a little diſtance from the other. The army of the enemy was much ſuperior in number; but in ſpite of their multitude they were entirely defeated, on account of the ſuperior diſcipline of the Spaniards, the advantage of their arms, and the terror ſtruck into the Indians by the ſize and fire of their horſes. Eight hundred of the enemy remained dead upon the field. Of the Spaniards, one was killed, and more than ſixty wounded. This victory was the beginning of the ſucceſs of the Spaniards, in memory of which they founded a ſmall city there, which they named *Madonna della Victoria (d)*, and was afterwards for a long time the capital of that province. They endeavoured to juſtify their hoſtilities by the repeated proteſtations which they made to the

(*d*) The city of Victoria was depopulated entirely about the middle of the laſt century, on account of the frequent invaſions of the Engliſh. Another ſmall city was afterwards founded at a greater diſtance from the coaſt, which they called *Villahermoſa*; but the capital of this province, where the governor reſides, is *Tlacotalpan*.

natives

natives before they came to any engagement, that they were not come into their country to do them any injury as enemies, but ſolely as navigators neceſſitated to procure, by the exchange of their merchandizes, the proviſions which they required to continue their voyage; to which proteſts, the Indians anſwered with a ſhower of arrows and darts. Cortes took ſolemn poſſeſſion of that country in the name of his ſovereign, with a ſtrange ceremony, though agreeable to the cavalier cuſtoms and ideas of that century. He put on his ſhield, unſheathed his ſword, and gave three ſtabs with it to a large tree which was in the principal village, declaring, that if any perſon durſt oppoſe his poſſeſſion, he would defend it with that ſword.

To confirm more formally the dominion of his king, he aſſembled the lords of that province, and perſuaded them to render him obedience, and to acknowledge him as their lawful ſovereign; and to impreſs them with an elevated idea of the power of his king, he made before them a diſcharge of the artillery, and by artifices impoſed upon them the belief, that the neighing of the horſes was a mark of their indignation at the enemies of the Spaniards. They all appeared to acquieſce in the propoſals of the conqueror, and liſtened with wonder and pleaſure to hear the firſt truths of the Chriſtian religion, which Bartolomeo de Olmedo, a learned divine, and chaplain to the expedition, declared to them by the interpreter Aguilar. They preſented afterwards to Cortes, in token of their ſubmiſſion, ſome little articles of gold, ſeveral garments of coarſe linen, as they made uſe of no others in that province, and twenty female ſlaves, which were divided among the officers of his troops.

SECT. V. Account of the famous Indian Donna Marina.

Among theſe was a young girl of noble birth, beauty, quick genius, and great ſpirit, a native of Painalla, a village of the Mexican province of Coatzacualco (e). Her father had been a feudatory of the crown

(e) In a manuſcript hiſtory, which was in the library of the college of St. Peter and St. Paul of the Jeſuits of Mexico, it is ſaid, that D. Marina was born in Hailotla, a village of Coatzacualco. Gomara, who is copied by Herrera and Torquemada, ſays, ſhe was a native of Xalixco, and taken from thence by ſome merchants of Xicallanco, and carried to their country; but this is moſt probably falſe; as Xalixco is more than nine hundred miles diſtant from Xicallanco, and it is not known that there was any commerce between theſe two provinces ſo remote from each other. Bernal Diaz, who lived a long time in Coatzacualco, and knew the mother and brother of Marina, confirms the truth of our account, and avers to have heard it

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crown of Mexico, and lord of ſeveral places. Her mother having been left a widow, married another noble, by whom ſhe had a ſon. The love which they bore to this fruit of their marriage, induced them to pretend the death of their firſt-born child, that the inheritance might fall wholly to the laſt. To make it appear credible, they delivered her up privately to ſome merchants of Xicallanco, a city ſituated upon the borders of Tabaſco, at a time when the daughter of one of their ſlaves had died, for whoſe death they made as much mourning as if it had been the death of their own. Theſe merchants gave her away, or ſold her to their neighbours of Tabaſco, who, laſtly, preſented her to Cortes, unſuſpicious that that ſingular ſlave ſhould contribute by her ſpeech to the conqueſt of all that land. Beſides the native language of her own country, ſhe underſtood the Maja language which was ſpoke in Yucatan and in Tabaſco, and in a little time ſhe learnt the Spaniſh. Inſtructed readily in the tenets of the Chriſtian religion, ſhe was ſolemnly baptiſed with other ſlaves by the name of Marina *(f)*. She was always faithful to the Spaniards, and her ſervices to them can never be over-rated; as ſhe was not only the inſtrument of their negociations with the Mexicans, the Tlaſcalans, and the other nations of Anahuac, but frequently ſaved their lives, by warning them of dangers, and pointing out the means of eſcaping them. She accompanied Cortes in all his expeditions, ſerving ſometimes as an interpreter, ſometimes as a counſellor, and ſometimes to her misfortune as a miſtreſs. The ſon which ſhe had by that conqueror, who was called Don Martin Cortes, knight of the military order of St. Jago, on account of ſome ill-grounded ſuſpicions of rebellion, was put to the torture in Mexico, in the year 1568; his iniquitous and barbarous judges paying no regard to the memory of the unequalled ſervices rendered by the parents of that illuſtrious ſufferer to the Catholic king and all the Spaniſh nation *(g)*. After the conqueſt ſhe was

from Marina herſelf. A tradition alſo, which is ſtill preſerved in Coatzacualco, conforms to what we have ſaid.

(*f*) The Mexicans adapt the name Marina to their language, and ſay *Malintzin*, whence came the name *Malinchi*, by which ſhe is known among the Spaniards of Mexico.

(*g*) Thoſe who gave the torture to Don Martin Cortes, and put the marquis of the Vale, his brother, in priſon, were two formidable judges ſent to Mexico by Philip II. The chief of thoſe judges called *Muguoz*, made ſuch barbarous deciſions, that the king being moved by

was married to a reſpectable Spaniard, named Juan de Xaramillo. During the long and hazardous voyage which ſhe made in company with Cortes to the province of Honduras, in 1524, ſhe had occaſion in paſſing through her native country to ſee her mother and her brother, who preſented themſelves before her, bathed in tears and covered with confuſion, as they dreaded that from her being in power and proſperity, under the protection of the Spaniards, ſhe would revenge the wrongs which had been done to her in her infancy; but ſhe received and careſſed them with great affection, from the naturally generous diſpoſition of her temper, which equalled the other excellent talents ſhe poſſeſſed. We have thought proper not to omit thoſe incidents of a woman who was the firſt Chriſtian of the Mexican empire, who makes ſo diſtinguiſhed a figure in the hiſtory of the conqueſt, and whoſe name has been and is ſtill ſo celebrated, not leſs among the Mexicans than the Spaniards.

Cortes having made himſelf ſecure of the tranquillity of Tabaſco, and perceiving that it was not the country to yield gold, reſolved to proſecute his voyage and ſeek for a region more rich than it; but as the feſtival of the palms drew near, he was deſirous of giving the natives of Tabaſco ſome idea of the ſolemnity of the Chriſtian religion. That day maſs was celebrated with all the poſſible forms of ſacred duty; the branches were bleſſed, and a ſolemn proceſſion, with martial muſic, was made, at all which the Indians were preſent, and liſtened with aſtoniſhment and awe.

This function being performed, and leave taken of the lords of Tabaſco, the armament put to ſea, and ſteering to the weſtward, after coaſting along the province of Coatzacualco, and croſſing the mouth of the river Papaloapan, it entered the port of St. Juan de Ulua, on Holy Thurſday, the 21ſt of April. They had hardly caſt anchor, when they ſaw from the ſhore of Chalchiuhcuecan two large canoes rowing towards their admiral, in which were many Mexicans ſent by the governor of that coaſt, to know who they were who had arrived in that new armament, and what they wanted, and to offer them all

the complaints of the Mexicans againſt him, recalled him to the court, and gave him ſo ſevere and ſo harſh a reprimand, that he grew melancholy and died.

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the aſſiſtance which they required for the proſecution of their voyage: a piece of attention which ſhewed the vigilance and hoſpitality of that nation. Having come on board of the commander's ſhip, and preſented themſelves to Cortes in forms of civility, they explained their commiſſion by means of Donna Marina and Aguilar, as from her not underſtanding the Spaniſh, nor he the Mexican, it was neceſſary at theſe firſt conferences with the Mexicans, to employ three languages and two interpreters. Donna Marina explained to Aguilar in the Maja tongue what the Mexicans ſaid to her in their language, and Aguilar repeated it in Spaniſh to Cortes. This general courteouſly received the Mexicans, and knowing how acceptable the European toys had been to them the year before, anſwered, that he had come into that country for no other purpoſe than to traffick with them, and to treat with their king about ſome affairs of the utmoſt importance, and in order to conciliate their favour, he made them taſte ſome Spaniſh wine, and preſented them with ſome ſmall trifles which he judged would be worthy their acknowledgment (*b*).

On the firſt day of Eaſter, after the Spaniards had landed, and diſembarked their cavalry and artillery, and had, with the aſſiſtance of the Mexicans, made barracks of the branches of trees upon that ſandy ſhore, where at preſent ſtands the city of new Vera Cruz, two Mexican governors of that coaſt, named Teuhtlile and Cuitlalpitoc (*i*), ar-

(*b*) Torquemada ſays, that Montezuma having been appriſed of the new armament which his centinels, who were placed on the mountains, had obſerved, immediately diſpatched his ambaſſadors to pay worſhip to the imagined god Quetzalcoatl; they proceding with the utmoſt expedition to the port of Chalchiuhcuecan, went inſtantly on board of the admiral, on the very day of the arrival of the Spaniards; that Cortes, attending to their error and willing to profit by it, received them ſitting upon a high throne that had haſtily been formed, where he ſuffered himſelf to be adored, to be clothed in the ſacerdotal habit of Quetzalcoatl, a necklace of gems to be put about his neck, and a helmet or vizor of gold, ſet with gems, to be put on his head, &c. but this is unqueſtionably falſe. The fleet departed from the river of Tabaſco on Holy Monday, and arrived on Thurſday at the port of Ulua. The mountains of Tochtlan and Mictlan, from whence the fleet could moſt quickly be diſcovered, are not leſs than three hundred miles diſtant from the capital, nor are they leſs than two hundred from the port of Ulua: ſo that had it even been poſſible to have deſcried the fleet the very day on which it left Tabaſco, it was impoſſible for the ambaſſadors to have arrived there on Thurſday. Beſides, there is no memory of ſuch an event in any author, it rather appears from the account of Bernal Diaz to be totally falſe, and that the Mexicans were now ſenſible of their error into which they had been led by the firſt fleet which had appeared there.

(*i*) Bernal Diaz writes *Teudili* inſtead of Teuhtlile, and *Pitalpitoqui* in place of Cuitlelpitoc. Herrera calls it *Pitalpitoc*, and Solis, and Robertſon, who thought to amend it, *Pitpatoc*.

rived

rived there with a great retinue of attendants. Ceremonies of civility and reſpect being exchanged on both ſides, before any conference took place, Cortes, not leſs for the ſake of proſpering his future deſigns, than of giving that idolatrous nation ſome idea of the Chriſtian religion, ordered that maſs ſhould be celebrated in their preſence. On this occaſion, therefore, it was ſung with all poſſible ſolemnity for the firſt time in the dominions of Mexico.

He invited them afterwards to dine with him and his officers, in order to obtain their good will towards him by courteſies. As ſoon as they roſe from table, he led them aſide to communicate his pretenſions to them. He told them that he was a ſubject of Don Carlos of Auſtria, the greateſt king of the Eaſt, whoſe bounty, grandeur, and power, he extolled with moſt magnificent praiſes; and added, that this great monarch knowing of that land, and of the lord who reigned there, ſent him to make him a viſit in his name, and to communicate to him in perſon ſome affairs of great importance; and that therefore he would be glad to know when it would pleaſe their lord to hear his embaſſy. "You are ſcarcely arrived in this land," anſwered Teuhtlile, "and yet you deſire immediately to ſee our king. I have liſtened "with pleaſure to what you have told me concerning the grandeur and "bounty of your ſovereign, but know, that our king is not leſs boun-"tiful and great; I rather wonder that there ſhould exiſt another in "the world more powerful than he; but as you aſſert it, I will make "it known to my ſovereign, from whoſe goodneſs I truſt, that he will "not only have pleaſure in receiving intelligence of that great prince, "but will likewiſe do honour to his ambaſſador. Accept in the mean "time this preſent which I offer you in his name." Upon which taking out from a *petlacalli*, or little baſket of woven reeds, ſeveral admirable pieces of workmanſhip of gold, he preſented them to Cortes, with various works of feathers, ten loads of garments of fine cotton, and a conſiderable quantity of proviſions *(k)*.

(*k*) Solis and Robertſon make Teuhtlile general of the armies, and deprive him of the civil government of that coaſt, whereas we know the contrary from Bernal Diaz, Gomara, and other ancient hiſtorians. Thoſe authors ſay beſides, that in the beginning Teuhtlile oppoſed Cortes in his deſign of going to the court, but it appears from the teſtimony of ancient and better hiſtorians, he did not oppoſe him until he had a poſitive order from his king to that purpoſe.

Cortes

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Cortes accepted the preſent with ſingular demonſtrations of gratitude, and returned for them things of ſmall value, though equally priſed by them, either becauſe they were entirely new in that country, or from the brilliancy of their appearance. Teuhtlile had brought many painters with him, in order that by dividing the objects among them of which the armament conſiſted, they might in a ſhort time copy them all; and that their king might have the pleaſure of beholding, with his own eyes, all the wonders which they had to relate to him. Cortes perceiving their intention, in order to furniſh their painters with a ſubject capable of making a grander impreſſion on the mind of their king, commanded his cavalry to muſter on the beach, and go through ſome military evolutions, and the artillery to be diſcharged in a volley. Both orders were obſerved, and the exhibition attended to with all the ſtupor and amazement imaginable by the two governors, their numerous retinue, and croud of followers, which as Gomara affirms, conſiſted of more than four thouſand Indians. Teuhtlile took notice of a gilded viſor, or mask, which, from its reſemblance to that belonging to one of the principal idols of Mexico, he demanded from Cortes that they might ſhew it to their king; and Cortes granted it, on condition of having it returned to him full of gold duſt, under a pretence that he deſired to ſee whether the gold, which was dug from the mines of Mexico, was the ſame as that of his native country (*l*).

As ſoon as the paintings were finiſhed, Teuhtlile took a friendly leave of Cortes, propoſing to return in a few days with the anſwer of his ſovereign, and deputing Cuitlalpitoc in his place, that he might provide the Spaniards with every thing neceſſary, he departed for Cuitlachtlan, the place of his uſual reſidence; from whence he carried in perſon the intelligence, the paintings, and preſent from the Spaniſh general, as Bernal Dias and Torquemada affirm, or he ſent them all as Solis conjectures by the poſts, or couriers, who were ſtationed on the highways, always ready to run with diſpatches.

(*l*) Some hiſtorians ſay, that Cortes in demanding the viſor to be filled with gold, pretended that he and his companions ſuffered a certain diſeaſe of the heart, which they ſaid, could not be cured by any other remedy than this precious metal, but that imports little as to the ſubſtance of the fact.

It

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Uneaſineſs of Montezuma.

It is eaſy to imagine the uneaſineſs and perplexity into which Montezuma was thrown by the news of that armament, and the diſtinct information he had of the character of thoſe ſtrangers, the fire of their horſes, and the deſtructive violence of their arms. As he was eminently ſuperſtitious, he made his gods be conſulted with reſpect to their pretenſions, and he received for anſwer as is reported, that he ought never to admit that new people into his court. Whether this oracle, as ſome authors are perſuaded, came from the devil, who delivered it, in order to keep every path ſhut to the goſpel, or as we apprehend from the prieſts, for the common benefit of themſelves and the nation, Montezuma reſolved from that time to refuſe admiſſion to the Spaniards; but that he might appear to act with propriety, and to follow the dictates of his own genius, he ſent an embaſſy to them with a preſent entirely worthy of his royal magnificence. The ambaſſador was a great perſonage of the court, not a little ſimilar in ſtature and ſhape to the Spaniſh general, as an eye-witneſs has reported (*m*). Seven days were hardly elapſed after the departure of Teuhtlile, before he returned, accompanying the ambaſſador, conducting alſo more than an hundred men of burden, who carried the preſent (*n*). As ſoon as the ambaſſador was come into the preſence of Cortes, he touched the earth with his hand, and then lifted it to his mouth, according to the cuſtom of thoſe nations, offered (*o*) incenſe to the general and other officers who were beſide him, ſaluted them reſpectfully, and ſitting down

First embaſſy and preſent ſent by him to Cortes.

(*m*) Bernal Diaz.

(*n*) Bernal Diaz calls this ambaſſador *Quintalbor*, but ſuch a name neither is nor can be Mexican. Robertſon ſays, that the ſame officers who had hitherto treated with Cortes, were charged to bear the royal anſwer to him, and makes no mention of the ambaſſador; but both Bernal Diaz, an eye-witneſs, and other Spaniſh and Indian hiſtorians affirm what we have ſaid. Solis, in conſideration of the ſhort interval of ſeven days, and the diſtance of ſeventy leagues between that port and the capital, could not be perſuaded that an ambaſſador came at that time; but having ſaid a little before, that the Mexican poſts were more diligent than the European poſts, it is not wonderful that in one day, or a little more, they ſhould have carried intelligence of the fleet to the court, and the ambaſſador ſhould have come in four or five days after in a litter, borne on the ſhoulders of the ſame poſts, as was the cuſtom among thoſe people. As the fact is not improbable, we ought rather to believe Bernal Diaz, who was an eye-witneſs.

(*o*) The offering of incenſe to the Spaniards, although it was merely a piece of civil courteſy, and the name *Teucttin* (lords or gentlemen) by which they are addreſſed, being ſomewhat ſimilar to that of *Teteo* (gods), made them believe that they were imagined to be gods by the Mexicans.

upon

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upon a ſeat which Cortes placed for him, pronounced his harangue, which was a congratulation to that general in the name of his king, upon his happy arrival in that country, an intimation of the pleaſure he had received in knowing that men ſo gallant and brave had landed in his kingdom, and in hearing the news which they had brought from ſo great a monarch, and to expreſs how acceptable his gift had been: upon which, in token of his royal pleaſure he had ſent him that preſent. Having ſaid this, he made ſome fine mats and cotton cloths be ſpread upon the ground, upon which were placed in order and form the whole ſubſtance of the preſent. It conſiſted of various works of gold and ſilver, ſtill more valuable on account of the wonderful workmanſhip than of thoſe precious metals, among which ſome were gems admirably ſet, and others figures of lions, tygers, apes, and other animals; of thirty loads or bales of the very fineſt cotton, of various colours, and in part interwoven with the moſt beautiful feathers; of ſeveral excellent works of feathers, embelliſhed with many little figures of gold, and a viſor full of gold in duſt, as Cortes deſired, valued at fifteen hundred ſequins; but the moſt valuable things of the whole were two wheels, the one of gold, the other of ſilver; that of gold, repreſenting, as we have ſaid already, the Mexican century, had the image of the ſun engraved in the middle, round which were different figures in baſs relief. The circumference of it was thirty palms of Toledo, and the value of it ten thouſand ſequins *(p)*. The one of ſilver, in which the Mexican year was repreſented, was ſtill larger, with a moon in the middle, ſurrounded alſo with figures in baſs relief. The Spaniards were not leſs amazed than pleaſed with the view of ſuch riches. "This preſent," added the ambaſſador, addreſſing himſelf to Cortes, "my ſovereign ſends for you and your companions; "as for your king, he will in a ſhort time ſend ſome jewels of ineſti- "mable value. In the mean while, you may remain upon this ſhore "as long as it may be agreeable, to repoſe after the fatigues of ſo long "a voyage, and to provide yourſelves with neceſſaries to return to "your native country. If you deſire any other thing of this country

(p) There is a great difference among authors reſpecting the value of the plate; but we give more faith to Bernal Diaz who knew it well, than to one who was to have his ſhare in the preſent from Montezuma.

"for

" for your ſovereign, it ſhall be given you immediately; but with reſ-
" pect to your demand of viſiting our court, I am charged to diſſuade you
" from ſo difficult and hazardous a journey, as the way to it lies through
" uninhabited deſarts, and the countries of enemies." Cortes received the preſent with the moſt particular expreſſions of gratitude for the royal beneficence, and made the beſt returns to it in his power; but without abandoning his requeſt, he begged of the ambaſſador to repreſent to the king the dangers and diſtreſſes which they had ſuffered in their navigation, and the diſpleaſure which his ſovereign would feel when he found his hopes fruſtrated; that beſides, neither dangers nor fatigues were ſufficient to divert the Spaniards from their undertakings. The ambaſſador agreed to make this report to the king, and politely took leave of Cortes along with Teuhtlile; Cuitlalpitoc being left behind with a vaſt number of people, in a hamlet which they had formed of ſmall huts, at a little diſtance from the camp of the Spaniards.

Cortes, in the midſt of all that proſperity which he had hitherto met with, perceived that he could not long remain at that ſtation; for beſides the inconvenience of heat and inſects, which ſwarm upon that ſhore, he was apprehenſive of ſome damage to his ſhips from the north wind, to which that harbour is expoſed; on which account he diſpatched two veſſels, under the command of Montejo, to coaſt along the ſhore, towards Panuco, and find another more ſecure port. They returned in a few days with the intelligence of having found, thirty-ſix miles from Ulua, a ſufficient harbour, near to a city placed in a ſtrong ſituation.

SECT. VIII. Montezuma's preſent to the Catholic king.

In the mean time, Teutlhile returned to the camp of the Spaniards, and after taking Cortes aſide with the interpreters, he told him, that his lord Montezuma gratefully accepted the new preſent which he had ſent him; and that that which he had ſent on his part now was deſtined for the great king of Spain; that he wiſhed him all ſort of happineſs, but that he deſired no more meſſages to be ſent to him, nor to hear any farther propoſitions of a viſit to his court. The preſent for the Catholic king conſiſted of various works of gold, which were eſtimated to be worth fifteen hundred ſequins, ten bales of moſt curious robes of feathers, and of four gems, ſo highly valued by the Mexicans,

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that, according to what Teuhtlile himſelf affirmed, each was worth a load of gold. That undiſcerning king flattered himſelf that he ſhould induce the Spaniards by his liberality to abandon that country, and did not reflect that the love of gold is a paſſion which grows by what it feeds on. Cortes was mortified with the refuſal of the king; but he did not give up his intention, the native conſtancy of his temper being ſtrengthened by the alluring proſpect of riches.

Teuhtlile, before he departed, obſerved, that the Spaniards on hearing the ſtroke of the bell for Ave Mary, kneeled down before a holy croſs, and in wonder at it, aſked why they adored that piece of wood. Upon this Olmedo took occaſion to explain to him the firſt articles of the Chriſtian religion, and repreſented to him the abomination of worſhipping idols, and the inhumanity of their ſacrifices. But his diſcourſe was not comprehended, and the attempt proved fruitleſs.

The following day the Spaniards found themſelves ſo deſerted by the Mexicans, that there was not one to be ſeen on all the coaſt; this was unqueſtionably the effect of the order given by their king to recall all the people with the proviſions deſtined for thoſe ſtrangers, if they perſiſted in their daring reſolution. A novelty of this kind cauſed a ſudden conſternation among the Spaniards, as they dreaded every moment the whole power of that vaſt empire might pour down upon their miſerable camp. Upon which, Cortes made their proviſions be ſecured in the ſhips, and ordered his troops to be armed for their defence. It is certain that Montezuma, upon this as well as on many other occaſions, might eaſily have totally deſtroyed thoſe few ſtrangers who were to bring ſo many misfortunes upon him; but providence preſerved them to become the inſtruments of his views in that new world. We do not mean to juſtify the deſign and conduct of the conquerors, but neither can we avoid tracing in the ſeries of the conqueſt the deſtiny which prepared the ruin of that empire.

SECT. IX. Embaſſy of the lord of Chempoalla, and its conſequences.

On the ſame day, during this ſtate of ſuſpence of the Spaniards, two ſoldiers who kept guard without the camp, ſaw five men coming towards them, different in ſome degree from the Mexicans in their dreſs and in their ornaments, who upon being conducted to the Spaniſh general, ſaid in Mexican, as their own language was not underſtood, that they were of the nation of the Totanacas, and ſent by the lord of Chempoalla,

poalla, a city twenty-four miles diſtant from that place, to pay his reſpects to them, to know who they were and whence they came, and to requeſt them to repair to that city, where they would be kindly received; adding, that they had not approached the camp ſooner for fear of the Mexicans. The lord of Chempoalla was one of thoſe feudatories, who lived impatient under the Mexican yoke. Having heard of the victory obtained by the Spaniards in Tabaſco, and their arrival at that port, he thought the occaſion the moſt favourable to throw off the Mexican yoke, with the aſſiſtance of ſuch brave people. Cortes, who wiſhed for nothing more earneſtly than ſuch an alliance, after informing himſelf ſufficiently of the ſtate and condition of the Totonacas, and the wrongs they ſuffered from the great power of the Mexicans, anſwered, with thanks to the Chempoalleſe chief for his courteſy, and a promiſe to viſit him without delay.

He immediately publiſhed his departure for Chempoalla; but before that, it was neceſſary to overcome ſome obſtacles to it, which his own ſoldiers threw in the way. Some adherents to the governor of Cuba, tired out with the hardſhips which they ſuffered, intimidated by the dangers which now preſented themſelves, and become deſirous of repoſe, and longing for the conveniencies and comforts of their homes, moſt earneſtly conjured the general to return to Cuba, exaggerating the ſcarcity of their proviſions, and the raſhneſs of ſo great an undertaking, as to oppoſe, with ſo ſmall a number of ſoldiers, the vaſt power of the king of Mexico; eſpecially, after they had loſt on thoſe ſands thirty-five men, part of thoſe by the wounds received in the battle of Tabaſco, part from the unwholſomeneſs of the air of that ſhore. Cortes, by means of preſents and promiſes, and alſo by means of a little ſeverity opportunely exerted, and other arts ſuggeſted to him by his fertility of genius, ſo well managed his corps, that he not only pacified the diſcontented, and induced them to remain willingly in that country; but, proceeding farther in his negotiacions, brought it about that the army, in the name of the king, and without any dependance on the governor of Cuba, ſhould confirm him in the ſupreme civil and military command; and that on account of the expences already, and hereafter to be laid out by him upon the armament, a fifth part of the gold which might be acquired ſhould be aſſigned to him;

BOOK VIII. after the ſhare belonging to their king was deducted. He alſo created magiſtrates, and appointed all other officers proper for a colony, which he intended to plant on that coaſt.

Having ſurmounted theſe difficulties, and taken ſuitable meaſures for the execution of his great deſigns, he began his march with the troops. His intention was not only to recruit the ſtrength of his fatigued people, who had ſuffered from that unhealthy ſhore, and to ſeek new alliances, but likewiſe to chuſe a good ſituation for the foundation of the colony, as Chempoalla was upon the way to Chiahuitztla (*q*), the new harbour diſcovered by Montejo. The little army marched with a part of the artillery towards Chempoalla in cautious order, well prepared to defend itſelf, if they ſhould chance to be attacked either by the Totonacas, of whoſe ſincerity they were not perfectly ſecure, or by the Mexicans whom they ſuppoſed they had offended by their reſolution; a caution which no good general ever thought ſuperfluous, and which was never neglected by Cortes in times of the greateſt proſperity, always of uſe to maintain military diſcipline, and in general neceſſary for ſecurity. The ſhips proceeded along ſhore to the port of Chiahuitztla.

When they arrived within three miles of Chempoalla, twenty reſpectable Chempoalleſe inhabitants came out to meet the army, and preſented to Cortes a refreſhment of ananas, and other fruits, in the name of their lord, and made his excuſe that he had not come in perſon to meet him, as he was prevented from doing ſo. They entered the city, in the order of battle, being ſuſpicious of ſome treachery from the inhabitants. A light horſeman having advanced as far as the greater ſquare of the city, and ſeeing a baſtion of the palace of that lord, which, on account of its having been freſh whitened and well poliſhed, made a bright reflexion of the ſun, he imagined it was ſilver, and returned full ſpeed to acquaint the general of it. This incident is ſufficient to ſhew, how much the mind may be deceived and deluded by the predominence of any particular paſſion. The Spaniards proceeded through the ſtreets, not leſs delighted than amazed at ſeeing

(*q*) Solis and Robertſon give to Chiahuitztla the name of *Quiabiſtan*, which neither is nor can be Mexican.

ſuch

ſuch a city, the largeſt which they had ſeen in the New World, ſo full of inhabitants and beautiful gardens. Some, on account of its largeneſs, called it *Seville*, and others *Villaviciosa*, on account of its pleaſantneſs (*r*)

When they arrived at the greater temple, the lord of that ſtate came to receive them at the entrance; though inactive on account of his immoderate fatneſs, he was a perſon of diſcernment and ſome genius. After having ſaluted according to the cuſtom of that country, and offered incenſe to the general, he took leave, promiſing to return as ſoon as they had repoſed after the fatigues of their journey. The whole Spaniſh troop were lodged in large handſome buildings, within the encloſure of the temple, which were either built on purpoſe for the accommodation of ſtrangers, or deſtined for the habitation of the miniſters of the idols. Here they were well entertained, and provided with every thing they wanted at the expence of that lord, who returned to them after dinner, in a portable chair or litter, accompanied by a number of nobility. In the ſecret conference which he had with him, Cortes, by means of his interpreters, boaſted the grandeur and power of his ſovereign, by whom he was ſent into that country, and charged with ſeveral commiſſions of the utmoſt importance, and amongſt others, an injunction to ſuccour and relieve oppreſſed innocence. "If "therefore," he added, "I can ſerve you in any thing with my per-"ſon and my troops, name it to me, I will do it chearfully." On hearing theſe propoſals, the Chempoalleſe chief fetched a deep ſigh, which was followed by a bitter complaint of the misfortunes of his nation. He told him, that the ſtate of the Totonacas had, from time immemorial, been free, and governed by lords of their own nation; but within a few years ſince, had been oppreſſed with the rigorous yoke of the Mexicans, who, on the contrary, from a humble commencement, had raiſed themſelves to ſuch a pitch of grandeur, by a

(*r*) We cannot doubt of the ancient greatneſs of Chempoalla, conſidering the teſtimony of authors who ſaw it, and the extent of its ruins. It is impoſſible to conclude any thing about it, from the account given by Torquemada, as in one place he makes the inhabitants amount to twenty or thirty thouſand, in another place to fifty thouſand one hundred and eleven, and in the Index to Vol. I. to an hundred and fifty thouſand. To Chempoalla the ſame thing occurred which happened to all the other cities of the New World, that is, that with diſeaſes, and the vexations of the ſixteenth century, it gradually dwindled until at laſt it was entirely depopulated.

Then

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firm and ſteady alliance with the kings of Acolhuacan and Tlacopan; that they had rendered themſelves maſters of all that land; that their power was exceſſive, and their tyranny in proportion; that the king of Mexico engroſſed to himſelf the gold of his ſubjects, and that the receivers of the tributes, beſides other cruelties and oppreſſion, demanded of the tributaries their ſons for ſacrifices, and their daughters for violation. Cortes appeared moved with compaſſion for his misfor-ſortunes, and offered to give him his aſſiſtance in every thing; deferring until another occaſion to treat of the manner of doing it; as he was then preſſed to go to Chiahuitztla to examine into the ſtate of his veſſels. At this viſit the Chempoalleſe chief made him a preſent of ſome works of gold, which it is ſaid were worth a thouſand ſequins.

The next day four hundred men of burden preſented themſelves to Cortes, being ſent to him by that lord to tranſport his baggage; and it was then he learned from donna Marina the cuſtom which prevailed among thoſe nations, to furniſh of their own accord, without any motive of intereſt, ſuch people of burden to every reſpectable perſon who paſſed through their city.

SECT. X. Impriſonment of five royal miniſters in Chiahuitztla.

From Chempoalla, the Spaniards advanced to Chiahuitztla, a ſmall city, ſituated upon a ſteep and rocky mountain, a little more than twelve miles from Chempoalla towards the north, and three from the new port. Here Cortes had another conference with the lord of that city, and the lord of Chempoalla, who, for this purpoſe, made himſelf be tranſported hither. At the ſame time that they were deliberating upon the means of releaſing themſelves from the Mexican yoke, there arrived at that city, with a great retinue, five noble Mexicans, the receivers of the royal tributes, who expreſſed the utmoſt indignation againſt the Totonacas, for having dared to receive theſe ſtrangers without the royal conſent, and demanded twenty human victims to ſacrifice to their gods in expiation of their crime. The whole city was diſturbed, and particularly the two lords, who conſidered themſelves the moſt guilty. Cortes having learned from donna Marina the cauſe of their diſquiet, found an extraordinary expedient to relieve them from their embarraſſment. He ſuggeſted to the two lords the bold deſign of apprehending the royal receivers and putting them in priſon; and though at firſt they refuſed to do ſo, from its appearing too raſh and dangerous

dangerous an attempt, they at laſt yielded to his entreaties. They accordingly impriſoned thoſe five nobles, who had entered their city with ſo much pride and with ſo much diſdain for the Spaniards, that they had not even deigned to look at them as they paſſed by them.

The Totonacas had hardly taken this ſtep, when, encouraged by it, they almoſt would have proceeded to ſacrifice them that very night, had they not been diſſuaded from it by Cortes, who having conciliated by that meaſure the love and reſpect of the Totonacas, intended to gain the good-will of the Mexicans by liberating the priſoners. His artful double conduct lays open his diſpoſition; but it cannot be commended, except by thoſe courtiers who know no other ſyſtem than the art of deceit, and who, regardleſs of honour, purſue intereſt alone in their actions. Cortes gave orders therefore to his guards, to take at night two of the Mexicans out of the priſon, and bring them ſecretly before him, ſo as they might not be obſerved by any of the inhabitants of the city. The order was obeyed, and the Mexicans found themſelves ſo much obliged to the Spaniſh general, that they made him a thouſand acknowledgments, and adviſed him not to truſt to the barbarous and perfidious Totonacas. Cortes charged them to explain to their ſovereign his great diſpleaſure at the attempt of thoſe mountaineers againſt his miniſters; but as he had put them two at liberty, he would alſo ſet the others free. They departed immediately for the court, eſcorted by ſome Spaniards, in a veſſel from thence to the borders of the province; and Cortes, the day after, pretended extreme anger at the guards through whoſe neglect the priſoners had eſcaped; and that the ſame accident might not happen again, he propoſed to ſecure the others in a more cloſe priſon; and to make this be believed, he made them be conducted in chains aboard his veſſels, from which he ſoon after ſet them at liberty like the firſt.

SECT. XI. Confederacy of the Totonacas with the Spaniards.

The report ſoon ſpread through all the mountains of the Totonacas, that they were relieved from the tribute which they paid to the King of Mexico, and that if there were any other receivers of the tributes, there they ſhould let it be known immediately, that they might be ſeized. At the ſound of this intelligence, the ſweet hope of liberty revived in the whole nation, and ſeveral other lords came ſpeedily to that city to thank their ſuppoſed deliverer, and deliberate upon meaſures

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to ſecure their liberty. Some perſons, who had not yet baniſhed from their minds the fear of the Mexicans, propoſed that they ſhould aſk pardon of the king for the outrage committed upon his miniſters; but from the ſuggeſtions of Cortes, and the lords of Chempoalla and Chiahuitztla, the oppoſite ſentiment prevailed: it was reſolved therefore to free themſelves from the tyrannical dominions of the Mexicans, with the aſſiſtance of thoſe brave ſtrangers, by putting a formidable army under the command of the Spaniſh General.

Cortes, having ſufficiently aſſured himſelf of the ſincerity of the Totonacas, and informed himſelf of their force, ſeized this favourable moment to bring that numerous nation under obedience to the Catholic king. This act was celebrated in the preſence of the notary of the army, and with every other legal ſolemnity.

SECT. XII. Foundation of Vera Cruz.

This affair being happily concluded, Cortes took leave of thoſe lords, to put another project in execution, of the greateſt importance, which he had formed ſome time before; that was, to plant a ſtrong colony on this coaſt, which ſhould be a retreat for them in times of diſaſter, a fortreſs to hold the Totonacas to the fidelity which they had ſworn to the Spaniards, a place of deſcent for the new troops which might arrive there either to their aſſiſtance from Spain, or the Antilles, and a magazine for the ſtores which might be ſent to them by their countrymen, or which they might deſire to ſend to Europe. This colony was founded therefore in the country of the Totonacas, in a plain which lies at the foot of the mountain of Chiahuitztla, twelve miles from Chempoalla towards the north, and adjoining to the new harbour (*s*). They called it *Villarica* (or rich city) of Vera Cruz, on account of the great appearance of riches they had ſeen there, and becauſe they had diſembarked them on Holy Friday; and this was the firſt colony of the

(*s*) Almoſt all Hiſtorians have committed a miſtake concerning the founding of Vera Cruz; as they ſay the firſt colony of the Spaniards was *Antigua*, or the ancient ſettlement on the river of that name; and believe that there were only two places of that name, that is, ancient Vera Cruz and the new Vera Cruz, ſettled on the ſame ſands where Cortes diſembarked: but without doubt there have been three places of the name of Vera Cruz. The firſt ſettled in 1519, cloſe to the port of Chiahuitztla, which retained afterwards only the name of *Villarica*; the ſecond, the ancient Vera Cruz, ſettled in 1523 or 4; and the third, the New Vera Cruz, which ſtill preſerves the name of Vera Cruz, and was ſettled, by order of the Count of Monterus, Viceroy of Mexico, towards the end of the 16th, or the beginning of the 17th century, and had from Philip III. the title of city given it in 1615.

Spaniards

Spaniards on the continent of North America. Cortes was the firſt who put a hand to the ſettlement to encourage his people by his own example; and, in a ſhort time, with the aſſiſtance of the Totonacas, they built a ſufficient number of houſes, and a ſmall fortreſs capable of reſiſting the arms of the Mexicans.

SECT. XIII. New embaſſy and preſent from Montezuma.

In the mean time the two receivers, whom Cortes ſet firſt at liberty, had arrived at Mexico, and had informed the king of all that had happened, beſtowing high praiſes on the Spaniſh general. Montezuma, who was preparing to ſend an army to chaſtiſe the inſolence and temerity of thoſe ſtrangers, and drive them out of his dominions, became pacified with the intelligence, and feeling his obligations to the Spaniſh general for the ſervice done to the royal miniſters, ſent two princes, his nephews, accompanied with a numerous retinue of nobility and others, with a preſent of works of gold worth upwards of a thouſand ſequins. They returned thanks in the name of the king to Cortes, and at the ſame time complained of him for having entered ſo far into friendſhip with the rebellious Totonacas, that that nation had had the inſolence to refuſe to pay the tribute which they owed to their ſovereign. They added, that ſolely on account of ſuch gueſts, an army had not been ſent to puniſh the rebellion of thoſe people, but that in the end they would not remain unchaſtiſed. Cortes, after having ſignified his gratitude in the moſt becoming expreſſions, endeavoured to vindicate himſelf from the accuſation of friendſhip with the Totonacas, by the neceſſity he was under of ſeeking proviſions for his troops, after he was abandoned by the Mexicans. He ſaid alſo, that with reſpect to the tribute, it was impoſſible that a nation could ſerve two maſters; that he hoped ſoon to be at court to ſatisfy the king more completely, and make him ſenſible of the ſincerity of his conduct.

The two princes, after having beheld with great wonder and delight the military exerciſes of the Spaniſh cavalry, returned to the court. The lord of Chempoalla, who was extremely diſpleaſed with that embaſſy, in order to ſtrengthen the alliance with the Spaniards, preſented eight virgins richly dreſſed to Cortes, that they might marry with his officers; and amongſt them was one of his nieces, which he deſigned for the general himſelf. Cortes, who had frequently diſcourſed with him on the ſubject of religion, told him, he could not accept them,

BOOK VIII. unleſs they ſhould firſt renounce idolatry, and embrace Chriſtianity, and upon this occaſion explained to him anew the principles of the Chriſtian religion, and reaſoned with all his ſtrength on the abſurd worſhip of their falſe deities, and eſpecially againſt the horrid cruelty of their ſacrifices. To this warm expoſtulation the Chempoalleſe chief replied, that although they moſt highly valued his friendſhip, they could not however comply with his requeſt, to abjure the worſhip of their gods, from whoſe hand they received health, plenty, and all the bleſſings they had, and from whoſe anger, when provoked by ingratitude, they muſt dread the ſevereſt puniſhment.

Breaking of the idols of Chempoalla.

The military fire of Cortes was ſtill more inflamed by this anſwer; upon which, turning to his ſoldiers, he ſaid to them, "Come on, ſoldiers; "what do we wait for? How can we ſuffer men, who pretend to be "our friends, to pay that worſhip to ſtatues and baſe images, which "is due to the only true God? Courage, ſoldiers; now is the "time to ſhew that we are Spaniards, and that we have, inherited "from our anceſtors, an ardent zeal for our holy religion. Let us "break the idols, and take from the ſight of thoſe infidels ſuch vile "incentives to their ſuperſtition. If we obtain that end, we will do "our God the greateſt poſſible ſervice in our power. If we die in the "attempt, eternal glory will recompenſe the ſacrifice of our lives."

The Chempoalleſe chief, who from the countenance of Cortes, and the movements of his ſoldiers, clearly perceived their intention, made a ſign to his people to prepare themſelves for the defence of their gods. The Spaniards already began to aſcend the ſtairs of the temple, when the Chempoalleſe chief, confuſed and enraged, cried out to them to guard againſt that attempt, unleſs they deſired that the vengeance of their gods ſhould immediately pour down upon them. Cortes, incapable of being intimidated by their threats, anſwered, that he had already frequently admoniſhed them to abandon their abominable ſuperſtition; that ſince they had not choſen to take his counſel, which was ſo advantageous for them, he would no longer hold their friendſhip; that if the Totonacas themſelves were not reſolved to take away thoſe deteſtable images, he and his people would break them, and that they muſt guard cautiouſly againſt ſhewing any hoſtility towards the Spaniards, otherwiſe they would immediately charge upon them with

ſuch

ſuch fury, that they would not leave a native alive among them. To theſe threats Marina added another more efficacious, which was, that if they oppoſed the intention of thoſe ſtrangers, inſtead of being allied with the Totonacas againſt the Mexicans, they would join the Mexicans in alliance againſt the Totonacas, and then their ruin would be inevitable. This motive diverted the chief from the firſt dictates of his zeal, and the fear of the Mexican arms prevailing over the fear of his gods, he told Cortes he might do as he pleaſed, for they had not courage themſelves to put a ſacrilegious hand to their images. The Spaniards no ſooner obtained this permiſſion, than fifty of the ſoldiers mounting rapidly into the temple, took up the idols from the altars, and threw them down the ſtairs. The Totonacas in the mean while ſhed a ſhower of tears, and covered their eyes that they might not ſee the ſacrilege; praying their gods at the ſame time, in a mournful voice, not to puniſh the nation for the temerity of thoſe ſtrangers, as they were unable to prevent it, without falling a ſacrifice to the fury of the Mexicans. Nevertheleſs ſome of them, either leſs timid and cowardly, or more jealous of the honour of their deities, diſpoſed themſelves to take revenge of the Spaniards, and would certainly have engaged with them, if the Spaniards, by ſeizing the lord of Chempoalla and four principal prieſts, had not compelled them to reſtrain the fury of their people.

After this daring act, where prudence was blinded by enthuſiaſm, Cortes commanded the prieſts to bring the fragments of the idols before him, and throw them into a fire. He was immediately obeyed; upon which, being full of joy and triumph, as if, by breaking the idols, he had entirely baniſhed idolatry and ſuperſtition from thoſe people, he told their chief he was now willing to accept the eight virgins which had been offered him; that from that time he would conſider the Totonacas as his friends and brothers, and in all their exigencies would aſſiſt them againſt their enemies; that as they could never more adore thoſe deteſtable images of the demon their enemy, he would place in the ſame temple an image of the true mother of God, that they might worſhip and implore her protection in all their neceſſities. He then expatiated, in a long diſcourſe, upon the ſanctity of the Chriſtian religion; after which he ordered the Chempoalleſe maſons

BOOK VIII. to cleanſe the walls of the temples of thoſe diſguſtful ſtains of human blood, which they preſerved there as trophies of their religion, and to poliſh and whiten them. He cauſed an altar to be made after the mode of Chriſtians, and placed the image of the moſt holy Mary there. He committed the care of this ſanctuary to four Chempoalleſe prieſts, provided they ſhould go always dreſſed in white, inſtead of that black melancholy habit which they wore in virtue of their former office. In order that they might never want lights before that ſacred image, he taught them the uſe of wax, which the bees wrought in their mountains; and that they might not in his abſence replace the idols, or otherwiſe profane that ſanctuary, he left one of his ſoldiers, named Juan Torres, behind, who, on account of his age, was of little ſervice in war. The eight virgins, as ſoon as they were ſufficiently inſtructed, received holy baptiſm.

From Chempoalla Cortes returned to the new colony of Vera-Cruz, where he had the good fortune to recruit his little army with two other officers and ten ſoldiers, who had landed there from Cuba; and a little time after he was joined by ſix other men, who had been taken by a veſſel belonging to Jamaica.

SECT. XV. Letters of Cortes and the armament to the catholick king.

Cortes, before he undertook the journey to Mexico, thought proper to tranſmit to his ſovereign an account of all that had happened to him; and that the news might be more welcome, he ſent at the ſame time all the gold which had been acquired by the armament, inducing all the ſoldiers and officers to yield up their ſhares for that purpoſe. In this letter Cortes aimed at prepoſſeſſing the king againſt the repreſentations which might be made by the governor of Cuba. Two other letters were alſo written to the king, one ſubſcribed by the magiſtrates of the new colony, the other by the principal officers of the expedition, in which they requeſted his acceptance and approbation of what they had done for him, and to confirm the offices of General and chief judge, already conferred by their ſuffrages, on Cortes, whom they recommended with the moſt warm praiſes. Thoſe two letters, with the preſent of gold, were ſent to Spain by the two captains Alonſo Hernandez de Portocarrero and Franciſco de Montejo, who ſet ſail on the 16th of July, 1519.

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SECT. XVI. Celebrated action of Cortes.

The two commiſſioners above mentioned were hardly departed when Cortes, who was continually revolving ſome great deſign in his mind, put a plan in execution, which alone would have been ſufficient to have proved his magnanimity of ſoul, and immortaliſed his name. In order to deprive his ſoldiers of every means, and conſequently of every hope of return to Cuba, and to reinforce his little army with all the ſailors, after puniſhing two ſoldiers with death, who had treacherouſly conſpired to fly off in one of the veſſels, and inflicted a leſs rigorous chaſtiſement on three of their accomplices, he prevailed by argument and entreaty on ſome of his confidents, and one of the pilots, in whom he placed the utmoſt truſt, to pierce one or two of the veſſels ſecretly, to perſuade every one that they had foundered from being worm-eaten, and to make a report to him that the others were no longer fit for ſervice on the ſame account, having lain three months cloſe in port. Cortes availed himſelf of this deceit that his people might not conſpire againſt him, finding himſelf reduced to the hard neceſſity to conquer or die. Every thing was done according to his command, and with the conſent of all his people, after having brought the ſails, cordage, and every thing elſe which could be of uſe, on ſhore. "Thus," ſays Robertſon, "by an effort of magnanimity, to which there is nothing "equal in hiſtory, five hundred men agreed of their own free-will to "ſhut themſelves up in an enemy's country, full of powerful and un-"known nations, deprived of every means of eſcape, having no "other reſource left than their perſeverance and valour." We do not doubt, that unleſs Cortes had executed this deſign, the bold undertaking which he was then meditating would have been impoſſible; for the ſoldiers would have been led to ſhun the obſtacles of danger which every way encountered them, by flight, and the general himſelf muſt have been compelled to follow them.

SECT. XVII. March of the Spaniards to the country of the Tlaſcalans.

His mind being relieved from this anxiety, having ratified the alliance with the Totonacas, and given proper orders for the ſecurity and advancement of the new colony, he prepared for his journey to Mexico. He left fifty men in Vera-Cruz under the command of Juan d'Eſcalante, one of the beſt officers of the armament, charged the Chempoalleſe to aſſiſt the Spaniards to complete the building of the fortreſs, and to ſupply them with all the proviſions they required. He ſet out himſelf on the 16th of Auguſt with four hundred and fifteen Spaniſh infan-

BOOK V II. infantry, ſixteen horſes, two hundred *Tlamima*, or men of burden, to tranſport his baggage and artillery, and ſome troops of Totonacas, amongſt which were forty nobles, whom Cortes carried with him as auxiliaries in war, and hoſtages of that nation.

He travelled through Xalapan and Texotla, and after having croſſed with infinite fatigue ſome defart mountains, of a ſevere temperature of air, he arrived at Xocotla (*t*), a large city, conſiſting of beautiful buildings, among which aroſe thirteen temples, and the palace of its lord, which was built of ſtone and lime, and compoſed of a number of excellent halls and chambers, being the moſt complete fabrick they had as yet ſeen in the New World. The king of Mexico owned in this place, and the hamlets contiguous to it, twenty thouſand vaſſals, and had five thouſand Mexicans garriſoned in it. *Olintetl*, which was the name of the lord of Xocotla, came out to meet the Spaniards, and lodged them commodiouſly in that city; but with reſpect to proviſions, there appeared at firſt ſome ſcarcity, until from the information of the Totonacas they received a high opinion of their bravery and the power of their arms, and their horſes. In the conference which he had with the Spaniſh general, each boaſted to the other of the grandeur and power of their reſpective Sovereigns. Cortes inconſiderately demanded of him to acknowledge obedience to the Catholic king, and to pay homage to his Sovereignty in ſome quantity of gold. "I have enough of gold," anſwered *Olintetl*, "but cannot give it "without the expreſs order of my king." "I will ſoon," ſaid Cortes, make him order you to give it, and all that you have. If he ſhall command me, returned *Olintetl*, I will not only render up my gold, and all my eſtate, but even my perſon. But that which Cortes could not obtain by threats from this chief, he got through pure liberality from two other reſpectable perſons of that valley, who having come on purpoſe to viſit him, preſented him ſome necklaces of gold, and ſeven or eight ſlaves. Cortes found himſelf in ſome perplexity here with regard to the route he ſhould purſue to Mexico. The lord of Xocotla and the commander of the Mexican garriſon adviſed him to proceed through Cholula; but he judged the advice more ſincere which the

(*t*) Bernal Diaz and Solis call this city *Zacotlan*, which could eaſily occaſion an error, as it would be eaſy to confound it with *Zacatlan*, ſituated at the diſtance of thirty miles from Tlaſcala, towards the north.

Toto-

Totonacas gave him, to paſs through Tlaſcala. And in fact it will appear, that if he had gone ſtraight to Cholula, he and his whole force muſt have been deſtroyed. In order to obtain permiſſion from the Tlaſcalans to paſs through their country, he ſent four of the Chempoaleſe, whom he carried with him, as meſſengers to their ſenate; but they, as appears hereafter, did not deliver their embaſſy in the name of the Spaniards, but of the Totonacas, either becauſe they had been ſo ordered by the Spaniſh general, or becauſe they themſelves conſidered it moſt proper to do ſo.

From Xocotla the Spaniſh army proceeded to *Iztaccmaxtitlan*, the population of which extended for ten or twelve miles in two uninterrupted lines of houſes upon the two oppoſite banks of a ſmall river, which runs through the bottom of that long and narrow valley; but the proper city of *Iztaccmaxtitlan*, compoſed of good buildings, and inhabited by ſix thouſand people, occupied the top of a lofty ſteep mountain, the Lord of which was one of thoſe two perſons who viſited and made preſents to Cortes in Xocotla. To the naturally difficult acceſs of the place were added ſtout walls, with barbacans and ditches (*u*); for, on account of its being on the frontiers of the Tlaſcalans, it was more expoſed to their invaſions. There the Spaniards were well received and entertained.

SECT. XVIII. Deliberation of the ſenate of the Tlaſcalans upon the affairs of the Spaniards.

In the mean while the requeſt of their embaſſy was diſcuſſing in the ſenate of Tlaſcala. All that great city was in alarm at the intelligence of ſuch ſtrangers, and particularly at the account of which the Chempoalleſe gave of their aſpect, their bravery, the ſize of their veſſels, the agility and ſtrength of their horſes, and the dreadful thunder and deſtructive violence of their artillery. Xicotencatl Maxicatzin, General of the army of the republic, Tlekul, Xolotzin, and Citlalpocatzin, were the four lords or chiefs who at that time governed the republic. The Chempoalleſe meſſengers (*x*) were graciouſly received, and lodged in the houſe appropriated for ambaſſadors; and after they had repoſed and dined were introduced into the ſenate to explain their embaſſy. There,

(*u*) Cortes, in his ſecond letter, compares the fortreſs of *Iztaccmaxtitlan* to the beſt in Spain.

(*x*) Bernal Diaz ſays, that the meſſengers were only two in number, and that as ſoon as they arrived at Tlaſcala they were put in priſon; but Cortes himſelf, who ſent them, affirms, that they were four in number; and from the context of his letter, it appears that Bernal Diaz was ill informed of what paſſed in Tlaſcala. The account given by this writer being contrary to that of other ancient hiſtorians, both Spaniſh and Indian, has led many authors, and Robertſon among the reſt, into errors.

after

BOOK VIII. after having bowed moſt profoundly, and ſaluted with all the other neceſſary ceremonies, they delivered themſelves to this purpoſe: "Moſt "great and valiant chiefs, may the gods proſper you, and grant you vic- "tory over your enemies. The lord of Chempoalla, and all the nation "of Totonacas, offer their reſpects to acquaint you, that from the quar- "ter of the Eaſt there are arrived in our country in large ſhips certain "bold adventurous heroes, by the aſſiſtance of whom we are now freed "from the tyrannical dominion of the king of Mexico. They acknow- "ledge themſelves the ſubjects of a powerful monarch, in whoſe name "they come to viſit you, to communicate intelligence to you of a true "God, and to aſſiſt you againſt your ancient and inveterate enemy. Our "nation, following the dictates of that ſtrict friendſhip which has always "ſubſiſted between it and this republic, counſel you to receive thoſe "ſtrangers as friends, who, though few in number, are equal in worth to "many." Maxicatzin anſwered, in the name of the ſenate, that they thanked the Totonacas for their intelligence and counſel, and thoſe brave ſtrangers for the aſſiſtance which they offered them, but that they required ſome time to deliberate upon a point of ſuch importance; that in the mean time they would be pleaſed to return to their abode, where they would be treated with the diſtinction due to their character and birth. The ambaſſadors having returned, the ſenate entered into conſideration of the embaſſy.

Maxicatzin, who was highly eſteemed among them, both for his prudence and benevolence of diſpoſition, ſaid, That they ought not to refuſe the advice given them by friends ſo faithful to them, and ſo hoſtile to the greateſt enemy of the republic; that thoſe ſtrangers, according to the marks which the Champoalleſe gave of them, appeared to be thoſe heroes, who, agreeable to their tradition, were to arrive in that country; that the earthquakes which had been felt a little before, the comet which was then ſeen in the heavens, and ſeveral other events of thoſe laſt years, were indications that the time of the fulfilment of that tradition was at hand; that if they were immortal, it would be in vain for the republic to oppoſe their entry. "Our refuſal," he added, "may be productive of the moſt "fatal misfortunes, and it would be a ſubject of malicious pleaſure to "the king of Mexico, to ſee thoſe whom the republic would not "graciouſly receive into their dominions, introduce themſelves by force:

" that he was therefore of opinion they ſhould be friendly received."— Although this opinion was liſtened to with great applauſe, it was immediately oppoſed by *Xicotencatl*, an old chief of great authority on account of his long experience in civil and military affairs. " Our " law," he ſaid, " enjoins us to receiveſtrangers, but not enemies, " who may cauſe diſaſters to the ſtate. Thoſe men who demand en- " trance into our city, appear to be rather monſters caſt up from the " ſea, becauſe it could not endure them in its waters, than gods de- " ſcended from heaven, as ſome have vainly imagined. Is it poſſible " they can be gods, who ſo greedily covet gold and pleaſures? And " what ought we not to dread from them in a country ſo poor as this " is, where we are even deſtitute of ſalt? He wrongs the honour of " the nation can thinks it will be overcome by a handful of adven- " turers. If they are mortal, the arms of the Tlaſcalans will tell it to " all the regions round; if they are immortal, there will always be time " to appeaſe their anger by homage, and to implore their mercy by " repentance. Let their demand, therefore, be rejected; and if they " dare to enter by force, let our arms repel their temerity."—This contrariety of ſentiment in two perſons of ſo great reſpect divided the minds of the other ſenators. Thoſe who were the friends of commerce, and attached to a life of peace, adhered to the opinion of Maxicatzin, while thoſe who were of a military diſpoſition embraced the propoſal of *Xicotencatl*. *Temilxltecatl*, one of the ſenators, ſuggeſted a middle courſe, which would reconcile the two parties. He propoſed that a civil and friendly anſwer ſhould be ſent to the chief of thoſe ſtrangers, granting them permiſſion to enter; but at the ſame time that orders ſhould be given to *Xicotencatl*, the ſon of the old *Xicotencatl*, to go out with the troops of the Otomies belonging to the republic, to oppoſe their paſſage, and to try their ſtrength.— " If we remain victors," ſaid *Temilxltecatl*, " we will do our arms im- " mortal honour; if we are vanquiſhed, we will accuſe the Otomies, " and charge them with having undertaken the war without our or- " ders (*y*)." Such reſources and expedients though frequent, eſpecially among cultivated nations, are not the leſs contrary to the good

(*y*) We have mentioned formerly, that many Otomies had taken refuge in Tlaſcala, from the tyranny of the Mexicans, and had ſerved the republic faithfully.

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faith reciprocally due between men.—The ſenate agreed to the counſel of *Temiloltecatl*; but before the meſſengers were diſpatched with their anſwer, the propoſed orders were given to *Xicotencatl*. This was an intrepid youth, an enemy to peace, and enthuſiaſtic for military glory, who eagerly accepted of the commiſſion, as it furniſhed him with a moſt eligible opportunity to diſplay his bravery.

Cortes, after having waited eight days for the determination of the ſenate, imagining that the delay was the conſequence of that ſlowneſs attending the majeſty of potentates, and not doubting, from what the Chempoalleſe had told him of being well received by the Tlaſcalans, left Iztacmaxtitlan with all his army, which, beſides the Totonacas and Spaniards, was compoſed of a conſiderable number of *Mexican* troops of the garriſon of Xocotla, and marched in regular order as uſual to the great wall, which on that quarter ſeparates the ſtates of Tlaſcala from thoſe of Mexico; the deſcription and dimenſions of which we have given in the preceding book, where we treated of the fortifications of the Mexicans. It was conſtructed by the Tlaſcalans to defend themſelves from the invaſions of the Mexicans on their eaſtern frontiers, in the ſame manner as they had formed ditches and entrenchments for the ſame purpoſe in the quarter of the weſt. The entrance of the walls, which was wont to be guarded by the Otomies, at this time when it was moſt neceſſary, upon ſome account or other, of which we are ignorant, was left without any garriſon, by which accident the Spaniſh army entered without any oppoſition into the territory of the republic, which they could not otherwiſe have done without ſpilling a great deal of blood.

This day, which was the 31ſt of Auguſt, ſome armed Indians ſhewed themſelves at a diſtance. The cavalry, which was advanced before the army, in endeavouring to come up with them to gain intelligence of the reſolution of the ſenate, had two horſes killed, and three others and two men wounded; a loſs moſt ſenſibly felt in ſo ſmall a troop of horſe. A body then appeared, imagined to conſiſt of about four thouſand men, which was immediately charged upon by the Spaniards and allies, and in a ſhort time defeated, with the death of fifty Otomies. A little after arrived two of the Chempoalleſe meſſengers, with ſome Tlaſcalans, who paid their compliments to Cortes in the

name of the ſenate, and made him acquainted with the permiſſion which was granted him to go with his army to Tlaſcala, blaming the Otomies for the hoſtilities which they had ſuffered, and offering to pay him for the horſes which they had killed. Cortes pretended to believe them, and declared his gratitude to the ſenate. The Tlaſcalans took their leave, and carried their dead off the field to burn them. Cortes, on his part, buried the two horſes which had been killed, that the ſight of them might not encourage the enemy to new hoſtilities.

The following day the Spaniſh army marched to the neighbourhood of two mountains, where there were ſome ſteep grounds and precipices. There the other two Chempoalleſe meſſengers, who had remained ſtill in Tlaſcala, arrived bathed in ſweat and tears, accuſing the Tlaſcalans of treachery and cruelty; for that, regardleſs of the rights of nations, they had ill uſed, impriſoned, and deſtined them for ſacrifices, which fate they eſcaped by ſetting each other free. This account of the Chempoalleſe was certainly falſe, as it was altogether impoſſible, not to ſay difficult, for victims to liberate themſelves, not only on account of the cloſeneſs of the cage which confined them, but alſo the vigilance of the guards which watched them; and ſtill more ſo, becauſe there is no memory among thoſe nations that the Tlaſcalans had ever failed in the reſpect due to the characters of ambaſſadors, and eſpecially where they were ſo ſtrictly connected in friendſhip as they were with the Totonacas. What appears more probable is, that the ſenate, after it had ſent back the two firſt meſſengers, detained the other two to diſpatch them after they had tried the ſtrength of the Spaniſh troops; but that the two laſt, grown impatient of delay, abſented ſecretly, and endeavoured to excuſe their flight with theſe pretences.

SECT. XIX. War of Tlaſcala.

The Chempoalleſe had hardly finiſhed their ſtory, when a Tlaſcalan ſquadron, conſiſting of about a thouſand men, made their appearance; and, as they drew near the Spaniards, began to throw ſtones, darts, and arrows at them. Cortes, after having proteſted to them, before the notary royal of the army, by means of three priſoners, that he had not come to do them any hurt, and having entreated them not to treat him as an enemy, perceiving that nothing would avail, he gave orders to repulſe them. The Tlaſcalans retreated gradually until they brought the Spaniards to the ſteep grounds where they could not make uſe of

BOOK VIII.

their horſes, and where a large army of the enemy expected them, concerning the number of which authors have been various in their opinions (z). There a terrible conteſt began, in which the Spaniards thought they muſt have been totally deſtroyed. But having formed themſelves afreſh, in the beſt manner they could, and being encouraged by the example and exhortations of their general, they extricated themſelves from that dangerous ſituation; and coming again into the plain, they made ſuch havock of the enemy with their artillery and horſes, that they forced them to retreat. Of the Tlaſcalans a vaſt number were wounded, and not a few lay dead on the field. Of the Spaniards, although fifteen were dangerouſly wounded, one only died the next day. On this occaſion a famous duel happened between an officer of the Tlaſcalans and one of the Chempoalleſe nobles, who had been ſent with the meſſage from Cortes to the Tlaſcalans. They fought for ſome time moſt bravely in ſight of the two armies, until at laſt the Chempoalleſe noble prevailed; and having thrown his antagoniſt to the ground, cut off his head, and bore it in triumph to his camp. The victory was celebrated with acclamations and martial muſic. The place where the battle was fought was called *Teoatzinco*, or place of the Divine Water, and is ſtill known in that country.

That night the Spaniſh army fixed their camp upon a hill, where there was a tower, about eighteen miles from the capital of Tlaſcala. They erected barracks for the accommodation of the troops, and formed entrenchments for their defence. In this place the Spaniards remained encamped until the peace with the Tlaſcalans.

Cortes, in order to compel the Tlaſcalans, by hoſtilities, to accept of peace and the friendſhip which he offered, made an excurſion on the 3d of September, with his cavalry, a hundred Spaniſh infantry, three hundred Chempoallas, and three hundred Mexicans of the garriſon of Izlcmaxtitlan, ſet fire to five or ſix hamlets, and made four hundred priſoners, whom, after having careſſed and entertained them, he ſet at liberty, charging the principal perſons among them to go and offer

(z) Bunal Diaz ſays, that the army of the Tlaſcalans conſiſted of about forty thouſand men. To Cortes they appeared to exceed a hundred thouſand. Other hiſtorians have ſaid thirty thouſand. It is difficult to compute the number of a large army by the eye, eſpecially when they do not preſerve the order of European troops. In order to avoid an error, we have ſaid ſimply that the army was numerous.

peace,

peace, in his name, to the chiefs of that nation. They immediately went to the young Xicotencatl, who was encamped, with a large army, ſix miles diſtant from that hill. This fiery youth anſwered, that if the Spaniards wiſhed to treat of peace, they might go to the capital, where they would be ſacrificed as victims to their gods, and their fleſh be made food for the Tlaſcalans; that, as to himſelf, he would come the next day in perſon, to give them a deciſive anſwer. This reſolution being communicated to the Spaniards by the ſame meſſenger, raiſed ſuch an alarm among them, that they prepared themſelves that night for death by the confeſſion of the ſacrament, without however omitting the neceſſary diſpoſitions for their defence.

The following day, the 5th of September, the Tlaſcalan army appeared not leſs terrible, from the immenſe multitude of their numbers, than beautiful to view, from the infinite variety of their plumes, and other military ornaments. It was divided into ten ſquadrons, each of ten thouſand men; every one carried its proper ſtandard. In the rear-guard, according to the cuſtom of that nation, was placed the common ſtandard of the republic, which, as we have already mentioned, was a golden eagle with expanded wings. The prince Xicotencatl, in order to make it underſtood how little he valued the arms of the Spaniards, and that he ſcorned to take them by famine, but meant to conquer them by battle, ſent them a refreſhment of three hundred turkeys and two hundred baſkets of *Tamalli*, to recruit their ſtrength for the engagement. A little after he detached two thouſand brave men to enter the camp of the Spaniards by aſſault. This attack was ſo violent and ſudden, that they forced the entrenchments, entered the camp, and encountered man to man with the Spaniards. The Tlaſcalans might now have proved conquerors, not only from the ſuperiority of their numbers, but alſo from their bravery and the nature of their arms, which were pikes, lances, ſwords, and darts, with double and triple points, if a diſcord among themſelves had not rendered the victory eaſy to their enemies. The ſon of Chichimeca Teuctli, who commanded a body of troops belonging to his father, having received ſome inſult in words from the arrogant Xicotencatl, conceived ſo much indignation againſt him, that he challenged him to a ſingle combat, which ſhould determine their courage and their fortune; but having been

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been refuſed this ſatisfaction, in order to be in ſome meaſure revenged, he withdrew from the field with the troops which were under his command, and prevailed upon thoſe of Tlehuexolotzin to follow him. In ſpite of this disjunction of the army, the battle was obſtinate and bloody. The Spaniards after having bravely repulſed the force which had aſſaulted their camp, marched in order of battle againſt the body of the Tlaſcalan army. The havock made by the artillery upon the crouded multitude of the enemy, was not ſufficient to put the Tlaſcalans to flight, nor prevent them from filling up with expedition all the vacancies left by the dead; on the contrary, by their ſteadineſs and intrepidity, they threw the Spaniards into ſome confuſion, notwithſtanding the cries and reproaches of Cortes and his captains. At length, after ſome hours of engagement, the Spaniards returned victorious to their camp, although the Tlaſcalans did not deſiſt from frequent aſſaults upon them during the whole of that day. Of the Spaniards, one man was miſſing, and ſixty were wounded; likewiſe all the horſes. Of the Tlaſcalans, great numbers were killed, but not a ſingle dead body was to be ſeen by the Spaniards, owing to the diligence and activity with which they carried them off the field of battle.

Xicotencatl, diſguſted at the unhappy iſſue of this expedition, conſulted the diviners of Tlaſcala, who reported that thoſe ſtrangers being the children of the ſun were invincible during the day; but, as ſoon as night arrived, by want of the genial heat of that luminary, they were deprived of ſtrength to defend themſelves. In conſequence of this oracle, that general reſolved to make another aſſault upon the Spaniſh camp during the night. In the mean while, Cortes ſallied out afreſh to commit hoſtilities in the neighbouring villages, of which he burned ten, and among thoſe one of three thouſand houſes, and returned with ſeveral priſoners.

Xicotencatl, that the blow might not fail which he meditated upon the Spaniards, took pains firſt to gain information of the ſtrength and diſpoſition of their camp. He ſent therefore fifty men to Cortes with a preſent, accompanied with many expreſſions of kindneſs and courteſy, charging them to obſerve every thing minutely; but they were unable to do this with diſſimulation ſufficient to prevent its being diſcovered by Teuch, one of the three principal Chempoalleſe, who immediatey

mediately intimated his ſuſpicion to Cortes. This general having called ſome of the ſpies aſide, forced them by means of threats to reveal that Xicotencatl was preparing to attack them the following night, and that they were ſent on purpoſe to obſerve, at what part of the camp they could moſt eaſily make their entry. Cortes having heard this confeſſion (*a*), made the hands of all the fifty be cut off, and ſent them back to Xicotencatl, deſiring them to let him know that come when he would, by day or by night, he would always make him ſenſible that they were Spaniards; and the circumſtances appearing to favour the battle expected before the army had made all their preparations for the aſſault, he ſet out about the cloſe of the night with a conſiderable number of troops and his horſes, to which he ordered little bells to be hung at the armour of their breaſts, and went to meet the enemy, who were juſt beginning their march towards the Spaniſh camp. The ſight of the puniſhment executed upon the ſpies, and the ſound of the little bells in the ſilence and darkneſs of the night, raiſed ſuch a tremor among the Tlaſcalans, that they ſuddenly ſtarted into confuſion and diſorder, and fled different ways, while Xicotencatl himſelf, deſerted and alone, returned in ſhame to Tlaſcala. Upon this Maxixcatzin took occaſion to inculcate his firſt counſel, adding to the arguments he had already uſed, the ſad experience of ſo many expeditions which had ended unſucceſsfully; he accordingly moved their minds to peace.

SECT. XV. New embaſſies and preſents from Montezuma to Cortes.

While this affair was agitating in Tlaſcala, the Mexicans were deliberating what courſe ſhould be taken with thoſe ſtrangers. Montezuma having heard of the victories of the Spaniards, and apprehenſive of their confederating with the Tlaſcalans, ſummoned the king of Tezcuco, his nephew, the prince Cuitlahuatzin, and his other counſellors, explained the ſtate of affairs to them, diſcloſed his fears, and demanded their advice. The king of Tezcuco adhered to his former opinion; which was, that thoſe ſtrangers ſhould be courteouſly treated in every place through which they paſſed; that they ſhould be kindly welcomed at court, and their propoſitions heard, as well as thoſe of any other vaſſal, the king ſtill preſerving his ſupreme authority, and exacting the decorum and reſpect due to the majeſty of the throne;

(*a*) Some hiſtorians ſay, that the fingers only of the Tlaſcalan ſpies were cut off; but Cortes himſelf ſays, that he made their hands be cut off.

that

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He ſent therefore ſix ambaſſadors to Cortes, with a thouſand curious cotton dreſſes, and a large quantity of gold and beautiful feathers, and charged them to congratulate him in his name upon his victories, to make him offers of ſtill more conſiderable preſents, and to diſſuade him from the journey to Mexico, by repreſenting to him the difficulty of the way, and other obſtacles not eaſy to be ſurmounted. The ambaſſadors immediately departed, with a retinue of more than two hundred men, and having arrived at the Spaniſh camp, executed with punctuality the whole of their commiſſion. Cortes received them with all the reſpect due to their character, and acknowledged himſelf infinitely oliged to the bounty of ſo great a monarch; but he purpoſely detained the ambaſſadors, in hopes that in the time of their ſtay ſome occaſion of engaging with the Tlaſcalans might preſent itſelf, by which the Mexicans might be impreſſed with an idea of the bravery of his troops, and the ſuperiority of the European arms; or that if peace ſhould be made with the republic, they might be witneſſes of the ſeverity

verity with which he intended to reprimand the Tlaſcalans for their obſtinacy. It was not long before the occaſion which he ſo much deſired preſented itſelf. Three diviſions of the enemy came down upon the Spaniſh camp with terrible howls, and a tempeſt of darts and arrows. Cortes, although he had that day taken a purgative medicine, mounted on horſeback, and went intrepidly againſt the Tlaſcalans, who were defeated without much trouble in the ſight of the Mexican ambaſſadors.

SECT. XXI. Peace and confederacy of the Tlaſcalans with the Spaniards.

The partizans of the old Xicotencatl being at laſt perſuaded that the war with the Spaniards was by no means advantageous to the republic, and fearing beſides that they might form an alliance with the Mexicans, unanimouſly reſolved to make peace, and choſe the ſame general who had fought againſt them to mediate between them. Xicotencatl, though at firſt he refuſed to do ſo, from being aſhamed of the unhappy iſſue of the war, was at laſt obliged to charge himſelf with the commiſſion. He was accompanied to the camp by a noble and numerous retinue, ſaluted Cortes in the name of the republic, excuſed themſelves for the hoſtilities already ſhewn, from having believed him to be the ally of Montezuma, not only on account of the ſuperb preſents ſent him from Mexico, but alſo the large troop of Mexicans who followed him; promiſed him a firm peace, and an eternal alliance with the Tlaſcalans, and preſented him a little gold, and ſome bales of fine cotton, apologiſing for the ſcantineſs of their offers, with the poverty of their country occaſioned by their conſtant wars with the Mexicans, who prevented their commerce with other provinces. Cortes omitted no demonſtration of reſpect towards Xicotencatl; he made an appearance of being ſatisfied with his excuſes, but required that the peace ſhould be ſincere and permanent; for that if they ever broke it, he would take ſuch revenge as would make an example of them to other nations.

Peace being concluded, and Xicotencatl having taken his leave, Cortes ordered maſs to be celebrated as a thankſgiving to the Almighty. Every one will be able to imagine the diſpleaſure the Mexican ambaſſadors muſt have received in ſeeing ſuch an accommodation take place. They complained of it to Cortes, and blamed his eaſy credulity in the promiſes of men ſo perfidious as the Tlaſcalans. They told him, that

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thoſe appearances of peace were deſigned for no other purpoſe than to inſpire him with confidence to enter their capital, that they might there, without hazard, execute that which they had not been able to accompliſh by arms in the field; that it was fit he ſhould contraſt the conduct of their ſenate with that of the court of Mexico: the Tlaſcalans after having, with the ſemblance of peace, granted them permiſſion to enter their country, had yet not deſiſted from making war upon them, until they found all their aims and oppoſition fruitleſs. From the Mexicans, on the contrary, they had ſuffered no hoſtilities, had rather met with the moſt different reception, the greateſt reſpect and attention in every place of their dominions where they had paſſed, and from their ſovereign the moſt diſtinguiſhed proofs of benevolence and friendſhip. Cortes anſwered, that he never meant by ſuch connexion to do wrong to the court of Mexico, to which he acknowledged himſelf under high obligations; as he was deſirous of peace with all parties; that beſides he did not fear any thing from the Tlaſcalans, if they choſe to become his enemies; that as for him and the other Spaniards, it was the ſame thing whether they were attacked in a city or in the country, by night or by day, as they were ſkilled to conquer at all times, and in all places; that even on account of that very inſinuation which they had thrown out againſt the Tlaſcalans, he was deſirous of repairing to their city, to have an opportunity there of taking exemplary vengeance on their perfidy.

The Tlaſcalans were extremely diſtant from any ſuch diſingenouſneſs as was imputed to them by the Mexicans; for from that moment in which peace was decreed by the ſenate, they continued the moſt faithful allies of the Spaniards, as will appear in the ſequel. The ſenate deſired to have Cortes at Tlaſcala with all his troops, to confirm more effectually their ſtipulated friendſhip, and to treat ſeriouſly of a confederacy againſt the Mexicans, and had already, by means of their meſſengers, invited that general to accept of accommodation in their city; profeſſing the utmoſt regret at ſeeing ſuch illuſtrious friends of the republic ſuffering ſo many inconveniences.

The alliance with the Tlaſcalans was not the only fruit which the Spaniards reaped from their victories. In the ſame camp where he had received the Tlaſcalan ambaſſador, he was favoured with two other embaſ-

embaſſies from the republic of Huexotzinco, and the prince Ixtlilxochitl. The Huexotzincas, who had formerly been vaſſals of the crown of Mexico, and the enemies of the Tlaſcalans, had delivered themſelves from the dominion of the Mexicans, and confederated with the Tlaſcalans their neighbours, and now they imitated their example in making offers of alliance and confederacy to the Spaniards. The prince Ixtlilxochitl ſent ambaſſadors to Cortes, to congratulate him on his victories over the Tlaſcalans, and to invite him to make a journey to Teotlalpan, where he propoſed to unite his forces with thoſe of the Spaniards againſt the king of Mexico. Cortes, as ſoon as he was informed of the rank, pretenſions, and forces of that prince, readily accepted his alliance, and engaged to aſſiſt to place him upon the throne of Acolhuacan.

At the ſame time the ambaſſador, who was expected from Mexico, returned from that court with a preſent of jewels and gold, worth fifteen hundred ſequins, two hundred coſtly habits of feathers, and new ſuggeſtions from that monarch to divert the Spaniſh general from his journey to Mexico, and from any friendſhip with the Tlaſcalans. Such were the vain efforts of puſillanimity in Montezuma, while the great quantity of gold he daily expended in preſents to thoſe ſtrangers, was but ſo much more in purchaſe of the chains which were ſoon to fetter his liberty.

SECT. XXIII. Submiſſion of the republic of Tlaſcala to the Catholic king.

Six days had elapſed ſince the peace made with Tlaſcala, when the four lords of that republic, in order to induce the Spaniards to remove to Tlaſcala, made themſelves be tranſported in portable chairs or litters, with a numerous attendance to their camp. The mutual demonſtrations of joy and reſpect were extraordinary on both ſides. That famous ſenate, not contented with ratifying the alliance, of their own accord acknowledged obedience to the Catholic king, which was the more acceptable to the Spaniards, the more the Tlaſcalans had prized their liberty, which they had enjoyed from time immemorial. They complained with much ſhew of affection, of the diffidence of Cortes, and prevailed upon him by their entreaties to reſolve upon his departure for Tlaſcala the next day.

There was now a deficiency of fifty-five Spaniards of the number who had enliſted in Cuba, and thoſe remaining were for the moſt part

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wounded and diſpirited; and ſuch diſcontent and apprehenſions began to ſeize the ſoldiers, that they not only ſpoke diſreſpectfully of their chief in private, but alſo conjured him to return to Vera Cruz; but Cortes encouraged them, and by powerful arguments touching their honour, and his own example of fortitude and firmneſs in dangers and fatigue, he rekindled in them freſh zeal for his undertakings. At length they all ſeemed to conceive hopes of ſucceſs, from the confederacies they had made, to the projects of their general.

SECT. XXIV. Entry of the Spaniards into Tlaſcala.

The Mexican ambaſſadors whom Cortes ſtill detained with him, refuſed to accompany him to Tlaſcala; but he perſuaded them to go along with him, promiſing them, that they ſhould be perfectly ſecure under his protection. Having removed their doubts, he marched his army in good order and preparation for every event. In the cities of Tecompantzinco and Atlihuetzian, they were received with all poſſible courteſy, though not in a ſtyle equal to the magnificent entry they made into the capital, from which the four lords of the republic came out to meet the Spaniards with a numerous concourſe of the nobility, and ſo great a croud of inhabitants, that ſome have affirmed they amounted to a hundred thouſand people; a calculation, by no means improbable, conſidering the populouſneſs of Tlaſcala, and the ſurpriſing novelty of thoſe extraordinary ſtrangers, who awakened the curioſity of all that extenſive region. In all the ſtreets of the city were formed, according to the uſage of thoſe nations, arches of flowers and branches, and a confuſed muſic of inſtruments and acclamations reſounded from all ſides, accompanied with ſuch jubilee and rejoicing, that it appeared to be rather the celebration of the triumph of the republic than of that of its enemies. This day, ſtill commemorated in Tlaſcala, was the 23d of September, 1519.

That city was then one of the moſt conſiderable in the country of Anahuac. Cortes, in his letters to Charles V. affirms, that in grandeur, populouſneſs, buildings, and abundance of the neceſſaries of life, it exceeded Granada when that was taken from the Moors; and that at the market, of which he gives a deſcription, there daily aſſembled about thirty thouſand merchants and people of buſineſs. The ſame conqueror atteſts, that having obtained an order of the ſenate to make the houſes and inhabitants be numbered which were in the city,

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the villages, and hamlets of the republic, there were found upwards of fifty thouſand houſes, and more than five hundred thouſand inhabitants.

The Tlaſcalans had prepared, for the Spaniards and all their allies, a handſome and commodious dwelling. Cortes deſired that the Mexican ambaſſadors might be lodged in apartments near to his own, not only in reſpect to them, but alſo to baniſh from their minds any diſtruſt of the Tlaſcalans. The chiefs of the republic, in order to give the Spaniards a new proof of the ſincerity of their friendſhip, preſented to Cortes thirty beautiful young women. Cortes refuſed them at firſt, alledging, that the Chriſtian law forbid polygamy; but afterwards, to avoid giving offence, he accepted ſome of them as companions to Marina. In ſpite of this refuſal, they preſented him ſoon after five virgins of the firſt nobility, whom Cortes accepted for the ſake of ſtrengthening his friendſhip with the republic.

Encouraged by this ſucceſsful beginning, Cortes became deſirous of perſuading the chiefs of the republic and the nobles, to abandon their ſuperſtitious rites, and acknowledge the only true divinity; but although his reaſons were perſuaſive, and they confeſſed the power of that God whom the Spaniards adored, they could not, however, be induced to renounce their abſurd deities, becauſe they believed them diſpenſers of human felicity. "Our god Camaxtle," they ſaid, "grants us "victory over our enemies; our goddeſs Matlalcueje ſends rain to our "fields, and defends us from the inundation of Zahuapan (*b*). To each "of our gods we are indebted for a part of the happineſs of our lives, "and their anger, if provoked, might draw down upon the ſtate the "moſt ſevere puniſhment." Cortes, ſtimulated by a zeal too ardent and violent, was deſirous of treating the idols of Tlaſcala in the ſame manner as he had ſucceſsfully done thoſe of Chempoallan; but Olmedo, and other perſons of reſpect, diſſuaded him from ſo raſh an attempt, repreſenting to him, that ſuch an act of violence, beſides not being conducive to the promulgation of the goſpel, might prove the ruin of the Spaniards in a city ſo populous, and attached to ſuperſtition. Nevertheleſs, he did not ceaſe, during twenty days which he ſtopped

(*b*) A river of Tlaſcala.

there

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there, to reproach them with the cruelties of their ſacrifices, and to inculcate the purity of his ſyſtem of morality, the falſeneſs of their deities, and the exiſtence of a ſupreme Being, who governs all natural cauſes, and watches with moſt admirable providence over the preſervation of his creatures. Thoſe exhortations, made by a perſon of ſo great authority, and of whom the Tlaſcalans had formed a very elevated idea, although they did not produce all the effect deſired, had conſiderable influence, and ſo far moved the ſenate, that they conſented to break the cages, and ſet at liberty all the priſoners and ſlaves which were to be ſacrificed to their gods on ſolemn feſtivals, or other public occaſions of the ſtate.

Thus every day the alliance with the Tlaſcalans was more firmly eſtabliſhed, in ſpite of the repeated ſuggeſtions of the Mexican ambaſſadors to break it. Cortes, though well perſuaded of the ſincerity of the Tlaſcalans, had given orders to his troops to hold themſelves always prepared for whatever might happen. The ſenate was offended at this, and complained bitterly of his diffidence, after ſo many manifeſt proofs of their good faith; but Cortes excuſed it, by proteſting, that he did not ſo from any diffidence of the Tlaſcalans, but becauſe it was the practice of the Spaniards: this anſwer ſatisfied the ſenate, and the diſcipline of his ſoldiers pleaſed them ſo much, that Maxixcatzin propoſed to introduce it among the troops of the republic.

At length Cortes having procured, during the time he ſtayed in Tlaſcala, a diſtinct information of the city of Mexico, of the forces of that kingdom, and every other particular which could farther his projects, determined to continue his journey; but before he ſet out, he preſented a great number of the moſt beautiful habits which he had received from Montezuma, to the Tlaſcalans. He was doubtful of the route he ſhould purſue to that city. The Mexican ambaſſadors propoſed that he ſhould go by Cholula, where there was good accommodation prepared for all his people. The Tlaſcalans oppoſed that intention, by repreſenting the perfidy of the Cholulans, and adviſed him to proceed by Huexotzinco, a ſtate confederated equally with them and the Spaniards, but Cortes reſolved to go by Cholula, not only to pleaſe the ambaſſadors, but alſo to ſhew the Tlaſcalans the little regard he paid to the force of his enemies.

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SECT. XXV. Enmity between the Tlaſcalans and Cholulans.

The Cholulans had been formerly the allies of the Tlaſcalans; but upon the arrival of the Spaniards were confederated with the Mexicans, and the ſworn enemies of that republic. The cauſe of ſo great an enmity had been the perfidy of the Cholulans. In a battle with the Mexicans, while they were yet the allies of the Tlaſcalans, being in the vanguard of the army, by a ſudden evolution they put themſelves in the rear, and, attacking the Tlaſcalans behind while the Mexicans were upon their front, made a great ſlaughter of them. The hatred which this deteſtable treachery had raiſed in the breaſts of the Tlaſcalans made them anxious for an opportunity of revenge, and no time had appeared more favourable than now, when they were become confederated with the Spaniards. In order to inſpire Cortes with diſlike to them, and induce him to make war upon that ſtate, they acquainted him with its conduct towards him; that they had not ſent any meſſengers with compliments to him, whereas the Huexotzincas had done ſo, although their ſtate was at a much greater diſtance. They informed him alſo of the meſſage which they ſaid they had received from the Cholulans, reproaching them for their alliance with the Spaniards; calling them baſe and cowardly, and threatening them, that if they ſhould attempt any thing againſt their ſacred city they ſhould all periſh by being drowned; for among their other errors, they were perſuaded, that whenever they choſe they could, by raſing the walls of the ſanctuary of Quetzalcoatl, make ſuch large rivers ſpring from thence, as would in a moment overflow the city; and although the Tlaſcalans dreaded ſuch a cataſtrophe, the deſire of revenge overcame their fears.

Cortes, moved by theſe ſuggeſtions, ſent four noble Tlaſcalans to Cholula, to know why they had not paid the ſame regard which was ſhewn to him by the Huexotzincas. The Cholulans laid their excuſe on the enmity of the Tlaſcalans, in whom they never could repoſe any confidence *(c)*. This anſwer was brought by four common people,

(c) Torquemada adds, that the Cholulans retained the principal meſſenger of the Tlaſcalans, and with ſavage cruelty flayed his face and arms, and cut off his hands; but this account is unqueſtionably falſe, for ſo atrocious a proceeding could not remain unknown to the Spaniards; but neither Cortes, Bernal Diaz, nor any other of the firſt hiſtorians mention it. Cortes would not have omitted it in his letter to Charles V. to juſtify the ſeverity of his chaſtiſement of the Cholulans.

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which was conſidered as a manifeſt demonſtration of diſreſpect. Cortes being advertiſed of it by the Tlaſcalans ſent four of the Chempoalleſe, to tell the Cholulans that the embaſſy of a monarch ſo great as the king of Spain, ought not to have been entruſted to ſuch low meſſengers, nor were they themſelves worthy to hear it; to let them know, that the Catholic king was the true lord of all that country, and that in his name he came to demand homage of thoſe people; that thoſe who ſhould ſubmit to him would be honoured, and the rebels puniſhed according to their deſert; that therefore they ſhould make their appearance within three days in Tlaſcala, to give obedience to their ſovereign, otherwiſe they would be treated as enemies. The Cholulans, although it is to be ſuppoſed they treated ſo arrogant an embaſſy with burleſque, in order to diſſemble their malicious intention, preſented themſelves the next day to Cortes, requeſting him to excuſe their omiſſion, occaſioned by the enmity of the Tlaſcalans, declaring themſelves not only the friends of the Spaniards, but alſo the vaſſals of the king of Spain.

SECT. XXVI. Entry of the Spaniards into Cholula.

Having determined his route through Cholula, Cortes ſet out with all his people, and a conſiderable number of Tlaſcalan troops (*d*), all which he ſoon diſcharged, except ſix thouſand men, whom he choſe to accompany him. A little way before they arrived at Cholula, the principal lords and prieſts, with cenſers in their hands and muſical inſtruments, came out to meet him, and after having paid the uſual ceremonies of reſpect, they told the general, that he might enter with all his people and the Totonacas; but they could not admit their enemies the Tlaſcalans. To this Cortes conſented through complaiſance, and the Tlaſcalans remained encamped without the city, imitating in the diſpoſition of their camp, the order of their centinels, and other things, the military diſcipline of the Spaniards. At the entry of the Spaniſh army into Cholula, a ſimilar croud of people was collected, and the ſame ceremonies, acclamations, and reſpect, were obſerved, though not with the ſame ſincerity, as in Tlaſcala.

(*d*) Cortes ſays, that this army of the Tlaſcalans conſiſted of more than one hundred and forty-nine thouſand men. Bernal Diaz affirms, as an undoubted fact, which was well known to him, that it conſiſted only of fifty thouſand men. This number appears the moſt probable.

Cholula

Cholula was then a populous city, eighteen miles diſtant from Tlaſcala towards the ſouth, and about ſixty from Mexico towards the eaſt, and not leſs celebrated for the commerce of its inhabitants than its religion. It was ſituated, as it is at preſent, in a beautiful plain, and at a ſmall diſtance from that group of mountains which ſurround the valley of Mexico towards the eaſt. Its population at that time, as Cortes affirms, occupied about forty thouſand houſes, and there were as many in the circumjacent villages which were in the nature of ſuburbs to it. Its commerce conſiſted in manufactures of cotton, gems, and plates of clay, and it was much famed for its jewellers and potters. With reſpect to religion, it may be ſaid, that Cholula was the Rome of Anahuac. The celebrated Quetzalcoatl having paſſed ſo many years in that city, and ſhewn ſo much affection to his ſubjects, was the cauſe that after his apotheoſis, it was conſecrated by the moſt particular worſhip. The ſurpriſing multitude of temples which were there, and in particular the greater temple, erected upon an artificial mountain, which is ſtill exiſting, drew innumerable pilgrims, not only from the neighbouring cities, but likewiſe from the moſt diſtant provinces, to perform their devotions at that imagined holy ſpot.

Cortes was lodged, with all his troops, in ſome large buildings, where, during the two firſt days, they were abundantly ſupplied with proviſions; but very ſoon they began to grow ſcanty, until at laſt there was nothing furniſhed by the city but wood and water. This was not the only proof of their ſecret machinations and intentions; for every moment they diſcovered new indications of the treachery which they meditated. The Champoalleſe allies obſerved, that they had made holes and dug pits in the ſtreets of the city, in which they had fixed ſharp ſtakes, and covered them with earth, which it appeared was done for no other purpoſe than to wound and diſable the horſes. Eight men, who came from the camp of the Tlaſcalans, appriſed them that they had ſeen crouds of women and children coming out of the city; a certain ſign among thoſe nations of ſome impending commotion. Beſides, it was found out, that in ſome of the ſtreets they had formed entrenchments, and collected great heaps of ſtones upon the tops of the houſes. Laſtly, a Cholulan woman of rank, who had become enamoured of the beauty, the ſpirit, and diſcretion of Marina, intreated her to ſave

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herſelf in her houſe from the danger which threatened the Spaniards; upon which Marina took occaſion to inform herſelf of the whole plan of the conſpiracy, and immediately told Cortes of it. He heard from the mouth of the ſame perſon, that the Cholulans, with the aſſiſtance of twenty thouſand Mexicans (*e*), who were encamped near the city, had concerted to maſſacre all the Spaniards. Not contented with theſe diſcoveries, he charged Marina to uſe all her art to bring two prieſts to his dwelling, who confirmed all that had been communicated to her by her female friend.

Cortes, finding himſelf in ſuch hazard of utter deſtruction, reſolved to adopt the moſt effectual means for his ſafety. He ordered the principal perſons of the city into his preſence, and told them, that if they had any quarrel againſt the Spaniards, to declare it frankly, as became men of honour, and he would give them ſuitable ſatisfaction. They replied, that they were already ſatisfied with his conduct, and ready to ſerve him; that whenever he choſe to depart, he ſhould be abundantly provided with every thing that was neceſſary for his journey, and alſo troops of war for his ſecurity. Cortes accepted their offer, and fixed the next day for his departure. The Cholulans were content, as it appeared that every thing would turn out favourable to their treacherous deſign; but in order to enſure that ſtill more, they ſacrificed to their gods ten children, five of each ſex. Cortes called together his officers, unfolded to them the perfidious intentions of the Cholulans, and ordered them to give their ſentiments. Some were of opinion that their danger ſhould be ſhunned, by retreating to the city of Huexotzinco, which was hardly nine miles diſtant, or to Tlaſcala; but the majority referred themſelves to the determination of the general. Cortes gave the orders which ſeemed to him moſt ſuited to his purpoſe, proteſting that they could never be ſecure in Mexico unleſs they puniſhed that deceitful city with ſeverity. He ordered the auxiliary troops of Tlaſcala to ſtorm the city at ſun-riſe the next day, and to cut off every citizen without pardon to any one except women and children.

SECT. XXVII. Slaughter made in Cholula.

The day at length arrived, which wreaked diſaſter on Cholula. The Spaniards prepared their horſes, their artillery, their arms, and formed

(*e*) Bernal Diaz ſays, that the Mexican army, according to what he knew, conſiſted of twenty thouſand men. Cortes affirms, that the lords of Cholula confeſſed to him, that that army was not compoſed of leſs than fifty thouſand men.

them-

themſelves in order, in a ſquare of their dwelling, which was deſigned for the principal theatre of the approaching tragedy. The Cholulans repaired thither at break of day. The chiefs, with about forty nobles, and the baggage men entered into the halls and chambers to lift up the equipage, when ſuddenly guards were placed to prevent their eſcape. The Cholulan troops, or at leaſt great part of them, entered into the ſquare along with the principal lord of that city, at the requeſt, it is probable, of Cortes himſelf, who, mounting on horſeback, ſpoke to them in this manner: "Cholulans, I have endeavoured "to make you my friends; I have entered peaceably into your city, "and here you have received no wrong from me, nor any of my "friends; but, on the contrary, that you might have no ſubject of "complaint, I conſented that the auxiliary troops of the Tlaſcalans "ſhould not be admitted here: beſides, I have requeſted you to ſay freely, "if we had done you any injury, that you might have ſatisfaction; but "you have, with deteſtable perfidy, under the appearance of friend-"ſhip, laid a ſcheme to betray me, and deſtroy me and my people. I "know the whole depth of your bloody deſigns." Then calling aſide four or five Cholulans, he aſked them what had induced them to reſolve on ſo execrable an attempt? They replied, that the Mexican ambaſſador, to render an agreeable ſervice to their ſovereign, had enticed them to meditate their deſtruction. Cortes then, with a countenance full of indignation, thus addreſſed the ambaſſadors who were preſent: "Thoſe wretches, to excuſe their crimes, impute the trea-"chery to you and your king; but I neither believe you capable of "ſuch infamy, nor can I perſuade myſelf that the great monarch Mon-"tezuma would treat me like a cruel enemy, at the very time he is "giving me the ſincereſt proofs of his friendſhip; and as he could op-"poſe me with open force, that he would employ traitors to anticipate "him! Be aſſured, that I will pay regard to your perſons in the ſlaugh-"ter and blood we ſhall ſhed. To-day, thoſe traitors ſhall periſh, "and their city ſhall be convulſed. I call heaven and earth to witneſs, "that it is their perfidy which arms our hands for revenge, unnatural "to our hearts."

Having ſpoke this, and made the ſignal of attack by the diſcharge of a muſket, the Spaniards fell with ſuch fury upon thoſe miſerable vic-

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tims, that they did not leave one alive of all thoſe who were in the ſquare. The ſtreams of blood which flowed about, and the painful yells of the wounded and dying enemy, would have been ſufficient to have ſhocked and waked pity in every breaſt that was not fired with the fury of revenge. Having terminated the tragic ſcene within, they iſſued out to the ſtreets, and ſheathed their ſwords in the bodies of all the Cholulans they met. The Tlaſcalans, on their part, entered the city like famiſhed lions, their fierceneſs growing with the thirſt of the blood of their enemies, and eagerneſs to pleaſe their new allies. A ſtroke, ſo keen and unexpected, put the citizens immediately into diſorder; but having formed themſelves into ſeveral different ſquadrons, they made for ſome time a vigorous reſiſtance, until at laſt, perceiving the havock which the artillery made, and feeling the ſuperiority of the European arms, they went again into confuſion. The greater part of them ſought their ſafety in flight; ſome had recourſe to the ſuperſtitious hope of razing the walls of the temple to deluge the city: but, finding that expedient totally fruitleſs, they endeavoured to fortify themſelves in their houſes and temples. But neither did this avail, for the enemy ſet inſtant fire to every houſe where they met with any reſiſtance. The houſes and towers of the temples were in flames; the ſtreets diſcovered nothing but bloody or half-burnt carcaſes, and nothing was heard but the inſulting menacing clamours of the confederates, the feeble groans of dying men, curſes, and imprecations on the victors, and complaints to their gods why they had abandoned them in ſuch calamities. Amongſt the many who fled to the towers of the temples, there was but one which ſurrendered to the victors; all the reſt were either burnt to aſhes, or met a death leſs painful, by precipitating themſelves from thoſe heights.

By means of this horrid ſlaughter, in which upwards of ſix thouſand Cholulans *(f)* periſhed, the city became depopulated. The temples and houſes were plundered, the Spaniards ſeizing all the gems, gold, and ſilver, and the Tlaſcalans all the apparel, feathers, and ſalt. This tra-

(f) Las Cas has groſly diſfigured this event of Cholula. The revenge of the Spaniards was perhaps too rigorous, but their provocations were ſtrong. He relates it, as we find it, among the moſt faithful hiſtorians who were preſent, or were informed by the ancient Spaniards and Indians.

gedy

gedy was hardly finiſhed, when there appeared near Cholula an army of twenty thouſand men, ſent by way of ſuccour by the republic of Tlaſcala, under the command of general Xicotencatl. It was probable that this was owing to ſome diſpatch having been ſent the night before to the ſenate, by the chiefs of the Tlaſcalan troops, encamped without the city. Cortes returned thanks for the ſupply, preſented to Xicotencatl and his officers a part of the booty, and requeſted him to return with his army to Tlaſcala, as it was not now neceſſary; but he retained the ſix thouſand men who had aſſiſted him in the puniſhment of Cholula, that they might accompany him in his journey to Mexico. Thus did the alliance of the Spaniards with the Tlaſcalans become gradually more firm and eſtabliſhed.

SECT. XXVIII. Submiſſion of the Cholulans and Tepegacheſe to the crown of Spain.

Cortes having returned to his dwelling, where forty of the Cholulan nobility remained in a manner priſoners, he was requeſted by them to give way to mercy, after ſo much rigour, and to permit one or two of them to go and recall the women, children, and other fugitives, who were wandering in terror and diſmay through the mountains. Cortes, being now moved to pity, commanded a ceſſation of arms, and publiſhed a general pardon. Upon the report of this proclamation, ſuddenly ſome were ſeen to riſe from among the dead who had counterfeited death in order to eſcape it, and troops of fugitives coming from the mountains to the city, ſome bewailing the loſs of a ſon, ſome a brother, and ſome their huſbands. Cortes ordered the dead bodies to be carried off from the temples and the ſtreets, and ſet the nobles who were priſoners at liberty. A few days after, that city was again ſo well peopled it appeared to want none of its inhabitants. Here Cortes received the compliments of the Huxeotzincas and the Tlaſcalans, and an oath of allegiance to the crown of Spain from the Cholulans themſelves, and the Tepejacheſe nation, he adjuſted the differences between the two republics of Tlaſcala and Cholula, and re-eſtabliſhed their ancient friendſhip and alliance, which continued firm ever after. At length, in order to comply with the duties of humanity and religion, he made all the cages of the temples he broke, and ſet all the priſoners and ſlaves at liberty who were deſtined for the ſacrifices. He ordered the greater temple to be cleaned, and raiſed there the ſtandard of the croſs, after giving the Cholulans, as he did to all the other people among whom he ſtopped, ſome idea of the Chriſtian religion.

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SECT. XXIX. New embaſſy and preſents from the king of Mexico.

The Spaniſh general, elated by his ſucceſſes, or perhaps deſirous of intimidating Montezuma, charged the Mexican ambaſſadors to tell their maſter, that notwithſtanding he had formerly intended to enter peaceably into Mexico, on ſeeing and conſidering what had happened in Cholula, he was now determined to enter as an enemy, and to do him every evil he could. The ambaſſadors anſwered, that before he took a reſolution of that kind, he ought to make a more ſtrict enquiry into the conduct of the Cholulans, to certify himſelf of the good intentions of their ſovereign; that, if he thought proper, one of them would go to the court, and lay his complaints before the king. Cortes conſented to it, and after ſix days the ambaſſador returned, bringing a large preſent to the general, conſiſting of ten plates of gold, worth five thouſand ſequins; one thouſand five hundred habits, and a great quantity of proviſions; thanking him, in the name of his ſovereign, for the puniſhment inflicted on the perfidious Cholulans; and proteſting, that the army raiſed to ſurpriſe the Spaniards on their journey, conſiſted of the Acatzincheſe and Itzocaneſe nations, the allies of Cholula, who, although the ſubjects of the crown of Mexico, had taken up arms without any order from their ſovereign. This was confirmed by the aſſeverations of the ambaſſadors, and Cortes made an appearance of being perfectly ſatisfied.

It is not an eaſy matter to clear up the truth in this particular, neither can we avoid blaming the forwardneſs of ſome authors in aſſerting ſo freely what they do not know. Why ſhould the Cholulans, who were allowed by all to be a falſe deceitful nation, be given more credit than the Mexicans, and Montezuma himſelf, who from the eminence of his rank and character, was more worthy of faith? The invariably pacific diſpoſition of that monarch towards the Spaniards, having attempted no hoſtile ſtroke on many and thoſe favourable occaſions which occurred, to oppreſs them; and the moderation with which he always ſpoke of them, which no authors deny, make the excuſe made by the Cholulans improbable: but, on the other hand, it aſſumes an air of truth from ſome, though indirect proofs, of the enmity of Montezuma, and in particular from hoſtilities committed upon the garriſon of Vera Cruz by a powerful feudatory of the crown of Mexico.

Quauhpopoca,

Quauhpopoca, lord of Nauhtlan (called by the Spaniards Almeria), a city ſituated upon the coaſt of the Mexican gulf, thirty-ſix miles towards the north from Vera Cruz, and cloſe to the confines of the Mexican empire in that quarter, had orders from Montezuma to reduce the Totonacas to their wonted obedience, as ſoon as Cortes had retired from that coaſt. He, in compliance with thoſe orders, demanded of thoſe people with threats, the tribute which they were accuſtomed to pay to their ſovereign. The Totonacas, rendered inſolent from the favour of their new allies, anſwered with arrogance, that they would no longer pay homage to him who was no longer their king. Quauhpopoca, perceiving that his requeſts had no influence in bringing again under ſubordination men who had ſo much confidence in their new allies, and no reſpect for their ſovereign, having put himſelf at the head of the Mexican troops which were in the garriſons of thoſe frontiers, began to make incurſions into the ſettlements of Totonacapan, puniſhing them by hoſtilities for their rebellion. The Totonacas made their complaints to Juan de Eſcalante, governor of the garriſon of Vera Cruz, and intreated him to put a ſtop to the cruelty of the Mexicans, engaging alſo to aſſiſt him with a large number of troops. Eſcalante ſent an embaſſy to the Mexican chief to diſſuade him from hoſtilities, which he imagined could not be approved of by the king of Mexico, who had ſhewn ſo much deſire to favour the Spaniards, the protectors of the Totonacas. Quauhpopoca anſwered, that he knew better than him whether the puniſhment of thoſe rebels was or was not agreeable to the Mexican king; that if the Spaniards intended to ſupport them, he, with his troops, would meet him on the plain of Nauhtlan, that arms might decide their conteſt. The governor could not brook this anſwer; upon which he marched immediately to the appointed place with two horſes and two ſmall pieces of cannon, fifty Spaniſh infantry, and about ten thouſand Totonacas. Upon the firſt onſet of the Mexicans, the Totonacas were inſtantly thrown into confuſion, and the greater part took to flight; but to the utter ſhame of their cowardice, the fifty Spaniards courageouſly continued the battle, doing no little damage to the Mexicans. They, having never experienced the violence of the artillery and the European mode of engagement, retreated in terror to the neighbouring city of Nauhtlan. The

Spaniards

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Spaniards purſued them with fury, and ſet fire to ſome houſes; but the victory coſt the Spaniards the life of the governor, who died of his wounds in three days after; and of ſix or ſeven ſoldiers, and a number of Totonacas. One of theſe ſoldiers, who had a large head and fierce aſpect, was taken priſoner and ſent to Mexico by Quauhpopoca, but having died of his wounds in his way to that city, they only carried his head to Montezuma, the appearance of which ſo ſhocked and daunted that king, that he would not have it offered to his gods in any temple of the court.

Cortes received intelligence of theſe revolutions before he left Cholula *(g)*; but did not think proper to mention them nor diſcover his uneaſineſs, leſt it might have diſcouraged his ſoldiers.

SECT. XXXI. Journey of the Spaniards to Tlalmanalco.

Having nothing more to do in Cholula, he purſued his journey to Mexico with all his Spaniards, ſix thouſand Tlaſcalans, and ſome Huexotzincan and Cholulan troops. At Izcalpan, a village of Huexotzinco, fifteen miles diſtant from Cholula, the chiefs of Huexotzinco, came again to pay their reſpects to him, and to advertiſe him, that there were two ways of going to Mexico; the one, an open and well-made road, which led to ſome precipices where there was reaſon to apprehend ſome ambuſcades of the enemy; the other was newly ſtopped up, and obſtructed with trees cut down on purpoſe, which however was of the two the ſhorter and more ſecure route. Cortes availed himſelf of this intimation, and in ſpite of the Mexicans, made the obſtacles in this way be removed, under pretence that the difficulty was rather an incitement to the courage and ſpirits of the Spaniards; and continued his journey through that great wood of pines and oaks, until he aſcended to the top of a high mountain, called *Ithualco*, between the two volcanos Popocatepec and Iztaccihuatl, where they found ſome large houſes built for the accommodation of the merchants of Mexico. There they were able to judge of the bold undertaking of the captain Diego de Ordaz, who a few days before, in order to diſplay to thoſe people the courage of his nation, mounted, along with nine other ſoldiers, to the higheſt ſummit of Popocatepec, although he could not ſee its mouth, or the vent of that great volcano, on account of

(*g*) All, or nearly all hiſtorians ſay, that intelligence of this revolution reached Cortes when he was in Mexico; but Cortes affirms, that he had it in Cholula.

the

the deep ſnow which lay there, and the clouds of ſmoke and aſhes which it threw up from its bowels. (*b*)

From the top of Ithualco the Spaniards got their firſt view of the beautiful valley of Mexico, but with very different impreſſions from the proſpect; ſome of them delighted in the ſight of its lakes, its pleaſant lying plains, its verdant mountains, and numerous and ſplendid cities, which were ſituated within and around thoſe lakes; others revived their hopes of enriching themſelves with the plunder of ſo great an extent of country as they there diſcovered; but the more prudent of thoſe adventurers, on beholding ſo populous a territory, reflected on the temerity of encountering the perils before them, and were ſuddenly ſo checked by their apprehenſions, that they would have immediately returned to Vera Cruz, had not Cortes, by making uſe of his authority and the reaſons ſuggeſted by his fruitful genius, infuſed into them freſh ardour for the undertaking.

In the mean while Montezuma, in conſternation at the event of Cholula, retired to the palace Tlillancalmecatl, deſtined for occaſions of grief, and continued there eight days, faſting and obſerving the uſual auſterities, in order to obtain the protection of his gods. From this place of retirement he ſent four perſons of his court with a preſent to Cortes, and new prayers and entreaties to diſſuade him from his journey; offering to pay an annual tribute to the king of Spain, and to give four loads of gold to the Spaniſh general (*i*), and one to each of his captains and ſoldiers, if they would, from that place where they might be found by his ambaſſadors, depart for their native country. In ſuch apprehenſions and terror did the ſmall body of Spaniards keep this ſuperſtitious prince! He could not have made uſe of more diligence and arts to ſhun their ſight, had he foreſeen all the misfortunes

(*b*) Bernal Diaz, and almoſt all hiſtorians, ſay that Ordaz aſcended to the top of Popocatepec, and obſerved the mouth of that famous mountain; but Cortes, who knew better, ſays not. Nothwithſtanding Ordaz obtained from the Catholic king a volcano to be put in his ſhield of arms. This great undertaking was reſerved for Montagno, and others Spaniards, who, after the conqueſt of Mexico, not only obſerved the dreadful mouth of that volcano, but entered there, at the utmoſt riſk of their lives, and got out from it a large quantity of ſulphur to make powder for their fire-arms.

(*i*) The ordinary load of a Mexican having been about fifty Spaniſh pounds, or eight hundred ounces, we may conjecture, conſidering the number of the Spaniards, that what Montezuma was willing to give them to diſſuade them from their journey to the court, was equal to more than three millions of ſequins.

BOOK VIII. they were to bring upon him. The ambaſſadors joined Cortes at Ithualco; the preſent they brought him conſiſted of ſeveral works of gold, which were valued at fifteen hundred ſequins. Cortes ſhewed them every poſſible reſpect and attention, and anſwered by returning thanks to the king for the preſent and his magnificent promiſes, to which he would be able to return good ſervices; but at the ſame time declaring, that he could not return back without making himſelf blameable for diſobedience to his ſovereign, and promiſing not to be the means on his part of the ſmalleſt injury to the ſtate; and that, if after having explained to his majeſty the embaſſy which he bore, and which he could not truſt with any other perſon, he ſhould not approve of the longer ſtay of the Spaniards in his dominions, he would without delay ſet out on his return to his native country.

Montezuma's uneaſineſs was increaſed by the ſuggeſtions of the prieſts, and particularly by the account which they gave of ſome ſayings of their falſe oracles, and ſome terrible viſions which they ſaid they had during this time. He was at laſt thrown into ſuch alarm and conſternation, that, without waiting for the iſſue of the laſt embaſſy to the Spaniards, he held a new council with the king of Tezcuco, his brother Cuitlahuatzin, and ſome other perſons whom he uſed to adviſe with, all of whom maintained their former opinions; Cuitlahuatzin, that of not admitting the Spaniards to enter the court, and to make them by gentleneſs or force to quit the kingdom; while Cacamatzin was for receiving them as ambaſſadors, as the king had ſtrength enough to cruſh them, if they ſhould militate either againſt his royal perſon or the ſtate. Montezuma, who had hitherto conſtantly adhered to the opinion of his brother, now embraced that of the king of Tezcuco, but at the ſame time he charged this ſame king to go to meet the Spaniards, and to endeavour to diſſuade the general from his journey to the court; Cuitlahuatzin then turning to the king his brother, ſaid, "The gods deſire, O king, that you do not receive "into your houſe thoſe who will drive you from it, and that you "would remedy the evil while you ſtill have time and means to do it." "What ſhall we do," returned the king, "if our friends, and what "is more our gods, inſtead of favouring us, proſper our enemies? I "am reſolved, and wiſh that all would be reſolute, not to fly nor

ſhew

" ſhew any cowardice, happen what will—but I pity the aged and " the young, who have no ſtrength and can make no defence!"

Cortes having diſmiſſed the Mexican ambaſſadors, moved with his troops from Ithualco, and proceeded through Amaquemecan and Tlalmanalco, two cities about nine miles diſtant from each other, and ſituated near the baſe of thoſe mountains. Amaquemecan, with its adjacent hamlets, contained two thouſand inhabitants (*k*). At thoſe places the Spaniards were well received, and ſeveral chiefs of that province viſited Cortes, and preſented him gold and ſome ſlaves; they complained bitterly of the oppreſſion they ſuffered from the king of Mexico and his miniſters, in the ſame terms made uſe of by thoſe of Chempoalla and Chialuitztla, and at the ſuggeſtion of the Chempoalleſe and Tlaſcalans, who accompanied Cortes, entered into a confederacy with the Spaniards for the recovery of their liberty. In ſhort, the farther the Spaniards advanced into the country, the more they continued to increaſe their forces; like a rivulet, which, by the acceſſion of other ſtreams, ſwells in its courſe by degrees into a large river.

From Tlalmanalco the army marched to Ajotzinco, a village ſituated upon the ſouthern bank of the lake of Chalco (*l*), where there was a harbour for the veſſels of merchants who trafficked with the countries to the ſouthward of Mexico. Curioſity to view the quarters of the Spaniards coſt very dear to ſome of the Mexicans, for the Spaniſh centinels imagining them to be ſpies, from the apprehenſions they were conſtantly under of ſome treachery, ſhot about fifteen of them that night. The following day, juſt as they were ready to march, ſome Mexican nobles arrived with intelligence, that the king of Tezcuco was come to viſit the Spaniſh general in the name of the king of Mexico his uncle. It was not long before the king himſelf joined them, borne in a litter, adorned with fine feathers, on the ſhoulders of four of his domeſtics, and accompanied by a numerous and brilliant

SECT. XXXII. Viſit of the king of Tezcuco to Cortes.

(*k*) Amaquemecan, called by the Spaniards Mecamecca, is at preſent a village no otherwiſe noted than for having been the birth-place of the celebrated nun Joan Agnes of the Croſs, a woman of wonderful genius and uncommon learning.

(*l*) Solis confounds Amaquemecan with Ajotzinco; Amaquemecan was never ſituated, as he ſays, on the border of the lake, but at twelve miles diſtance from it, upon the ſide of a mountain.

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retinue of Mexican and Tezcucan nobility. As ſoon as he came in ſight of the Spaniſh general, he alighted from the litter and began walking on foot, preceded by ſome of his ſervants, who induſtriouſly removed out of his way every thing which could either offend his feet or his ſight. The Spaniards were aſtoniſhed at this pomp, and from thence began to form conjectures of the parade and grandeur which muſt attend the king of Mexico. Cortes went to the door of his dwelling to meet him, and ſaluted him with a profound bow, which was returned by the king in touching the earth with his right hand and then lifting it to his mouth. He entered with an air of lordlineſs and majeſty into one of the halls, ſat himſelf down, congratulated the general and his officers on their happy arrival, and ſignified the particular pleaſure his uncle the king of Mexico had in forming a friendſhip and correſpondence with the monarch of the Eaſt, by whom they were ſent into that country; but at the ſame time, he exaggerated the difficulties neceſſary to be overcome in order to go to court, and requeſted Cortes to change his reſolution if he deſired to pleaſe the king. Cortes anſwered, that if he returned back without delivering his embaſſy he would fail in his duty, and would give the utmoſt diſpleaſure to his ſovereign who had ſent him, and particularly when he had found himſelf ſo near to the court after having ſurmounted the dangers of ſo long a journey. *If it is ſo,* ſaid the king, *we will ſee each other at court*; upon which taking polite leave, after being preſented with ſome European toys, he left behind him a part of the nobility, that they might attend Cortes on his journey.

From Ajotzinco the Spaniards marched to Cuitlahuac, a city founded upon a little iſland in the lake of Chalco, which, though ſmall, was accounted by Cortes the moſt beautiful he had hitherto ſeen. This city communicated with the main land by means of two large commodious roads, conſtructed on the lake; the one to the ſouth, which was two miles in length; the other to the north, which was more than two miles in length. The Spaniards paſſed along, delighted to ſee the multitude and beauty of the cities ſituated on the lake, the temples and towers which roſe above the other buildings, the trees and ſhrubbery which beautified the inhabited places, the fields and floating

floating gardens of the lake, and the innumerable little veſſels plying upon it; but at the ſame time, not a little timorous at ſeeing themſelves ſurrounded by an immenſe crowd of people, which collected there from all places to obſerve them; on which account Cortes commanded his people to proceed in good order and to be prepared for accidents, and cautioned the Indians not to obſtruct the way nor come too near the ranks, unleſs they choſe to be treated as enemies. In Cuitlahuac they were well accommodated and entertained. The lord of that city complained in ſecret to Cortes of the tyranny of the king of Mexico, entered into a confederacy with him, and informed him of the moſt convenient way to go to the court, and the conſternation into which the oracles of the gods, the phenomena in the heavens, and the ſucceſs of the Spaniſh arms, had thrown Montezuma.

SECT. XXXIII. Viſit of the princes of Tezcuco, and entrance of the Spaniards into that court.

From Cuitlahuac they proceeded by the other road of the lake towards Iztapalapan, but in the way Cortes was entertained with a new piece of good fortune. The prince Ixlilxochitl finding that Cortes was not to make his journey through Calpolalpan, where he was waiting for him, reſolved to meet him on the road to Iztapalapan: he marched with a conſiderable number of troops, and paſſed cloſe to Tezcuco: this having been known to the prince Coanacotzin, his brother, who, ſince the rupture which, as we have already mentioned, happened three years before between them, had been totally alienated from him, either moved by fraternal affection, or led on by the hopes of the greater advantages to be derived from the union of both their intereſts, came alſo to meet with him upon this road: here they mutually exchanged ſentiments, were reconciled, and united together in order to make a confederacy with the Spaniards. They travelled together until they came to Iztapalatenco, where they joined the ſtrangers. Cortes, upon ſeeing ſo many armed troops, was a little uneaſy, but being informed of the rank of the perſons who were come to find him, and the motive of their coming, he went out to meet them, and the uſual compliments having paſſed between them, the two princes invited him to the court of Tezcuco, to which he allowed himſelf to be eaſily perſuaded to go, from the great ſervice he hoped to gain by the prince

BOOK VIII. prince Ixtlilxochitl, whoſe attachment to the Spaniards was now ſtrongly apparent.

Tezcuco then, though ſomewhat inferior to Mexico in ſplendour and magnificence, was the largeſt and moſt populous city of the country of Anahuac: its population, including the cities of Huexotla, Coatlichan, and Atenco, which were ſo near as to appear like its ſuburbs, occupied one hundred and forty thouſand houſes: to the Spaniards it ſeemed twice as large as Seville. The grandeur of the temples and royal palaces, the beauty of the ſtreets, the fountains and gardens, furniſhed ample variety of ſubject for their admiration. Cortes entered into this great city accompanied by the two princes and many of the Acolhuan nobility, amidſt an infinite concourſe of people. He was lodged with all his army in the principal palace of the king, where the treatment to his perſon was ſuitable to the dwelling. There the prince Ixtlilxochitl explained his pretended right to the kingdom of Acolhuacan, and his complaints againſt his brother Cacamatzin and the king of Mexico his uncle. Cortes promiſed to put him in poſſeſſion of the throne, as ſoon as he had finiſhed his negociations in Mexico; and, without ſtopping in that court, he marched towards Iztapalapan.

SECT. XXXIV. Entry of the Spaniards into Iztapalapan.

Iztapalapan was a large and beautiful city, ſituated towards the point of that ſmall peninſula which is between the two lakes of Chalco to the ſouth and Tezcuco to the north: from this peninſula a road led to the little iſland of Mexico, which was paved for more than ſeven miles, and made on the lake many years before. The population of Iztapalapan conſiſted then of more than twelve thouſand houſes, built chiefly on ſeveral little iſlands contiguous to each other and the ſame peninſula, cloſe to which were innumerable floating fields and gardens. This city was then governed by the prince Cuitlahuatzin, brother of Montezuma, and his immediate ſucceſſor in the crown of Mexico, who, together with his other brother Matlatzincatzin lord of the city of Cojohuacan, received Cortes with the ſame ceremonies uſed by the other lords through whoſe cities he paſſed. He was complimented in an elegant harangue, and he, and his troops which accompanied him, lodged in his own palace. This was an extenſive and moſt capacious

edifice of ſtone and lime, freſh built, and not yet completed: beſides many halls and chambers of excellent accommodation, the roofs of which were cedar, and the walls covered with fine cotton tapeſtry, and beſides many large ſquares where the allied troops were quartered, it had a garden of ſurprizing extent and beauty, already deſcribed by us when we treated of the agriculture of the Mexicans. After dinner the prince conducted his gueſts to this garden, where they received great recreation, and were impreſſed with a very elevated idea of Mexican magnificence. In this city the Spaniards obſerved, that inſtead of murmurings and complaints as elſewhere, they heard nothing but praiſes of the government; ſuppoſed to have been owing to the neighbourhood of the court, which made the inhabitants more cautious in ſpeaking.

The next day the Spaniards marched along that road which united, as we have already mentioned, Iztapalapan with Mexico, which was interſected by ſeven ſmall canals for the paſſage of boats from one lake to the other, and over theſe were wooden bridges for the convenience of paſſengers, which lifted up eaſily when it was neceſſary to obſtruct the paſſage of an enemy. After having paſſed through Mexicaltzinco, and viewed Colhuacan, Huitzilopocho, Cojohuacan, and Mixcoac, cities all ſituated upon the borders of the lake, they arrived, amidſt an immenſe concourſe of people, at a place called *Xoloc*, where this and the road of Cojohuacan met each other. In the angle formed by theſe two roads, which is not more than half a league diſtant from the capital, there was a baſtion with two little towers, ſurrounded by a wall more than ten feet high, with battlements, two entrances, and a draw-bridge; a place moſt memorable in the hiſtory of Mexico, from having been the camp of the Spaniſh general in the ſiege of that great city; there the army made a halt, to receive the compliments of more than a thouſand Mexican nobles, all uniformly dreſſed, who, in paſſing before the Spaniſh general, made a bow with the uſual ceremony of touching the earth and kiſſing the hand.

SECT. XXV. Entry of the Spaniards into Mexico.

Theſe compliments being over, in which the ſpace of an hour was conſumed, the Spaniards continued their courſe, all in as regular order as if they had been going to the field of battle. A little way before

they

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reception from the king and nobility.

they reached the city, Cortes was informed that the king of Mexico was coming to meet him; and a little after he appeared, with a moſt numerous and noble attendance. Three nobles preceded, each holding up in his hand a golden rod, as the inſignia of majeſty, by which the people were advertiſed of the preſence of their ſovereign. Montezuma came richly clad in a litter covered with plates of gold, which four nobles bore on their ſhoulders, under the ſhade of a paraſol of green feathers embroidered with fancy works of gold; he wore hanging from his ſhoulders a mantle adorned with the richeſt jewels of gold and precious ſtones, on his head a thin crown of the ſame metal, and upon his feet ſhoes of gold tied with ſtrings of leather worked with gold and gems; he was accompanied by two hundred lords, dreſt in a ſtyle ſuperior to the other nobles, but all barefooted, two by two, keeping cloſe on each ſide to the walls of the houſes, to ſhew the reſpect they bore to their ſovereign. As ſoon as the king and the Spaniſh general ſaw each other, both alighted, Cortes from his horſe, and the king from his litter, who began to walk leaning on the arms of the king of Tezcuco and the lord of Iztapalapan. Cortes, after having made a profound bow to the king, approached him to put about his neck a ſmall cord of gold, on which were ſtrung glaſs beads which appeared like gems, and the king bowed his head to receive it (*m*); Cortes was alſo going to embrace him, but the two lords did not permit it. The general expreſſed in a ſhort ſpeech, as the circumſtances required, his benevolence, his reſpect, and the pleaſure he had in the knowledge of ſo great a monarch. Montezuma anſwered him in few words, and having performed the uſual ceremony of touching the earth and kiſſing the hand, he in return for the preſent of the glaſs beads, gave him two necklaces of beautiful mother of pearl, from which hung ſome large cray-fiſh of gold in imitation of nature: he charged the prince Cuitlahuatzin to conduct Cortes to his dwelling, and he himſelf retired with the king of Tezcuco.

(*m*) Solis, in his account of that meeting, makes four miſtakes: 1. He ſays, that the preſent made by Cortes was not a band or chain of glaſs. 2. That thoſe two lords who accompanied Montezuma did not permit Cortes to put it about his neck. 3. That they did it with ſome diſdain. 4. That they were reprimanded by the king. The whole of this is falſe, invented at caprice, and contrary to the account given by Cortes himſelf.

They

The nobility as well as the populace, who, from the tops, doors, and windows of the houſes, were obſerving all that paſſed, were equally ſurprized and aſtoniſhed at the ſight of ſo many extraordinary objects preſented to their eyes, and the unheard of complaiſonce of the king, which contributed much to raiſe the character of the Spaniards. The latter, full of wonder at ſeeing the grandeur of the city, the magnificence of the buildings, and the multitude of inhabitants, marched along that grand and ſpacious way, which, without varying the leaſt from a right line, continued the road of Iztapalapan, built upon the lake, to the ſouthern gate of the greater temple, admiration alternately giving way to fear in their minds for their fate, ſeeing ſo ſmall a number of them in the center of a ſtrange and populous kingdom. Thus they travelled on for near a mile and a half within the city, unto the palace deſtined for their reception, which formerly belonged to king Axajacatl, not far diſtant from the weſtern gate of the ſame temple. Here Montezuma, who had gone before, waited for them. When Cortes arrived at the gate of that palace, Montezuma took him by the hand, led him into a large hall, made him ſit down upon a foot-ſtool ſimilar in form to thoſe of the altars of the moderns, and covered with a fine tapeſtry of cotton, and cloſe to a wall alſo covered with a tapeſtry embroidered with gold and gems; and, taking leave of him, ſaid to him "You and your companions are now in your own houſe, refreſh and "repoſe yourſelves; I will return ſhortly."

The king went to his palace, and Cortes immediately ordered a volley of all the artillery to be fired, in order to awe and intimidate the Mexicans by the ſound: in the mean while, he went to ſee all the chambers of the palace where his people were to lodge. This edifice was ſo large, that both the Spaniards and their allies, who, together with their women and ſervants whom they brought with them, exceeded ſeven thouſand in number, were accommodated in it; every where there was the greateſt cleanlineſs and neatneſs, almoſt all the chambers had beds of mats, of ruſhes, and palm, according to the cuſtom, and other mats in a round form for pillows, with coverlets of fine cotton, and ſeats made of ſingle pieces of wood; ſome chambers had the floor covered with mats, and the walls alſo covered with tapeſtries of cotton of various colours. The walls were moderately thick, and at certain

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distances there were little towers; the Spaniards therefore found every thing which they could wish for their security. The indefatigable and cautious general immediately distributed his guards, placed a battery of his cannon facing the gate of the palace, and took as much care to fortify himself as if he had expected to be assaulted that night by his enemies. That day there was a magnificent entertainment prepared for Cortes and his officers, and served by the nobility, and for the rest of the army were brought various and abundant provisions, though of an inferior quality. This day, not more memorable to the Spaniards than to the Mexicans, was the eighth day of November, 1519, seven months after their arrival in the country of Anahuac.

BOOK IX.

Conferences of king Montezuma with the Spaniſh general; impriſonment of the kings of Mexico and Acolhuacan, and other lords; cruel puiſhment of Quauhpopoca; attempts of the governor of Cuba againſt Cortes, and the defeat of Panfilo Narvaez; the killing of many of the nobles, and inſurrection of the people againſt the Spaniards; battle of Otompan, and retreat of the Spaniards to Tlaſcala; election of king Cuitlahuatzin; victories of the Spaniards in Tepejacac, in Xaltatzinco, in Tecamachalco, and in Quauquechollan; havoc made by the ſmall-pox; death of king Cuitlahuatzin, and the princes Maxizcatzin and Cuicuitzcatzin; election in Mexico of the king Quauhtemotzin.

BOOK IX.

SECT. I. Firſt conference and new preſents of the king Montezuma.

AFTER the Speniards had dined and ordered every thing neceſſary for their ſecurity, the king returned, acccompanied by many of the nobility to viſit them. Cortes came to meet him along with his officers, and both parties entered together into the principal hall, where they quickly placed another footſtool cloſe to that of the Spaniſh general. The king preſented to him many curious pieces of work of gold, ſilver, and feathers, and more than five thouſand very fine dreſſes of cotton. Having at laſt ſat himſelf down, he made Cortes ſit down alſo, while every other perſon remained ſtanding. Cortes in lofty expreſſions proteſted his gratitude to him, and as he was proceeding in his diſcourſe Montezuma interrupted him, with theſe words: "Brave general, and you his companions, all my domeſtics "and courtiers are witneſſes of the pleaſure I have received from your "happy arrival at this court; and if, hitherto, there has been any "appearance of a wiſh to oppoſe it, ſo much has only been done to hu-"mour my ſubjects. Your fame has enlarged objects and alarmed "minds. It was reported that you were immortal gods; that you "came mounted on wild beaſts of tremendous ſize and fierceneſs;

BOOK IX. "and, that you darted thunder with which the earth trembled: ſome "related, that you were monſters thrown up by the ſea; that the "inſatiable thirſt of gold made you abandon your native country; "that you were greatly addicted to pleaſures; and ſuch gluttons, that "one of you eat as much as ten of us: but all theſe errors are diſſi- "pated by the experience which my ſubjects have had of you; now "it is known that you are mortal men like us, although differing in "complexion and beard; we have now ſeen with our own eyes that "thoſe wild beaſts ſo renowned, are only ſtags more corpulent than "ours; and, that your pretended thunder and lightning are only a "more artificial ſpecies of ſhooting tubes, whoſe balls are puſhed with "more force, and do more hurt than ours: with regard to your per- "ſonal qualifications, we are well informed by thoſe who have had "communication with you, that you are kind and generous, that you "patiently endure misfortunes, that you are not diſpoſed to ſeverity, "unleſs againſt thoſe who provoke your anger by hoſtilities, nor "make uſe of your arms but in defence of your perſons.

"I do not doubt that you will in like manner have baniſhed from "your minds, or that you ſoon will baniſh, thoſe falſe ideas with which "you may have been impreſſed by the flattery of my vaſſals or the adu- "lation of my enemies: ſome of them may have told you that I am "one of the gods, and that I put on at pleaſure the form of a lion, "a tyger, or any other animal; but now you ſee (taking hold with "his fingers of the ſkin of his arm) that I am of fleſh and bone like "other mortals, although more noble by birth and more powerful "from the elevation of my rank. The Chempoalleſe, who, under "your protection, have renounced obedience to me (although their "rebellion ſhall not paſs unpuniſhed) will have made you believe, "that the walls and roofs of my palaces are of gold, but your own eyes "have now undeceived you: this is one of my palaces, and you here "ſee that the walls are made of ſtone and lime, and the roofs of wood. "I will not deny that my riches are great, but they are exaggerated by "my ſubjects: ſome of them will have complained to you of my "cruelty and tyranny; but they term the lawful exerciſe of the ſu- "preme authority tyranny, and call that cruelty which is but the ne- "ceſſary rigour of juſtice.

"Abandoning,

" Abandoning therefore all falſe conceptions occaſioned to either " of us by unjuſt repreſentations, I accept the embaſſy of your king " who ſends you; I reſpect his friendſhip, and offer all my kingdom " to his obedience; ſince from the ſigns we have obſerved in the hea- " vens, and what we have ſeen in you, the period ſeems to be arrived " when the predictions of our anceſtors are to be fulfilled, that is, that " there were to come from the quarter of the Eaſt, certain men dif- " ferent in habit and in cuſtoms from us, who were to become lords " of all this country; for we are not the original people of this land: " It is not many years ſince our anceſtors came here from the regions " of the North, and we have not ruled theſe people but as the vice- " roys of Quetzalcoatl our god and lawful ſovereign."

Cortes anſwered, by thanking him warmly for the ſingular kind- neſſes he had hitherto received from him, and for the honourable idea he had formed of the Spaniards. He told him he was ſent by the greateſt monarch of Europe, who, although he might aſpire to ſome thing higher in virtue of his being the deſcendant of Quetzalcoatl, nevertheleſs, he contented himſelf with eſtabliſhing a confederacy and perpetual friendſhip with his majeſty and his ſucceſſors; that the end of his embaſſy was not to take away from any one that which he poſ- ſeſſed, but that of announcing a true religion, and communicating ſome important information which would improve his government, and ren- der his vaſſals happy; this he would do upon another occaſion, if his majeſty would vouchſafe to hear him. The king aſſented to his propo- ſal, and having informed himſelf of the rank and condition of every one of the Spaniards, he took leave, and ſome little time after he ſent them a large preſent, conſiſting of ſome works of gold, and three bales of fine feathers, dreſſes for each of the officers, and two bales of dreſſes of fine cotton for each of the ſoldiers. This proſperous beginning might have ſecured to the Spaniards the quiet poſſeſſion of all that vaſt monarchy, if they had conducted themſelves with prudence equal to their courage (*n*).

(*n*) The learned and judicious Acoſta, treating of the firſt conference with Montezuma, in book vii. chap. 25. of his Hiſtory ſays, " Many are of opinion, that conſidering the ſtate of " things on that firſt day, it would have been eaſy for the Spaniards to have done with the king " and the kingdom whatever they pleaſed, and to have communicated to them the law of Jeſus " Chriſt with peace and contentment to all." &c.

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SECT. II. Visit of Cortes to the king.

The next day Cortes being desirous to pay his visit to the king, sent to demand an audience, and obtained it so speedily, that those who brought him the answer of the king were the persons themselves appointed to introduce ambassadors, and were to conduct him and instruct him in the ceremonials of that court. Cortes dressed himself in his most splendid habit, and took along with him the captains Alvarado, Sandoval, Velasquez, and Ordaz, and also five soldiers. They proceeded to the royal palace, amidst an immense multitude of people, and as soon as they reached the first gate, the persons who accompanied them ranged themselves in two files, one on each side of them, as it was deemed a want of respect to majesty to enter in a crowded manner. After passing through three courts, and some halls, to the last antichamber in order to come at the hall of audience, they were politely received by several lords who kept guard, and were forced to put off their shoes, and to cover their pompous dresses with some coarse garments. When they entered the hall of audience, the king made some steps towards Cortes and took him by the hand, and giving a look of kindness to all the rest, he made them all sit down. Their conference was long on different subjects. The king asked several questions concerning the government and natural productions of Spain; and Cortes, after having satisfied him in every thing, artfully led the discourse upon matters of religion. He explained to him the unity of God, the creation of the world, the severity of the judgments of God, the glory with which he rewards the just, and the eternal punishments to which he condemns the wicked. Then he spoke of the rites of Christianity, and in particular of the pure and unbloody sacrifice of the mass; to draw a comparison between it and the inhuman sacrifices of the Mexicans, declaiming warmly against the barbarous cruelty of sacrificing human victims, and feeding on their flesh. Montezuma answered, that with respect to the creation of the world they were of one sentiment; as that which Cortes had just said had been communicated to him by his ancestors; that as to the rest he had already been informed by his ambassadors of the religion of the Spaniards. I, however, he added, do not doubt of the goodness of the God whom you adore; but if he is kind to Spain, our gods are equally so to Mexico, as the experience of many centuries has shewn to us. Spare yourselves

ſelves therefore the trouble of endeavouring to induce me to leave their worſhip. With regard to our ſacrifices, I do not know why we are to be blamed for ſacrificing to the gods thoſe men who, either on account of their own crimes, or from their fate in war, are deſtined to death. But although Cortes did not ſucceed in converting him to the Chriſtian religion, he obtained a promiſe, as has been affirmed, that there never ſhould be any human fleſh prepared for the royal table, either becauſe the reaſon urged by Cortes againſt it, wakened in his mind the horror natural at ſuch food, or becauſe he was deſirous of ſhewing compliance with the Spaniards in ſome of their demands. On this occaſion alſo he diſplayed the royal beneficence towards them, preſenting to Cortes, and his four officers, ſeveral labours of gold, and ten bales of fine dreſſes of cotton, and a golden necklace to every ſoldier.

Cortes having returned to his quarters (for thus we may hereafter name the palace of Axajacatl where the Spaniards were lodged, he began to reflect on the danger which ſurrounded him in the heart of a city ſo ſtrong and populous, and reſolved to conciliate the minds of the nobles by good conduct, obſequious and kind manners, and ordered his people to behave themſelves with ſo much guard and diſcretion that the Mexicans might have nothing to complain of: but while he appeared to watch with diligence to keep peace, he was revolving in his mind moſt daring and raſh deſigns, totally adverſe to tranquillity; and in order to bring them to maturity, it being neceſſary to inform himſelf with his own eyes of the fortifications of Mexico, and the forces of the Mexicans, he demanded permiſſion of the king to viſit the royal palaces, the greater temple, and the ſquare of the market. The king chearfully granted his requeſt, unſuſpicious of the crafty general, nor foreſaw the conſequences of his great indulgence. The Spaniards ſaw all they wiſhed to ſee, and found every where new ſubjects of admiration.

SECT. III. Deſcription of the city of Mexico.

The city of Mexico was then ſituated, as we have already ſaid, upon a ſmall iſland in the lake of Tezcuco, fifteen miles to the weſtward from that court, and four to the eaſtward from that of Tlacopan. For the convenience of paſſing to the main land, there were three great cauſeways of earth and ſtone, raiſed in the lake. That of Iztapalapan,

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lapan, towards the ſouth, upwards of ſeven miles; that of Tlacopan, towards the weſt, about two miles; and that of Tepejacac, towards the north, of three miles in length (*p*); and all three ſo broad, that ten men on horſeback could paſs abreaſt. Beſides theſe three roads, there was another ſomewhat narrower for the two aqueducts of Chapoltepec. The circumference of the city, excluſive of the ſuburbs, meaſured more than ten miles, and the number of houſes were at leaſt ſixty thouſand (*q*). The city was divided into four quarters, and each quarter into ſeveral diſtricts, the Mexican names of which are ſtill preſerved among the Indians. The dividing lines of the four quarters, were the four broad roads, leading from the four gates of the area of the greater temple. The firſt quarter called *Tecpan*, now St. Paul, comprehended all that part between the two roads leading from the ſouthern and eaſtern gates. The ſecond *Mojotla*, now St. John, the part between the ſouthern and weſtern roads. The third *Tlaquechiuhcan*, now St. Mary, the part between the weſtern and northern roads; and the fourth *Alzacualco*, now St. Sebaſtian, the part of the city between the roads which led from the northern and eaſtern gates. To thoſe four parts into which the city was divided from the time of its foundation, the city of Tlatelolco was added as a fifth, ſituated towards the north-weſt, having been united after the conqueſt of king Axajacatl to Tenochtitlan, and both together formed Mexico.

(*p*) Dr. Robertſon puts inſtead of the road of Tepejacac, that of Tezcuco, which, in the part where he deſcribes Mexico, he places towards the north-weſt, and when he ſpeaks of the poſts of the Spaniſh forces at the ſiege of that capital, he places it towards the eaſt: though he has already ſaid, that there was no road upon the lake towards the eaſt: but there never was, nor could be, any road on the lake from Mexico to Tezcuco, on account of the prodigious depth of its bed in that part; and if there could have been any, it would not have been only three miles as this author affirms, but fifteen miles in length, which is the diſtance between them.

(*q*) Torquemada affirms, that the population of the capital amounted to one hundred and twenty thouſand houſes; but the anonymous conqueror, Gomara, Herrera, and other hiſtorians, agree in the number of ſixty thouſand houſes, not that of ſixty thouſand inhabitants, as Robertſon ſays; for no ancient author computed them ſo few in number. It is true, that in the Italian tranſlation of the relation of the anonymous conqueror we read *ſeſſante mila abitanti*; but this has been, without doubt, a miſtake of the tranſlator, who having, perhaps, found in the original *ſeſanta mil Vicinos*, tranſlated it ſixty thouſand *abitanti*, when he ought to have ſaid *fuochi*; becauſe, otherwiſe Cholula, Xochomilco, Iztapalapan, and other ſuch cities would be made greater than Mexico. But in the above mentioned number the ſuburbs are not included. It appears that Torquemada included the ſuburbs, but ſtill his calculation appears exceſſive.

Around

Around the city there were many dykes and reſervoirs for collecting water when it was neceſſary; and within it ſo many canals, that there was hardly a diſtrict which could not be approached by boats; a circumſtance which did not leſs contribute to embelliſh the city, and to make the tranſportation of proviſions, and all other commodities of traffick eaſy, than to give the citizens ſecurity from the attempts of their enemies. Although the principal ſtreets were broad and ſtrait, of many others, ſome were mere canals, where there was no paſſing but in boats; others were paved and free of water, and ſome had a ſmall channel between two terraſſes, which ſerved for the convenience of paſſengers, and for the unloading of veſſels, or were little gardens planted with trees and flowers.

Among the various buildings of the city, beſides many temples and magnificent royal palaces, of which we have already ſpoken, there were other palaces, or great houſes, which the feudatory lords had conſtructed for their habitation during the time which they were occaſionally obliged to reſide at court. Almoſt all the houſes, except thoſe of the poor, had balconies with parapets, and ſome of them even battlements and towers, though much ſmaller than thoſe of the temples: ſo that upon the whole, the Mexicans provided for their defence in their ſtreets and houſes as well as their temples.

Beſides the large and famous ſquare of Tlatelolco, where the principal market was held, there were other little market-places diſtributed through the city, where they ſold ordinary proviſions. There were alſo in different places fountains and fiſh-ponds, particularly near to the temples, and many gardens, part laid out on the natural level of the earth, and part raiſed into high terraſſes.

The many and great buildings, neatly whitened and poliſhed, the lofty towers of the temples, ſcattered through the four quarters of the city, the canals, trees, and gardens, formed an aſſemblage of objects ſo beautiful, that the Spaniards appeared never ſatisfied with viewing it, particularly when they beheld it from the upper area of the greater temple, which not only commanded a proſpect of all the extent of Mexico, but alſo of the lake, and the beautiful and populous cities around it. They were not leſs aſtoniſhed at ſeeing the royal palaces, and the wonderful variety of plants and animals which were reared there;

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there; but nothing ſtruck their minds with more amazement than the large ſquare of the market. There was not a Spaniard who did not extol it with ſingular praiſes, and ſome of them, who had travelled through almoſt all Europe, declared, as Bernal Diaz reports, that they had never ſeen in any place of the world, either ſo great a number of merchants, or ſuch variety of merchandize ſo well ordered and diſpoſed.

SECT. IV. Effects of Cortes's religious zeal.

When the Spaniards mounted the greater temple, they found the king there, who had anticipated their arrival, in order to prevent, by his preſence, any attempt of violence againſt his gods. After having obſerved the city from that great height, at the inſtance of the king himſelf, Cortes demanded permiſſion to ſee the ſanctuaries which the king granted to him after conſulting the prieſts. The Spaniards entered there, and contemplated, not without compaſſion and horror, the blindneſs of thoſe people, and the horrid ſlaughter which ſuperſtition committed at their ſacrifices. Cortes then turning to the king, ſaid, "I wonder, prince, that a monarch, ſo wiſe as you are, can adore thoſe abominable figures of the devil as gods." "If I had known," anſwered the king, "that you would have ſpoken diſreſpectfully of our "gods, I ſhould not have yielded to your requeſt." Cortes, ſeeing him ſo much incenſed, begged his excuſe, and took leave to withdraw to his quarters. "Go in peace," ſaid the king; "for I will ſtay here "to appeaſe the anger of our gods, which you have provoked by your "blaſphemy."

Notwithſtanding this circumſtance of diſguſt, Cortes not only obtained permiſſion from the king to build within the encloſure of his quarters a chapel in honour of his god, but alſo the workmen and materials for the building, in which they celebrated maſs, although without wine, and the ſoldiers daily aſſembled there to perform their devotions. He fixed alſo, in the principal court, a great croſs, that the Mexicans might ſee the high veneration in which they held that ſymbol of their religion. He was moreover deſirous of conſecrating the very ſanctuary of Huitzilopochtli to the worſhip of his god, but at that time he was reſtrained by reſpect for the king and the prieſts; but he accompliſhed this purpoſe ſome months after, having acquired a greater

greater authority by the impriſonment of the king, and other actions not more prudent or leſs raſh, as will preſently appear.

He broke the idols which were worſhipped there, made them clean and adorn the ſanctuary, placed a crucifix and an image of the mother of God in it, and placing himſelf upon his knees before thoſe ſacred images, he thanked the Almighty for having granted leave to adore him in that place, ſo long deſtined to cruel and deteſtable idolatry. His pious zeal made him frequently repeat to Montezuma his arguments for the truth of his religion; but although Montezuma was not diſpoſed to embrace it, moved however by his ſuggeſtions, he commanded that from that time forward no human victims ſhould be ſacrificed; and although he did not agree with the Spaniſh general in renouncing idolatry, he continued to careſs him, and no day paſſed without his making ſome preſent to, and ſhewing new civilities to the Spaniards. The order which the king gave reſpecting the ſacrifices were not ſtrictly obſerved, and that great harmony, which had hitherto ſubſiſted, was diſturbed by the daring attempts of the Spaniſh general.

SECT. V. Impriſonment of king Montezuma.

Six days were hardly elapſed after the entry of the Spaniards into Mexico, when Cortes, finding himſelf, as it were, inſulated in the centre of an immenſe myriad of people, and conſidering how dangerous their ſituation would become, if the mind of the king ſhould ever change, which event might happen, was perſuaded there was no other conduct to be followed for their ſecurity than to make himſelf maſter of the perſon of the king; but ſuch a meaſure being extremely repugnant to juſtice and reaſon, which demanded from him both reſpect to the majeſty of that monarch, and gratitude for his great beneficence, he ſought for pretences to quiet his conſcience, and to ſhield his honour; for which purpoſe he found none ſo fitting as the revolutions at Vera Cruz, the intelligence of which he had kept ſecret in his breaſt till this time, but being willing now to avail himſelf of it, he revealed it to his officers, that they might take into their ſerious conſideration what would be moſt proper and effectual to deliver themſelves from ſuch imminent danger; and, in order to juſtify his attempt, and excite the Spaniards to execute it, he made ſome principal perſons of the allies be called (whoſe information ought always to be ſuſpicious, on account of their bitter enmity to the Mexicans), and demanded of them if they had ob-

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ſerved any thing new in the inhabitants of that court? They replied, that the Mexican populace was then amuſed with the public rejoicings, which the king had ordered, to celebrate the arrival of ſuch noble ſtrangers; but that amongſt the nobility they perceived a ſuſpicious look; and, among other things, they had heard them ſay, that it would be eaſy to lift up the bridges upon the canals, which ſeemed to indicate ſome ſecret conſpiracy againſt the Spaniards.

Cortes could not ſleep from uneaſineſs that whole night, and paſſed it traverſing his quarters in deep meditation. A centinel told him, that in one of the chambers there was a door which had been freſh walled up. Cortes made it be opened, and upon entering they found ſeveral chambers, where the treaſure of the deceaſed king was depoſited. He ſaw there many idols, a great quantity of works of gold, of gems, of feathers, of cotton, and ſeveral other things which were paid by the tributary provinces, or preſented by the feudatory lords to their ſovereign. After beholding with amazement ſo much riches, he made the door be again walled up, and left in its former ſtate.

The next morning he called together his captains, repreſented to them the hoſtilities committed by the lord of Nauhtlan upon the garriſon at Vera Cruz and the Totonacas their allies, which the allies themſelves ſaid would not have been offered without the expreſs order or permiſſion of the king of Mexico. He painted, in ſtrong colours, the danger in which they then ſtood, and declared his deſign to them, exaggerating the advantages which were to be expected from the execution of it, and diminiſhing the evils which it might occaſion. Their opinions were various. Some of them rejected the propoſition of the general as raſh and impracticable, and ſaid, that it would be fitter to aſk permiſſion from the king to retire from the country, ſince as he had endeavoured, with ſo much earneſtneſs, and ſuch large preſents, to turn them from their reſolution of coming to Mexico, he would promptly conſent to their departure. Some of them thought, that although it was neceſſary for them to depart, yet they imagined that it would be proper to do it ſecretly, in order to give the Mexicans no opportunity of betraying them in any manner; but the greater part of them having, it is probable, been previouſly biaſſed by the general, embraced his propoſal, rejecting the others as more dangerous and ignominious. "What will

"they

" they ſay of us?" they aſked, " when they ſee us go ſuddenly from a " court where we have been crowned with honour; who will not be " perſuaded that it is fear which chaſes us away? If we ever loſe the " reputation of courage, what ſecurity can we promiſe ourſelves, " either in thoſe places of the Mexicans through which we muſt paſs, " or among our allies, who will no longer be reſtrained by reſpect for " our arms?" At laſt, the reſolution was formed to take Montezuma in his palace, and to bring him priſoner to their quarters; a reſolution moſt barbarous, however, and wild to exceſs, ſuggeſted by apprehenſions for their fate, and their paſt uniform experience of ſucceſs, which, more than any thing elſe, encourages men, and leads them gradually on always to ſome ſtill more daring undertaking.

For the execution of this dangerous plan, Cortes put all his troops in arms, and ſtationed them at proper places. He commanded five of his officers and twenty-five of his ſoldiers, in whom he placed chief confidence, to repair two by two to the palace, but in ſuch a manner that they might all meet there at once, as if by accident; and having previouſly obtained leave of the king, he went himſelf with his interpreter Marina, at the uſual hour of his viſit to him. He was introduced with the other Spaniards into the hall of audience, where the king, far from ſuſpecting what was to happen, received them with his wonted kindneſs. He made them ſit down, preſented them to ſome works of gold, and beſides preſented one of his daughters to Cortes. Cortes, after having expreſſed his gratitude, in the moſt polite terms, apologiſed for not accepting her, alledging that he was married in Cuba, and according to the Chriſtian law, he was not permitted to have two wives; but at laſt he received her into his company, to avoid giving diſguſt to the king, and to have an opportunity of making her a Chriſtian, as he afterwards did. To the other officers alſo he gave ſome daughters of Mexican lords of thoſe he had in his ſeraglio. They converſed afterwards, for ſome time, on various ſubjects; but Cortes, ſeeing that thoſe diſcourſes diverted him from his object, told the king that his viſit then was made to communicate to him the proceedings of his vaſſal the lord of Nauhtlan: he complained of the hoſtilities committed by that lord on the Totonacas, on account of their friendſhip with the Spaniards; of the war made on the Spaniards

at

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at Vera Cruz, and the death of Eſcalante the governor, and ſix ſoldiers of that garriſon. "I (he added) muſt give an account to my ſovereign "of the death of thoſe Spaniards; and in order to be able to give him "proper ſatisfaction, I have made enquiry into ſo ſingular an event. "All conſider you the principal author of thoſe revolutions; but I "am far from thinking ſo great a monarch capable of ſuch perfidy as "to perſecute me as an enemy in that province, while at the ſame time "you are heaping favours upon me in your court." "I do not "doubt (replied the king) but thoſe who accuſe me of the war of "Nauhtlan are the Tlaſcalans, my ſworn enemies; but I proteſt I had "no influence in it. Quauhpopoca has proceeded to do ſo without my "orders, and rather againſt my inclination; and that you may be "aſſured of the truth, I will make him immediately come to court, "and put him into your hands." He immediately called two of his courtiers, and delivering to them a certain gem, which he always wore hanging at his arm, and ſerved in place of a ſeal as a ſign of his commands, he ordered them to go with all poſſible ſpeed to Nauhtlan to bring Quauhpopoca from thence to court, and the other principal perſons who were concerned in the death of the Spaniards, and gave them authority to raiſe troops, and take them by force if they ſhould refuſe to obey.

The two courtiers departed immediately to execute their commiſſion, and the king ſaid to Cortes, "What can I do more to aſſure you of "my ſincerity?" "I have no doubt of it (anſwered Cortes); but "in order to clear up the error into which your vaſſals have likewiſe "fallen, that the affair of Nauhtlan had been executed by your orders, "we wiſh for a ſtrong proof of it, which will manifeſt your benevolence "towards us; and no one ſeems more adapted for this purpoſe than that "of your condeſcending to live with us until the guilty perſons appear, "and manifeſt your innocence by their confeſſion. That will be ſuf-"ficient to ſatisfy my ſovereign, to juſtify your conduct, to honour "and ſhelter us under the ſhade of your majeſty." In ſpite of the artful words in which Cortes endeavoured to diſguiſe his daring and injurious pretenſion, the king immediately penetrated his meaning, and was diſturbed. "When was there ever an inſtance (he ſaid) "of a king tamely ſuffering himſelf to be led into priſon? And although

"I was

" I was willing to debaſe myſelf in ſo vile a manner, would not all my " vaſſals immediately arm themſelves to ſet me free? I am not a man " who can hide myſelf, or fly to the mountains; without ſubjecting " myſelf to ſuch infamy, I am here now ready to ſatisfy your com- " plaints." " The houſe, prince (returned Cortes), to which we invite " you, is one of your palaces; nor will it excite the wonder of your ſub- " jects, who are accuſtomed to your change of habitation, to ſee " you now go to inhabit the palace of your deceaſed father Axajacatl, " from a motive of ſhewing your benevolence towards us. In caſe " your ſubjects afterwards ſhould dare to do any thing againſt you or " us, we have enough of courage, ſtrong arms, and good weapons, to " repel their violence. In other reſpects I engage my faith you " ſhall be as much honoured and attended upon by us as by your own " ſubjects." The king perſevered in his refuſal, and Cortes in his im- portunity; until at laſt, one of the Spaniſh officers, extremely daring and impetuous, not brooking this delay to the execution of their pro- ject, ſaid, in paſſion, that they ſhould leave diſcourſing, and reſolve to take him by force, or put him to death. The king, who diſcerned in the aſpect of the Spaniard, what was his purpoſe, eagerly demanded of Marina what that furious ſtranger ſaid? " I, prince (ſhe anſwered with mildneſs and diſcretion), " as your ſubject, deſire your happineſs; " but as the confidant of thoſe men, know their ſecrets, and am ac- " quainted with their character. If you condeſcend to do what they " require, you will be treated by them with all the honour which is " due to your royal perſon; but if you perſiſt in your refuſal, your life " will be in danger." That unhappy king, who from the time that he had the firſt intelligence of the arrival of the Spaniards, had been ſtruck with a ſuperſtitious panick, and had become daily more pu- ſillanimous, ſeeing himſelf in ſuch difficulty, and being perſuaded that before his guards could come to his ſuccour he might periſh by the hands of men ſo daring and reſolute, at laſt yielded to their importu- nity. " I am willing to truſt myſelf with you; let us go, let us go, " ſince the gods thus intend;" and immediately he ordered his litter to be prepared, and he got into it, in order to be tranſported to the quar- ters of the Spaniards.

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Our readers will probably, on reading and conſidering all the circumſtances of this extraordinary event, feel the ſame diſpleaſure we feel in giving the relation; as the Spaniards cannot but appear to have been the ſevereſt inſtruments fate ever made uſe of to farther the ends of Providence in the diſcovery and connection of the new with the old continent.

Montezuma, at length, left his palace never to return to it again. He departed, declaring to his courtiers, for certain reaſons, after conſultation with his gods, he was going to paſs ſome days, of his own free will, with thoſe ſtrangers, commanding them to publiſh it through all the city. He went with all the pomp and magnificence with which he uſually appeared in public, and the Spaniards kept cloſe to him, guarding him, under pretence of doing him honour. The news this ſingular event immediately ſpread through the whole capital, and the people aſſembled in crowds; ſome were affected ſo as to weep, and others threw themſelves upon the ground in deſpair. The king attempted to conſole them, telling them, that it was with his own pleaſure, that he went to be among his friends; but being apprehenſive of ſome diſorder, he gave orders to his miniſters to chace the rabble from the ſtreets, and threatened death to any one who cauſed any commotion or diſturbance. Having arrived at the quarters, he careſſed the Spaniards, and took the apartments that pleaſed him moſt, which his domeſtics quickly decorated with the fineſt tapeſtry of cotton and feathers, and the beſt furniture of the royal palace. Cortes placed guards at the entry to thoſe apartments, and doubled thoſe which were uſual for the ſecurity of their quarters. He intimated to all the Spaniards and all the allies, that they were to treat him and ſerve him with all the reſpect which was due to majeſty, and permitted the Mexicans to viſit him whenever they pleaſed, provided there were but few at a time; ſo that he wanted nothing that he had in his own palace but liberty.

SECT. VI. Life of the king in priſon.

Here Montezuma was allowed to give free audience to his vaſſals, heard their petitions, pronounced ſentences, and governed the kingdom with the aſſiſtance of his miniſters and counſellors. His domeſtics ſerved him with the ſame diligence and punctuality as uſual. A band of nobles waited upon him at table, ordered in ranks of four at a time,

a time, carrying the diſhes raiſed up in their hands for the ſake of oſtentation; after having choſe what he liked, he divided the reſt among the Spaniards who aſſiſted and the Mexican nobles who attended him: not contented with this, his generoſity made him diſtribute frequent and magnificent preſents among the Spaniards.

Cortes, on his part, ſhewed ſo much earneſtneſs that his people ſhould pay him the reſpect which was due, that he ordered a Spaniard to be whipped for anſwering the king rudely, and would have made him be hanged, as ſome hiſtorians affirm, if the king himſelf had not interpoſed in his behalf. But if the ſoldier was deſerving of chaſtiſement for inſulting the majeſty of that king by a rude word, what puniſhment did he merit who had ſo outrageouſly deprived him of his liberty? Every time that Cortes went to viſit him he obſerved the ſame ceremony, and paid him the ſame compliments which he had been uſed to do when he went to the royal palace. In order to amuſe him in priſon, he made the ſoldiers go through the military exerciſe, or made them play at games before him; and the king himſelf frequently condeſcended to play with Cortes and the captain Alvarado, at a game which the Spaniards called *bodoque*, and ſhewed himſelf happy to loſe in order to have an opportunity of exerciſing his liberality: once after dinner he loſt forty pieces of unwrought gold, which, as near as we can gueſs, was equal to one hundred and ſixty ounces at leaſt.

Cortes perceiving his liberality, or rather prodigality, told him one day that ſome knaviſh ſoldiers had ſtolen ſome pieces of gold from the treaſury of his deceaſed father Axajacatl, but that he would make them immediately reſtore the whole of their theft. "Provided," ſaid the king, "they do not touch the images of the gods, nor any thing de-"ſtined for their worſhip, they may take as much as they pleaſe." Having got this permiſſion, the Spaniards took out ſoon after more than a thouſand fine habits of cotton; Cortes commanded them to be replaced, but Montezuma oppoſed it, ſaying he never took back what he had once given away. Cortes alſo impriſoned ſome ſoldiers, becauſe they had taken out of the ſame treaſure a certain quantity of liquid amber; but, at the deſire of the king, they were again ſet at liberty. Montezuma, not contented with yielding up his riches to the Spaniards,

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ards, preſented to Cortes another of his daughters, whom the general accepted, in order to marry her to Chriſtopher Olid, camp-maſter to the Spaniſh troops. This princeſs, as well as the other formerly preſented, were immediately inſtructed and baptized, without any oppoſition from their father.

Cortes, having no longer any doubt of the friendly diſpoſition of the king, which had been manifeſted not only by his extraordinary liberality, but alſo by the pleaſure he took in living among the Spaniards, after ſome days of confinement allowed him to go out of the quarters, and exhorted him to go as often as he pleaſed to amuſe himſelf with the chace, of which he was immoderately fond. That debaſed monarch did not refuſe this miſerable uſe of his liberty; he went frequently, ſometimes to the temples to perform his devotions, ſometimes to the lake to catch water-fowl, ſometimes to the wood of Chapoltepec, or ſome other place of pleaſure; always guarded, however, by a ſtrong company of Spaniſh ſoldiers. When he went upon the lake, he was eſcorted by a vaſt number of boats, or by two brigantines, which Cortes had cauſed to be built as ſoon as he entered that capital (*r*). When he reſorted to the woods, he was accompanied by two thouſand Tlaſcalans, beſides a numerous retinue of Mexicans, who always were in attendance to ſerve him; but he never paſſed a night out of the quarters.

SECT. VII. Puniſhment of the lord of Nauhtlan, and new inſults to the king.

Upwards of fifteen days had elapſed ſince the impriſonment of the king, when the two meſſengers returned from Nauhtlan, conducting Quauhpopoca, his ſon, and fifteen other nobles, accomplices in the death of the governor Eſcalante. Quauhpopoca came richly dreſſed, in a litter: when he arrived at the quarters he pulled off his ſhoes, according to the ceremony of the palace, and covered himſelf with a coarſe habit; he was introduced to the audience of the king, and having obſerved the uſual forms of reſpect, he ſaid, "Behold, moſt "great and powerful prince, your ſervant obedient to your commands, "and ready to comply in every thing with your deſire." "You "have conducted yourſelf not a little amiſs in this point," returned

(*r*) In order to ſet forth at once the life of Montezuma while in priſon, we recount here ſome events which happened poſterior to others, which are ſtill to be related.

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the king, with diſdain, " by treating thoſe ſtrangers, whom I have " received like friends into my court, as enemies; and your temerity " has been exceſſive, in blaming me as the author of ſuch proceedings; " you ſhall therefore be puniſhed as a traitor to your ſovereign." Quauhpopoca endeavoured to excuſe himſelf, but the king would not liſten to him, and made him be immediately delivered up to Cortes, with his accomplices, that, after the crime was examined into, he might puniſh them as he ſhould think proper. Cortes put the neceſſary queſtions, and they openly confeſſed the fact, without at firſt blaming the king; until being threatened with the torture, and believing their puniſhment inevitable, they declared that what they had done was enjoined by the king, without whoſe orders they would not have dared to attempt any thing againſt the Spaniards.

Cortes, after hearing their confeſſion and pretending not to believe their excuſe, condemned them to be burned alive before the royal palace, for being guilty of treaſon to the king. He repaired immediately to the king's apartment, with three or four of his officers, and a ſoldier who carried irons in his hands; and, without omitting even upon this occaſion the uſual ceremony and compliments, he ſaid to the king, " The delinquents, prince, have now been examined, and all of " them have confeſſed their guilt, and blame you as the author of the " death of my Spaniards: I have condemned them to the puniſhment " which they, and which you alſo, deſerve, agreeable to their confeſ- " ſion; but, in conſideration of the many kindneſſes you have rendered " us hitherto, and the regard you have manifeſted for my ſovereign " and towards my nation, I am willing to grant you the favour of your " life, although I cannot avoid making you feel a part of the puniſhment " which you merit for your crime." Upon ſaying this, he, in an angry tone, commanded the ſoldier to put the irons upon his legs, and without deigning to hear a word from him, turned about and departed. The ſtupefaction of the king at ſeeing this outrage offered to his perſon was ſo great, that it left him no power of reſiſtance nor any words to expreſs his affliction: he remained for ſome time in a ſtate of inſenſibility; his domeſtics who attended ſignified their grief in ſilent tears; and throwing themſelves at his feet, eaſed the weight of the irons with their hands, and endeavoured to prevent their contact with

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his legs by placing bandages of cotton between them. As he returned to himſelf, he broke out into ſome expreſſions of impatience, but he ſoon calmed again, attributing his miſeries to the ſupreme diſpenſations of his gods.

This bold action was hardly performed, when Cortes proceeded to execute another not leſs preſumptuous. After having given orders to the guards not to admit any Mexican to ſee the king, he commanded Quauhpopoca, his ſon, and the reſt of his accomplices, to be led to puniſhment; they were conducted by the Spaniards themſelves, all armed and formed in order of battle, to keep the people in awe in caſe they ſhould be willing to oppoſe the execution of their ſentence. But what could that ſmall troop of men have done againſt the immenſe multitude of Mexicans who aſſembled to be ſpectators of the event? The fire was kindled before the principal palace of the king. The fuel made uſe of was a great quantity of bows, arrows, darts, lances, ſwords, and ſhields, which were taken from an armoury; for Cortes had demanded theſe of the king, that he might rid himſelf of the uneaſineſs which the ſight of ſo many arms occaſioned. Quauhpopoca, tied hand and foot and placed upon the pile where he was to be burned, again proteſted his innocence, and repeated that what he had done was by the expreſs order of his king; he then made prayers to his gods, and encouraged his companions to bear their ſufferings. The fire being kindled they were all in a few minutes conſumed, (*s*) in ſight of a numerous multitude, who made no commotion becauſe they were perſuaded as is probable that this puniſhment was executed by order of the king: and it is to be imagined that the ſentence had been publiſhed in his name.

(*s*) Solis, when he makes mention of the ſentence of Cortes againſt Quauhpopoca, ſpeaks thus: "Juzgoſe militarmente la cauſa, y ſe les dio ſentencia de muerte, con la circunſtancia "de que fuiſſen quemados publicamente ſus cuerpos." Wherein, without mentioning the ſpecies of puniſhment to which they were condemned, he makes it be underſtood, that the priſoners were not burned, but their dead bodies only. This is not at all conſiſtent with the ſincerity which is requiſite from an hiſtorian. He ſtudied to diſſemble whatever did not conform with the panegyric of his hero; but his diſſimulation is of but little conſequence, while not only other hiſtorians, but even Cortes himſelf affirms it openly, in his letter to Charles V. See in particular Herrera, in his Decad II. book viii. chap. 9.

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This conduct of Cortes is by no means to be juſtified, ſince beſides arrogating to himſelf an authority which did not belong to him, if he believed the king had been the author of the revolutions at Vera Cruz, why condemn to death, and to ſo cruel a death, men who had no other guilt than that of executing punctually the orders of their ſovereign? If he did not believe the king guilty, why ſubject him to ſo much ignominy, in contradiction to the reſpect due to his character, the gratitude which might naturally have been felt for his bounty, and the juſtice claimed by his innocence? It is probable, that Quauhpopoca had an expreſs order from the king to bring the Totonacas again under obedience to his crown, and that being unable to execute that order without embroiling himſelf with the Spaniards, who protected the rebels, he carried things to the extremity which we have ſeen.

As ſoon as the criminals were puniſhed, Cortes went to the apartment of the king, and ſaluting him with expreſſions of affection, and boaſting the favour which he had done him in granting him his life, he made his fetters be taken off. The joy which Montezuma then felt, was proportioned to the anguiſh the ignominy had excited; he loſt all his fears of having his life taken from him, and received this phantom of liberty as an incomparable benefit; he was ſo fallen in dignity and ſpirit, that he embraced Cortes with the utmoſt affection, expreſſed his gratitude to him in the ſtrongeſt terms, and that day ſhewed extraordinary complaiſance to the Spaniards and his own vaſſals. Cortes took off his guard, and told the king that whenever he pleaſed he might return to his palace; well aſſured, however, the king would not accept his offer; for he had frequently heard him ſay, that it would not be fitting for him to return to his palace while the Spaniards were in his court. He was unwilling to quit the quarters, on account of the dangers the Spaniards would be in whenever he abandoned them; but it is alſo probable, that his own perſonal danger likewiſe prevented him from reſuming his liberty, for he was not ignorant how much he had offended and diſguſted his vaſſals, by his debaſement of ſpirit and exceſs of ſubmiſſion to the Spaniards.

SECT. VIII. Attemps of the king of Acolhuacan againſt the Spaniards.

It is alſo probable, that the puniſhment of Quauhpopoca excited ſome ferment among the nobility; for, a few days after, Cacamatzin king of Acolhuacan, unable to brook the authority which the Spaniards

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ards were gaining in Mexico, and aſhamed to ſee the miſerable ſituation of his uncle Montezuma, ſent to tell him,—that he ſhould remember that he was a king, and not to make himſelf the ſlave of thoſe ſtrangers: but finding that Montezuma refuſed to attend to his counſel, reſolved himſelf to make war upon the Spaniards. Their ruin would have been inevitable, if the eſteem of Cacamatzin with the Mexican and Tezcucan ſubjects had been equal to his intrepidity and reſolution; but the Mexicans ſuſpected, that under ſanction of zeal for the honour of his uncle he diſguiſed ſome lurking ambition and deſign to uſurp the crown of Mexico; among his own ſubjects of Tezcuco he was not very popular, on account of his pride and the injury he dad done his brother the prince Cuicuitzatzin, who, to ſhun being perſecuted, had taken ſhelter in Mexico, and was more acceptable to the people on account of his more affable diſpoſition.

Cacamatzin therefore went to Tezcuco, and having called together his counſellors and the moſt reſpectable perſons of his court, repreſented to them the deplorable ſtate of Mexico, owing to the unequalled audacity of the Spaniards, and puſillanimity of the king his uncle; the authority which thoſe ſtrangers were acquiring, the outrages offered to the king by the impriſonment of his perſon as if he had been a ſlave, and the inſult rendered to their gods by the introduction of the worſhip of a ſtrange deity into that kingdom; he exaggerated the evils which might reſult from ſuch beginnings to the court and kingdom of Acolhuacan: "It is time now," he ſaid, "to fight for our "religion, for our country, for our liberty, and for our honour, be"fore the power of thoſe men is increaſed by reinforcements from "their own country or new alliances in this." At laſt he enjoined them all to ſpeak their opinions freely. The majority of his counſellors declared for war, either in complaiſance to their king or becauſe they were all of the ſame opinion, but ſome aged reſpectable perſons told the king plainly, that he ſhould not ſuffer himſelf to be led away by the ardour of youth; that before any reſolution was taken it ought to be remembered, that the Spaniards were warlike reſolute men, and fought with arms ſuperior to their's; that he ſhould not conſider the relation between himſelf and Montezuma ſo much as the alliance of the latter with the Spaniards; that a friendſhip of that

nature, of which there were the cleareſt and moſt certain proofs, would make him ſacrifice all the intereſts of his family and his country to the ambition of thoſe ſtrangers.

In ſpite of thoſe repreſentations war was reſolved upon, and immediately they began to make preparations for it with the utmoſt ſecrecy; but ſtill not ſufficient to prevent the intelligence of it from reaching Montezuma and Cortes: this general became extremely uneaſy at it, but reflecting that all his daring deſigns had ſucceeded, he reſolved to ward off the blow, by marching with his troops to make an aſſault upon Tezcuco. Montezuma diſſauded him from ſo dangerous a ſtep, informing him of the ſtrength of that capital and the immenſe number of its inhabitants. Cortes determined, therefore, to ſend an embaſſy to that king, calling to his recollection the friendſhip formerly agreed upon between them in Ajotzinco when he came to meet him in the name of his uncle, and alſo to tell him to reflect that it was not eaſier to undertake war than difficult to ſucceed in it, and that it would turn out to better account for him to keep up a good correſpondence with the king of Caſtile and the Spaniſh nation. Cacamatzin anſwered, that he could not regard men as friends who injured his honour, wronged his blood, diſdained his religion, and oppreſſed his country; that he did not know who the king of Caſtile was, nor was it of any importance for him to know it; that if they would eſcape the ſtorm which was now ready to pour upon them they ſhould immediately quit Mexico, and return to their native country.

Notwithſtanding this firm anſwer, Cortes repeated his embaſſy; but being again anſwered in the ſame tone, he complained to Montezuma; and, in order to engage him in the affair, he feigned to ſuſpect even him of having ſome influence in the hoſtile deſigns of his nephew. Montezuma cleared himſelf from ſuſpicion by the moſt ſincere proteſtations, and offered to interpoſe his authority. He ſent to tell Cacamatzin to come to Mexico to viſit him, and that he would find means to accommodate the difference. Cacamatzin, amazed at ſeeing Montezuma more intereſted in favour of thoſe who deſtroyed his liberty, than of his own relation who was zealous to reſtore it to him, anſwered, that if after ſuch infamous treatment he had a ſpark

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of honour left, he would be aſhamed of ſeeing himſelf made the ſlave of four ruffians, who, while they cajoled with fair words, heaped acts of affront upon him; that ſince neither zeal for the Mexican religion and the gods of the Acolhuans, whom thoſe ſtrangers had blaſphemouſly inſulted, nor the glory of his anceſtors, obſcured and debaſed by his own puſillanimity, could move him, he himſelf was diſpoſed to aid his religion—to vindicate his gods—to preſerve the kingdom, and recover the honour and liberty of him and every Mexican ſubject; that he would indeed ſee him at Mexico, not however with his hands in his boſom, but weilding his ſword, to wipe off and cancel with the blood of the Spaniards the diſgrace which ſtained the nation.

SECT. IX. Exaltation of the prince Cuicuitzcatzin.

Montezuma was extremely alarmed by this anſwer, fearing that, either from the revenge of the Spaniards or the fury of king Cacamatzin, he would become the victim of the approaching ſtorm; upon which account he reſolved to adopt the laſt reſource to prevent it, and ſave his own life by treachery. He therefore gave ſecret orders to ſome Mexican officers, who ſerved in the guard of his nephew the king of Acolhuacan, to exert their utmoſt efforts, and without delay, to ſeize his perſon and conduct him with the greateſt care to Mexico, becauſe it was of importance to the nation at large. He ſuggeſted to them the manner of doing it, and probably alſo made them ſome gift and promiſed them ſome reward to encourage them in the undertaking. They again ſolicited other officers and domeſtics of the king Cacamatzin, whom they knew to be diſpoſed to ſuch a faction, and by the aſſiſtance of the laſt they obtained all that Montezuma deſired. Among other palaces of the king of Acolhuacan, there was one built upon the edge of the lake, in ſuch a manner that by a canal, which ran under it, veſſels could come out or go in to it. There, as Cacamatzin was then reſiding at this palace, they placed a number of veſſels with armed men, and in the darkneſs of the night, which favours all conſpiracies, they ſuddenly ſeized upon the king, and, before any perſons could come to his aſſiſtance, put him into a veſſel and conveyed him with the utmoſt expedition to Mexico. Montezuma, without paying any reſpect to the character of ſovereign nor his relation with Cacamatzin, delivered him up immediately to Cortes. This general, by what appears from his conduct, had not the leaſt idea of the reſpect which

is due to majeſty even in the perſon of a barbarian, put him in irons, and confined him under a ſtrong guard. The reflections to be made on this, and other extraordinary events in this hiſtory, are too obvious to require any interruption of the courſe of our relation with them.

Cacamatzin, who began his unhappy reign with the diſſenſion of his brother Ixtlilxochitl and the diſmemberment of the ſtate, concluded it with the loſs of his crown, his liberty, and his life. Montezuma determined, with the conſent of Cortes, that the crown of Acolhuacan ſhould be given to the prince Cuicuitzcatzin, who had been entertained by Montezuma in his palace from the time that, in order to avoid the perſecutions of his brother Cacamatzin, he had taken refuge in Mexico and put himſelf under his protection. This election did great wrong to the princes Coanacotzin and Ixtlilxochitl, who, by having been born of the queen Xocotzin, had a better right to the crown. The motive does not appear which made Montezuma refuſe Coanacotzin, although with reſpect to Ixtlilxochitl it is certain that he was afraid of increaſing the power of ſo troubleſome an enemy. However it was, Montezuma made Cuicuitzcatzin be acknowledged king by the nobles of Tezcuco, and accompanied him, along with Cortes, to the veſſel in which he was to croſs the lake, and recommended to him the conſtant friendſhip of the Mexicans and the Spaniards, as he was indebted to them both for his crown.

Cuicuitzcatzin repaired to Tezcuco, accompanied by many nobles of each court, and was received there with acclamations, triumphal arches, and dances, the nobility tranſporting him in a litter from the veſſel to the royal palace, where the eldeſt noble made him a long diſcourſe in the name of the whole nation, congratulating him and exhorting him to love all his vaſſals, and promiſing to treat him as a father and to revere him as their ſovereign. It is impoſſible to expreſs the grief which this event occaſioned to Cacamatzin, who found himſelf in the flower of youth, being ſtill no more than twenty-five years of age, deprived of the crown which three years before he had inherited from his father, and reduced to the confinement and ſolitude of a priſon by the very king whom he had purpoſed to make free, and thoſe ſtrangers whom he had deſigned to drive out of the kingdom.

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Cortes had now got into his power the two moſt potent kings of Anahuac, and it was not long before he took alſo the king of Tlacopan, the lords of Iztapalapan and Cojohuacan, both brothers of Montezuma, two ſons of this ſame king, Itzquauhtzin lord of Tlatelolco, a high-prieſt of Mexico, and ſeveral more of the moſt reſpectable perſonages into cuſtody, although we do not know the particulars of their impriſonment; but it is probable, that he proceeded to take them one after another, as they came to viſit Montezuma.

SECT. X. Submiſſion of Montezuma and the Mexican nobility to the crown of Spain.

The general, encouraged by his various ſucceſſes, and ſeeing the king of Mexico totally devoted to his will, told him it was now time for his ſubjects to acknowledge the king of Spain their lawful ſovereign, who was deſcended from the king and god Quetzalcoatl. Montezuma, who had not courage to contradict him, aſſembled the principal nobility of the court and the neighbouring cities; they came all readily to receive his orders, and being met in a large hall of the Spaniſh quarters, the king made them a long diſcourſe, in which he declared the affection he bore them as a father, from whom conſequently they ought not to fear that he would propoſe any thing to them which was not juſt and advantageous: he called to their memory the ancient tradition concerning the devolution of the Mexican empire on the deſcendants of Quetzalcoatl, whoſe viceroys he and his anceſtors had been, and the phenomena obſerved in the elements, which, according to the interpretation of the prieſts and divines, ſignified that the time was now arrived when the oracles were to be fulfilled: he then proceeded to compare the marks obſerved in the Spaniards with thoſe of the tradition, from whence he concluded that the king of Spain was evidently the lawful deſcendant of Quetzalcoatl, to whom therefore he yielded up the kingdom and owned obedience, and exhorted them all to do the ſame (*s*). In pronouncing himſelf the ſubject of another king he felt

(*s*) The circumſtances of the above mentioned aſſembly, of the homage rendered to the king of Spain, and of the order intimated from Montezuma to Cortes to depart from the court, is related by hiſtorians with ſuch variety, that no two of them are found to agree. In the narration of theſe events we chiefly follow the accounts of Cortes and Bernal Diaz, who were both eye witneſſes. Solis affirms, that the acknowledgment made by Montezuma was a mean artifice, *that he never had any intention to fulfil what he promiſed, that his aim was to haſten the*

felt his ſpirit ſo wounded, that his voice failed him and tears were ſubſtituted for words. The ſorrows of the king were ſucceeded by ſuch bitter ſobs from the whole aſſembly, that they affected and drew the pity of the Spaniards. To theſe emotions a melancholy ſilence ſucceeded, which was at length broken by one of the moſt reſpectable Mexican chiefs, with theſe words: "Since, the time, O prince, is arrived when thoſe ancient oracles are to be fulfilled, and the gods incline and you command that we become the ſubjects of another lord, what elſe have we to do but to ſubmit to the ſovereign will of heaven intimated to us from your mouth."

Cortes then thanked the king and all the lords who were preſent for their ready and ſincere ſubmiſſion, and declared that his ſovereign did not preſume to take the crown from the king of Mexico, but only to make his ſupreme dominion over that kingdom be acknowledged, that Montezuma would not only continue to govern his ſubjects, but would alſo exerciſe the ſame authority over all thoſe people who ſhould ſubmit themſelves to the Spaniards. Having diſmiſſed the aſſembly, Cortes ordered a public memorial of that act to be made with all the ſolemnity which he thought neceſſary, in order to ſend it to the court of Spain.

SECT. XI. Firſt homage of the Mexicans to the crown of Spain.

Having thus happily accompliſhed his purpoſe, he repreſented to Montezuma, that ſince he had acknowledged the dominion of the king of Caſtile over thoſe countries, it was neceſſary to manifeſt his ſubmiſſion by the contribution of ſome gold and ſilver, in conſequence of the right which ſovereigns had to exact ſuch homage from their vaſſals, in order to ſupport the ſplendor of the crown, to maintain their miniſters, the expences of war, and the other neceſſities of the ſtate. Montezuma, with truly royal munificence, gave him up the treaſure

the departure of the Spaniards, and to temporize for the ſecret purpoſes of his ambition, without any regard for his words or engagement; but if the act of Montezuma was a mere artifice, and he did not mean to effect what he promiſed, why in owning himſelf the vaſſal of another monarch did he feel ſo much anguiſh, that it cut his voice ſhort and drew tears from his eyes, as this author himſelf ſays. If he only meant to haſten the departure of the Spaniards, there was no occaſion for ſuch a faint. How often, with a ſingle beck to his vaſſals, could he have ſacrificed the Spaniards to his gods, or ſparing their lives, have made them be bound and conducted to the port, that thence they might reſume their courſe to Cuba? The whole of Montezuma's conduct was entirely inconſiſtent with the intentions which Solis aſcribes to him.

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of his father Axajacatl, which was preſerved, as we have already ſaid, in the ſame palace, from which nothing had been taken by Cortes hitherto, although it had been expreſsly permitted him by the king to take whatever he pleaſed. The whole of this treaſure fell into the hands of the Spaniards, together with all that had been contributed by the feudatory lords of that crown, which amounted to ſo much, that, after deducting a fifth part for the king of Spain, Cortes had as much as was neceſſary to pay all his debts, contracted in Cuba in raiſing his corps and equipping the armament, and to reward his officers and ſoldiers, leaving ſtill behind enough for future expences. For the king they appropriated, beſides a fifth part of the gold and ſilver, ſome particular pieces of work preſerved entire on account of their wonderful workmanſhip, which, according to the valuation made of them by Cortes, were worth more than one hundred thouſand ducats; but the greater part of this wealth was loſt, as we ſhall find hereafter.

SECT. XII. Diſcontent of the Mexican nobles, and new fears of Montezuma.

The Spaniards exulted to ſee themſelves the maſters of ſo much wealth at ſo ſmall a coſt; and a kingdom ſo great and opulent, ſubjected to their ſovereign with ſo little trouble; but their proſperity was now at its height, and, according to the condition of human affairs, it was neceſſary that their ſucceſſes ſhould be chequered with adverſities. The Mexican nobility, who had hitherto preſerved a reſpectful ſilence in deference to the will of their ſovereign, ſeeing him thus fallen and degraded, the king of Acolhuacan and other perſons of rank put in chains, and the nation ſubjected to the dominion of a ſtrange monarch whom they knew not, began firſt to whiſper, then to ſpeak out with more freedom, to blame their own patience, to hold aſſemblies, and at laſt, as is reported, to levy troops to free their king and their nation from ſuch ignominious oppreſſion. Montezuma was ſpoken to by ſome of his favourites, who repreſented to him the pain his misfortunes and diſgrace gave his vaſſals, who conſidered his power to be almoſt expiring and the ſplendour of his dignity obſcured, and the ferment which began to riſe not only among the nobles but alſo among the common people, who were grown impatient of ſeeing themſelves ſubjected and condemned to ſacrifice to a ſtrange king the harveſt of their labours: they exhorted him to diſpel the fears which had taken poſſeſſion of him, and

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to reſume his wonted authority; ſince, if he would not do it, his vaſſals would, as they were determined to drive thoſe inſolent and deſtructive gueſts from the kingdom. On the other hand, the prieſts exaggerated the injuries which religion ſuffered, and intimidated him with the threats which, they ſaid, the gods in anger had made, to deny the neceſſary rain to the fields, and their protection to the Mexicans, if he did not diſmiſs thoſe men who were ſo diſdainful of their worſhip.

Montezuma moved by thoſe repreſentations of his favourites, and menaces of his gods, aſhamed of being reproached for his cowardice, and affected by the diſgrace of his nephew Cacamatzin, whom he had always loved with particular tenderneſs, and the diſhonour which had befallen his brother Cuitlahuatzin, and other perſons of the firſt nobility, although he did not conſent to the deſign of taking away the lives of the Spaniards, to which ſome adviſed him, reſolved, however, to tell them openly, that they muſt depart from that kingdom. He one day, therefore, ſent for Cortes, who being appriſed of the ſecret conferences which the king had had with his miniſters, his nobles, and prieſts, felt many apprehenſions; but diſſembling his uneaſineſs of mind, he repaired immediately to the king accompanied by twelve Spaniards. Montezuma received him with leſs cordiality than uſual, and freely laid open his reſolution. "You cannot," he ſaid, "doubt of the great "attachment I bear you, after ſo many and clear demonſtrations of it. "Hitherto I have willingly entertained you in my court, have even "been ſo deſirous of the pleaſure of your company and converſation, "as to remain here and live amongſt you. As for my own part, I "would retain you here without any change, daily making you expe- "rience ſome freſh proofs of my good will towards you; but it can- "not be done; neither will my gods permit it, nor will my ſubjects "endure it. I find I am threatened with the heavieſt puniſhments of "heaven if I let you remain any longer in my kingdom; and ſuch "diſcontent already prevails among my vaſſals, that unleſs I quickly "remove the cauſe, it will be altogether impoſſible to pacify them. "Wherefore it is become neceſſary for my own, as well as yours, and "the good of all the kingdom, that you prepare yourſelves to return to "your native country." Cortes, although extremely mortified and diſtreſſed, diſſembled yet his feelings, and aſſumed great ſerenity of

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BOOK IX. countenance, anſwered, that he was extremely ready to obey him; but as they wanted veſſels to tranſport them, on account of thoſe which they had come in from Cuba having become uſeleſs, they required time, workmen, and materials, to make others. Montezuma, full of joy at the readineſs with which he was obeyed, embraced him, and told him, that it was not neceſſary to precipitate his departure; that he might build his veſſels; that he would ſupply him with the neceſſary timber, and people to cut it, and tranſport it to the harbour. Immediately he gave orders to a number of carpenters to cut the neceſſary timber from a grove of pines, which was at a ſmall diſtance from the port of Chiahuitztlan, and Cortes, on his part, ſent ſome Spaniards there to ſuperintend the woodcutters, expecting, in the mean time, that ſomething would change the ſtate of affairs in Mexico, or that ſome new reinforcement of Spaniards would be ſent to him from the iſlands or from Spain (*t*).

Eight days after this reſolution had been taken, Montezuma ſent for Cortes a ſecond time, and this general was again rendered uneaſy. The king told him, that it was no longer neceſſary to build veſſels, for that a ſhort time ago eighteen veſſels, ſimilar to thoſe which had been deſtroyed, had arrived at the port of Chalchiuhcuecan, in which he might embark with all his troops; that he ſhould therefore haſten his departure, as it was of importance to the welfare of the kingdom. Cortes diſſembled the joy which he received from ſuch intelligence, and offering ſecret thanks to heaven for having ſent him ſuch timely aſſiſtance; he anſwered the king, that if that fleet was making its voyage towards Cuba, he was ready to depart, but that otherwiſe it would be requiſite to continue the building of his veſſels. He ſaw and examined the paintings which had been ſent to the king of this new armament by the governors upon the coaſt, and he did not doubt that it was Spaniſh; but very far from imagining that it was ſent againſt him, he perſuaded himſelf that it was his commiſſioners whom he had ſent home the year before to the court of Spain, who were re-

(*t*) Almoſt all the Spaniſh hiſtorians ſay, that when the king made Cortes be called to intimate to him the order to depart, he had levied an army to make him be obeyed by force if neceſſary; but there is a great difference of opinion among them, as ſome affirm that there were an hundred thouſand men in arms; others ſay, only half that number; and others laſtly ſay only five thouſand. We are perſuaded that ſome troops were in readineſs, but not by the order of the king, but of ſome of the nobles, who had taken a more active part in this matter.

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turned, and brought with them the royal diſpatches, and a large number of troops for the conqueſt.

Sect. XIII. Armament of the governor of Cuba againſt Cortes.

This pleaſing conſolation laſted until the letters of Gonzalez de Sandoval, governor of the colony of Vera Cruz arrived, which acquainted him that that armament, conſiſting of eleven ſhips, and ſeven brigantines, of eighty-five horſes, eight hundred infantry, and upwards of five hundred ſeamen, with twelve pieces of artillery, and plenty of warlike ammunition under the command of Panfilo Narvaez, was ſent by Diego Velaſquez, governor of Cuba, againſt Cortes himſelf, as a rebel, vaſſal, and traitor to his ſovereign. He received this unexpected blow in the preſence of the king Montezuma, but, without ſhewing the ſmalleſt marks of emotion in his countenance, he gave the king to underſtand, that thoſe who had arrived at the port of Chalchiuhcuecan were new companions ſent him from Cuba. He made uſe of the ſame diſſimulation to his own Spaniards, until their minds were prepared for the truth.

It is beyond a doubt, that this was one of thoſe ſingular occaſions on which Cortes diſplayed his unſhaken fortitude and magnanimity. He found himſelf on the one hand threatened by all the power of the Mexicans if he remained at the court; and on the other, he ſaw an army levied againſt himſelf, compoſed of his own countrymen, far ſuperior to his own force; but his ſagacity, his unremitting activity and induſtry, and wonderful courage, diverted all the evils which hung over him. He endeavoured, by means of letters, and ſome mediators in whom he chiefly truſted, to gain the mind of Narvaez, and to bring him to reflection; propoſing various meaſures to him, and repreſenting to him the advantages which the Spaniards would derive from the union of their armies and the co-operation of their forces; and, on the contrary, the diſaſters which might be occaſioned by diſcord to them both: Narvaez, by the advice of three deſerters from Cortes, had already diſembarked with all his fleet upon the coaſt of Chempoalla, and put himſelf in quarters in that city; the lord of which, knowing them to be Spaniards, and believing that they came to unite with Cortes his friend, or fearful of their power, received them with the greateſt honour, and provided them every thing they wanted. Montezuma alſo believing the ſame thing in the beginning, ſent rich preſents to Narvaez, and gave orders to his governors to offer him the ſame civilities

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which they had already ſhewn to Cortes; but in a few days after, in ſpite of the great diſſimulation of Cortes, and although he uſed every effort to hinder ſuch intelligence from reaching the king or his vaſſals, the want of harmony between them was diſcerned.

Montezuma had now the faireſt opportunity to deſtroy them both, if he had harboured in his breaſt thoſe bloody deſigns which ſeveral hiſtorians have imputed to him. Narvaez endeavoured to alienate him from Cortes, and thoſe of his party, accuſing them all of treaſon, and promiſing to puniſh their unheard of audacity in impriſoning ſo great a king, and to free not only the king himſelf, but the whole nation from their oppreſſion; but Montezuma was ſo far from plotting any thing againſt Cortes from theſe ſuggeſtions, that, on the contrary, when this general made him acquainted with the expedition he intended againſt Narvaez, Montezuma expreſſed great uneaſineſs at the danger to which he expoſed himſelf with troops ſo inferior in number, and offered to raiſe immediately a great army to his aſſiſtance.

Cortes had now uſed every poſſible means to bring about a peaceable accommodation, which would unqueſtionably have been advantageous for both armies, but without any other effect than that of producing freſh menaces and diſdain from the fierce and arrogant Narvaez. Finding himſelf therefore compelled to make war upon his countrymen, and not willing, on account of his diffidence and diſtruſt of the Mexicans to avail himſelf of the aſſiſtance which Montezuma offered, he requeſted the ſenate of Tlaſcala to raiſe four thouſand warriors to go along with him, and ſent one of his ſoldiers, named Tobilla, a man well ſkilled in the art of war, to Chinantla, to demand two thouſand men from that warlike nation; and alſo to procure three hundred pikes of the kind made uſe of by theſe Indians for the purpoſe of reſiſting the cavalry of Narvaez, as they were both longer and ſtronger than thoſe of the Spaniards. He left in Mexico one hundred and forty ſoldiers (*), with all their allies, under the command of Pedro d'Alvarado, recommending it to them to guard and treat the king well, and to

(*) Bernal Diaz ſays, that the Spaniards left behind in Mexico were eighty-three in number. In the modern editions of Cortes's letters, they are ſaid to have been five hundred; but the ancient editions ſay one hundred and forty, which appears to have been the truth, conſidering the total amount of the Spaniſh troops. The number of five hundred is evidently falſe, and contradicts Cortes in his own account.

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maintain harmony between them and the Mexicans, particularly the royal family and the nobility. Upon taking leave of the king, he told him, that he left in his place the captain *Tonatiuh* (as Alvarado was called by this name of the ſun among the Mexicans, becauſe he was fair), who was charged to ſerve his majeſty in every thing; that he requeſted him to continue his protection to the Spaniards; that he was going to find that captain who was lately arrived, and to do every thing poſſible for putting his royal commands into execution. Montezuma, after having made new proteſtations to him of his good-will and attachment, furniſhed him plentifully with proviſions and men of burthen to tranſport his baggage, and took leave of him with the utmoſt friendſhip.

Cortes ſet out from Mexico in the beginning of May, in the year 1520, after having been ſix months in that capital, with ſeventy Spaniards, and ſome Mexican nobles, who choſe to accompany him a part of the way. Several hiſtorians are perſuaded that the Mexicans went to become ſpies, and to give the king an account of every thing which happened; but Cortes did not conſider them as ſuch, although neither did he place much confidence in them. He made his journey through Cholula, where he was joined by the captain Velaſquez, who was returned from Coatzacualco, having been ſent there by Cortes to ſearch for a more commodious harbour for the ſhips. There Cortes alſo received a conſiderable ſupply of proviſions, which were ſent him by the ſenate of Tlaſcala; but he had not the four thouſand men he demanded: either becauſe they durſt not enter into new wars againſt the Spaniards, as Bernal Diaz affirms, or becauſe they were unwilling to remove themſelves ſo far from their native country, as is reported by other hiſtorians; or from ſeeing Cortes with forces ſo inferior in number to thoſe of his enemy, they dreaded another defeat in the expedition. Some days before he arrived at Chempoalla, Cortes was joined by the ſoldier Tobilla, with three hundred pikes from Chinantla, and in Tapanacuetla, a village about thirty miles diſtant from that city, he was joined by the famous captain Sandoval with ſixty ſoldiers from the garriſon of Vera Cruz.

At length after having made new propoſals to Narvaez, and having diſtributed ſome gold among the partizans of this arrogant general, Cortes

Sect. XIV. Victory of Cortes over Narvaez.

BOOK IX. Cortes entered into Chempoalla at midnight with two hundred and fifty (*x*) men, without horſes, or any other arms than pikes, ſwords, ſhields and daggers, and marching without the ſmalleſt noiſe or rumour to the greater temple of that city, where his enemy were quartered, he made ſo furious an aſſault, that, before break of day, he rendered himſelf maſter of the temple, of all his enemies, the artillery, arms, and horſes, only four of his ſoldiers being killed, and fifteen of the enemy, though many on both ſides were wounded (*y*). He made himſelf be acknowledged captain-general and ſupreme magiſtrate by them all, put Narvaez and Salvatierra, a reſpectable officer, and ſworn enemy of Cortes, both in irons in the fort of Vera Cruz, and made the ſails, rudders, and compaſſes of the ſhips, be brought on ſhore. The light of the morning of that day, which was Whitſuntide, the 27th of May, had hardly appeared, when the two thouſand troops from Chinantla arrived in good order, and well armed (*z*), but they came only to be witneſſes of the triumph of Cortes, and the ſhame of the party under Narvaez, to ſee themſelves conquered by ſo few enemies, who were leſs armed than they. The ſucceſs of this attack was in a great meaſure owing to the unparalleled bravery of Sandoval, who, with eighty men, mounted into the temple in the midſt of a ſtorm of arrows and balls, attacked the ſanctuary where Narvaez was fortified, and ſeized his perſon.

Cortes now finding himſelf maſter of eighteen veſſels, and almoſt two thouſand men of Spaniſh troops, with nearly a hundred horſes, and great ſufficiency of ammunition, thought of making new expeditions on the coaſt of the Mexican gulf, and had already appointed the commanders who were to head them, and the people who were to be under their orders, when unlucky news arrived from Mexico, which obliged him to repair in haſte to that capital.

(*x*) Bernal Diaz ſays, that Cortes went to Chempoalla with two hundred and ſix men; Torquemada makes two hundred and ſixty-ſix, beſides five captains; but Cortes, who knew better than them, affirms, they were two hundred and fifty.

(*y*) Authors are not agreed as to the number killed in that aſſault, we put the number which appears the moſt probable, according to the account of the different authors.

(*z*) Some authors ſay, that the *Chinantlans* were preſent at the aſſault made on the quarters of Narvaez; but Bernal Diaz, who was preſent, affirms the contrary. Cortes does not make mention of them.

During

During the time Cortes was abſent from Mexico, the feſtival of the incenſing of Huitzilopochtli happened, which was held in the month *Toxcatl*, which that year began on the 13th of May. This feſtival, the moſt ſolemn of all which yearly occurred, was uſually celebrated with dances by the king, the nobles, the prieſts, and the people. The nobility requeſted captain Alvarado to conſent that the king might go to the temple on this occaſion to perform his devotion. Alvarado excuſed himſelf from granting the requeſt, on account of the orders given him by Cortes, or becauſe he ſuſpected the Mexicans would meditate ſome revolution when they had the king with them, well knowing how eaſily public rejoicings are changed into tumults and diſorder. They adopted the deſign, therefore, of making that religious dance in the court of the palace (*a*), or quarters of the Spaniards, either by the direction of that captain, or by the order of the king himſelf, that he might be preſent according to cuſtom. When the day of the feſtival arrived, many men of the firſt nobility aſſembled in the court, (the number (*b*) of whom is not known), adorned with various ornaments of gold, gems, and feathers. They began to dance and to ſing to the ſound of muſical inſtruments; and in the mean while, Alvarado ſtationed ſome ſoldiers at the gate. When he ſaw the Mexicans become heated, and poſſibly alſo weary with dancing, he gave a ſignal to his men to attack them; they immediately charged with the utmoſt fury upon thoſe unfortunate victims, who were unable to make any reſiſtance, as they were unarmed and fatigued, nor was it poſſible for them to eſcape by flight, as the gates were guarded. The ſlaughter was terrible, and the cries piteous which the dying uttered, and the copious blood which was ſhed. This fatal blow was moſt ſenſibly felt by the Mexicans, for they loſt by it the flower of their nobility; and, to per-

(*a*) The hiſtorians of the conqueſt ſay in general, that the dance was made in the lower area of the greater temple, but it is not probable, that the immenſe crowd of people which muſt have aſſembled there, would have permitted ſo horrid a ſlaughter to have been made of the nobility, eſpecially, as the armories were there from whence they could have taken out as many arms as they required to oppoſe the attempt of thoſe few ſtrangers; nor is it credible, that the Spaniards would run ſuch an evident riſk of their own deſtruction. Cortes and Bernal Diaz make no mention of the place of the dance. Acoſta ſays, that it was made in the palace, nor could it have been in any other than that which the king was then inhabiting.

(*b*) By Gomara, the nobles who were preſent at the dance are reckoned ſix hundred, by other hiſtorians more than a thouſand, and by Las Caſas more than two thouſand.

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petuate the memory of it among their deſcendants, they compoſed dirges and elegies on the ſubject, which they preſerved for many years after the conqueſt. When the horrid tragedy was ended, the Spaniards ſtripped the dead bodies of all the riches with which they were adorned.

The motive is not known which induced Alvarado to commit an action ſo abominably inhuman. Some have ſaid he was influenced alone by his inſatiable thirſt for gold (*c*). Others affirm, and which is more probable, that it having been whiſpered that the Mexicans deſigned at this feſtival to ſtrike a deciſive ſtroke on the Spaniards, to deliver themſelves from oppreſſion, and ſet their lord and king again at liberty whom the Spaniards had impriſoned, he prevented them, thinking, according to the vulgar adage, he who attacks, conquers. However the caſe was, his conduct cannot be defended neither from the charge of imprudence nor cruelty *(d)*.

The common people were irritated by a blow which touched them ſo deeply, and treated the Spaniards ever after as the mortal enemies of their country. Some Mexican troops aſſaulted their quarters with ſuch impetuoſity, that they broke down a part of the wall, undermined the palace in different places, and burned their ammunition, but they were repelled by the fire of the artillery and muſketry, by which the Spaniards had an opportunity of repairing the wall. That night the Spaniards repoſed purely from the fatigues of the day, but the day after the aſſault was ſo furious, that they thought they muſt have periſhed, and certainly not one of them would have remained alive, five or ſix

(*c*) The Mexican hiſtorians, Sahagun, in his hiſtory, Las Caſas, in his formidable account of the deſtruction of the Indies, and Gomara, in his Chronicle, affirm, that the avarice of Alvarado was the cauſe of the ſlaughter committed on the Mexican nobility; but we cannot believe it without ſtronger proofs. Gomara and Las Caſas have unqueſtionably followed Sahagun in this opinion, and he muſt have received it from the Mexicans, who, being the enemies of the Spaniards, are not to be truſted in this matter.

(*d*) It is altogether incredible that the Mexicans ſhould upon occaſion of the dance, have plotted againſt the Spaniards, that treaſon which ſome hiſtorians have ſuppoſed, and ſtill more that they had actually prepared the veſſels in which they were to boil the flesh of the Spaniards, as Torquemada ſays. Theſe are fables invented to juſtify Alvarado. [illegible] rs the moſt probable ſolution of this event is, that the Tlaſcalans out of the great ha[illegible] they bore to the Mexicans, inſpired Alvarado with ſuſpicions of this pretended [illegible] The hiſtory of the conqueſt furniſhes us with many examples of ſuch kind of art[illegible] conduct in the Tlaſcalans.

of them being already killed, had not the king ſhewn himſelf to the croud of aſſaulters, and by his authority reſtrained their fury. Reſpect to the preſence of their ſovereign checked the multitude from continuing the attack upon the Spaniſh quarters; but it did not make them deſiſt from other hoſtilities; they burned the four brigantines which Cortes had ordered to be built, in order to ſave himſelf in them provided he could not at any time make his eſcape by the roads made upon the lake, and reſolved to deſtroy the Spaniards by famine denying them proviſions, and contriving to hinder the introduction of any to them, by drawing a ditch all round their quarters.

In this ſituation the Spaniards found themſelves in Mexico, when Alvarado ſent advice to Cortes, requeſting him by two different meſſages, carried by the Tlaſcalans, to haſten his return, unleſs he choſe to let them all periſh. The ſame thing was deſired by Montezuma, who acquainted him how diſtreſſed he was at the inſurrection of his vaſſals, which, however, had been occaſioned by the raſh and bloody attempt of the captain Tonatuih.

Cortes after having given orders to tranſplant the colony of Vera Cruz to a more convenient ſituation, near the port of Chalchuihcuecan (although this was not then executed), marched with his people by long journeys towards the capital. In Tlaſcala, he was magnificently lodged in the palace of the prince Maxixcatzin. There he made a review of his troops, and found them conſiſt of ninety-ſix horſes, and thirteen hundred Spaniſh infantry, to which two thouſand Tlaſcalans were added by the republic. With this army he marched into Mexico on the 24th of June. He met with no oppoſition to his entry, but very ſoon he was ſenſible of a ferment among the people, not only from ſeeing few or none of them in the ſtreets, but alſo by their having raiſed ſome bridges from the canals. When he entered into the quarters with the rejoicing which is eaſy to be imagined on both ſides, Montezuma came to meet him in the court with the moſt obſequious demonſtrations of friendſhip; but Cortes, either grown inſolent from the victory obtained over Narvaez, the number of people under his command, or being perſuaded that it was neceſſary to affect to believe the king blameable for the diſturbance made by his vaſſals,

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paſſed along without paying any attention towards him. The king, pierced to the heart at ſeeing himſelf ſo diſdainfully treated, retired to his apartment, where his affliction was ſtill increaſed by the information brought by his ſervants that the Spaniſh general had expreſſed himſelf in words moſt injurious to his majeſty (*e*).

Cortes reprimanded the captain Alvarado with great ſeverity, and would certainly have inflicted upon him the puniſhment he deſerved, if the circumſtances of the time and the perſon had permitted. He foreſaw the great ſtorm which was now to pour upon them, and he thought it would have been imprudent to have created himſelf an enemy, upon an occaſion of ſo much danger, of one of the braveſt captains he had in his army.

With the new troops which Cortes brought to Mexico, he had an army of nine thouſand men, but there not being accommodation for them all in the quarters, they occupied ſome of thoſe buildings which were within the encloſure of the greater temple, and the neareſt to the quarters. From their multitude alſo the ſcarcity of proviſions, already occaſioned by the want of a market, was augmented, for the Mexicans, in hatred to the Spaniards, would no longer hold any. Cortes therefore ſent to tell Montezuma, with ſtrong threats, that he ſhould give orders for a market to be held, that they might provide themſelves with every thing neceſſary. Montezuma anſwered, that the perſons of the greateſt authority to whom he could truſt the execution of ſuch an order, were all, as he was, in priſon; that ſome of them muſt be ſet at liberty, that his wiſh might be accompliſhed. Cortes let the prince Cuitlahuatzin, the brother of Montezuma, out of confinement, not

(*e*) The hiſtorian Solis is not diſpoſed to believe that this mark of contempt was ſhewn by Cortes to Montezuma; and in order to vindicate that general, he wrongs B. Diaz, who affirms, it as having been an eye-witneſs; and Herrera, who relates it on the ſupport of good documents. He undeſervedly accuſes B. Diaz of partiality againſt Cortes; and of Herrera he ſays, that it is to be ſuſpected that he choſe to adopt the account of B. Diaz, for the purpoſe of making uſe of a ſentence of Tacitus; *ambition*, he adds, *dangerous to hiſtorians*, but to none more than Solis himſelf; for every impartial and well-informed perſon in the hiſtory of Mexico will perceive, in reading the works of Solis, that this author, inſtead of adjuſting the ſentences to the relation, on the contrary, adjuſts the relation to the ſentences. Laſtly, as he adduces no better reaſons than thoſe offered by B. Diaz, we ought to give more credit to the latter as an eye-witneſs of the fact.

foreſeeing

foreſeeing that the liberty of that prince would be the cauſe of ruin to the Spaniards. Cuitlahuatzin never returned to the quarters, nor re-eſtabliſhed the market, either becauſe he would not favour the Spaniards, or becauſe the Mexicans would not conſent to it, but compelled him to exerciſe his poſt of general. In fact, it was he who from that time commanded the troops, and directed all the hoſtilities againſt the Spaniards, until at laſt, by the death of his brother, he was elected king of Mexico. BOOK IX.

SECT. XVI. Action between the Mexicans and the Spaniards in the capital.

On the day on which Cortes entered into Mexico, there was no movement made by the people; but the day after they began to ſling and ſhoot ſo many ſtones at the Spaniards, that they appeared, as Cortes ſays, like a tempeſt; and ſo many arrows, that they covered the pavement of the court and the terraces of the palace; and the number of the aſſaulters was ſo great, that they covered all the ground of the ſtreets. Cortes did not think it proper to ſtand wholly upon his defence, leſt that ſhould be aſcribed to cowardice, and inſpire the enemy with more courage. He made a ſally out upon them with four hundred men, part Spaniards and part Tlaſcalans. The Mexicans retired with little loſs, and Cortes, after having made fire be ſet to ſome of the houſes, returned to his quarters; but finding that the enemy continued their hoſtilities, he made the captain Ordaz go out with two hundred ſoldiers againſt them. The Mexicans affected to be put into confuſion, and to fly, in order to draw the enemy to a diſtance from their quarters, in which they ſucceeded; for ſuddenly the Spaniards found themſelves ſurrounded by the Mexicans on all ſides, and attacked by a body of troops in front and another behind, but in ſuch a tumultuous manner, that their diſorder impeded their action. At the ſame time appeared a numerous rabble on the tops of the houſes, who kept up a conſtant ſhower of arrows and ſtones. The Spaniards found themſelves now in imminent danger, and this occaſion was certainly one of thoſe on which the brave Ordaz diſplayed his ſkill and courage. The conteſt was moſt bloody, but with no great loſs to the Spaniards, who, with their guns and croſs-bows cleared the terraces, and with their pikes and ſwords repelled the multitude which deluged the ſtreets, and at laſt were able to retire to their quarters, leaving many Mexicans, though not more than eight of their own people, killed; but they were

were almoſt all wounded, and even Ordaz himſelf. Amongſt the diſtreſſes ſuffered by the Spaniards from the Mexicans that day, the ſetting fire to different parts of the quarters was one, and the fire was ſo violent in ſome places, that the Spaniards were obliged to throw down the wall, and defend the breach with the artillery, and a number of ſoldiers whom they ſtationed there, till night, when the enemy gave them opportunity to rebuild the wall and take care of the wounded.

The following day, the 26th of June, the aſſault was more terrible, and the fury of the Mexicans ſtill greater. The Spaniards defended themſelves with twelve pieces of artillery, which committed uncommon havock upon their enemy; but as the number of them was infinite, they covered the ſight of the dead with freſh ſubſtitutes in their place. Cortes perceiving their obſtinacy, ſallied out with the greater part of his troops, and proceeded fighting his way through one of the principal ſtreets of the city, took poſſeſſion of ſome of the bridges ſet fire to ſome houſes, and after continuing in action almoſt the whole day, he returned to the quarters with more than fifty Spaniards wounded, leaving innumerable Mexicans dead in the ſtreets.

Experience had made Cortes ſenſible, that the greateſt annoyance his troops met with was from the terraces of the houſes; to ſhun which in future he ordered three machines of war to be conſtructed, called by the Spaniards *Mantas*, ſo large that each of them would carry twenty armed ſoldiers, covered with a ſtrong roof to defend them from the ſtones thrown from the terraces, furniſhed with wheels alſo to make them eaſy to move, and little windows or port-holes for the diſcharge of their guns.

While thoſe machines were conſtructing, great changes took place at court. Montezuma, having aſcended one of the towers of the palace, obſerved from it one of the above mentioned engagements, and amongſt the multitude his brother Cuitlahuatzin, commanding the Mexican troops. At the ſight of ſo many objects of misfortune, his mind was ſeized with a croud of melancholy thoughts. On the one hand, he ſaw the danger he was in of loſing both his crown and his life; and on the other, the deſtruction of the buildings of his capital, the ſlaughter of his vaſſals, and the ſucceſs of his enemies; and found there was no other remedy to all thoſe evils but the immediate departure

ture of the Spaniards. In theſe meditations he paſſed the night, and the day following he ſent early for Cortes, and ſpoke to him on the ſubject, praying him earneſtly not to defer any longer his removal from that city. Cortes required no ſuch intreaty to reſolve upon his retreat from it. He found proviſions were ſcanty in extreme; food was given to the ſoldiers by meaſure, and that ſo little, it was ſufficient only to ſupport life, not the ſtrength neceſſary to oppoſe ſuch enemies as inceſſantly haraſſed them. In ſhort, he ſaw it was impoſſible to render himſelf maſter of that city as he intended, nor could he even ſubſiſt there. But, on the other hand, he felt no ſmall regret to abandon the undertaking he had begun, loſing in one moment, by his departure all the advantages which his courage, his induſtry, and his good fortune had gained him; but ſubmitting to the circumſtances of his ſituation, he anſwered the king, that he was ready to depart for the peace of the kingdom, provided his ſubjects would lay down their arms.

Sect. XVI. The king's addreſs to the people.

This conference was hardly ended, when "To arms" was cried through the quarters, on account of a general aſſault of the Mexicans. On every ſide they attempted to mount the walls, on purpoſe to enter while ſome troops of archers, conveniently poſted, ſhot an immenſe multitude of arrows, to check the oppoſition made by the beſieged, while ſome of the beſiegers puſhed ſo ſtrenuouſly forward, that, in ſpite of the artillery and muſkets, they got within the quarters, and began to fight man to man with the Spaniards, who, thinking themſelves now almoſt vanquiſhed and overpowered by the multitude, fought with deſperation. Montezuma, obſerving this moment of the conflict, and his own immediate danger, reſolved to let himſelf be ſeen, in order to reſtrain by his preſence and his voice the fury of his ſubjects. Having for this purpoſe put on the royal enſigns, and attended by ſome of his miniſters and two hundred Spaniards, he mounted on a terrace and ſhewed himſelf to the people, his miniſters making a ſignal for ſilence, that they might hear the voice of their ſovereign. At the ſight of the king the aſſault ceaſed, all were mute, and ſome in reverence kneeled down. He ſpoke in an audible voice, and addreſſed them to the following effect: "If the motive which "induces you to take arms againſt thoſe ſtrangers is your zeal for my

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" liberty, I thank you for the love and fidelity you ſhew me; but you " deceive yourſelves in thinking me a priſoner, for it is in my own " option to leave this palace of my late father, and return to my own, " whenever I chuſe it. If your reſentment is cauſed by their ſtay in " this court, I acquaint you that they have given me aſſurance, and I " aſſure you, that they will depart as ſoon as you will lay down your " arms. Quiet therefore your emotions; let your fidelity to me ap- " pear in this, unleſs what I have heard is true, that you have ſworn " to another that obedience which you owe to me; which I cannot " believe, nor can you ever do, without drawing the vengeance of " heaven down upon you."

The people remained ſilent for ſometime, until a Mexican (*f*), more daring than the reſt, raiſed his voice, calling the king cowardly and effeminate, and fitter to manage a ſpindle and a ſhuttle than to govern a nation ſo courageous; and reproaching him for having, from his cowardice and baſeneſs, ſuffered himſelf to be made the priſoner of his enemies: and not content with reviling him with words, taking a bow in his hand, he ſhot an arrow at him. The common people, who are always apt to be moved by the firſt impulſe which is given them, quickly followed his example; reproaches and contumelious language were heard on every ſide; and ſhowers of ſtones and arrows poured towards the quarter where the king ſtood. The Spaniſh hiſtorians ſay, that although the perſon of the king was covered with two ſhields, he was wounded by a blow from a ſtone on the head, by another in the leg, and by an arrow in the arm. He was immediately carried by his ſervants to his chamber, more wounded in ſoul by anger and vexation, than hurt by the ſacrilegious weapons of his ſubjects.

In the mean while, the Mexicans perſiſted in their attacks, and the Spaniards in their defence, until ſome nobles called Cortes to that ſame place where the king had received his wounds, in order to treat with him about certain articles, of which we do not find any hiſtorian give a proper and clear account. Cortes demanded of them why they were inclined to treat him as an enemy, having done them no wrong? " If you would avoid farther hoſtilities (ſaid they), depart immediately

(*f*) Acoſta ſays, that the Mexican who ſpoke theſe inſults to the king was Quauhtemotzin, his nephew, and the laſt king of Mexico.

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"from this city; if not, we are reſolved to die, or to kill you all." Cortes replied, that he did not complain to them becauſe he was afraid of their arms, but becauſe he was pained to be obliged to kill ſo many, of them and deſtroy ſo beautiful a city. The nobles went away, repeating their menaces.

The three warlike machines being at length finiſhed, Cortes went out with them early on the 28th of June, and proceeded through one of the principal ſtreets of the city with three thouſand Tlaſcalans and other auxiliary troops, with the greater part of the Spaniards, and ten pieces of artillery. When they came to the bridge over the firſt canal, they drew the machines and ſcaling-ladders near to the houſes, in order to drive the crowds from the terraces; but the ſtones were ſo many and ſo large which were thrown at the machines, that they broke through them. The Spaniards fought courageouſly until mid-day, without being able to take poſſeſſion of the bridge; on which account they returned in ſhame to their quarters, leaving one man killed, and carrying back many wounded.

SECT. XVII. Terrible engagement in the temple.

The Mexicans having been greatly encouraged by this laſt event, five hundred nobles fortified themſelves in the upper area of the greater temple, well furniſhed with arms and proviſions, and from thence began to do great damage to the Spaniards with ſtones and arrows, while other Mexican troops attacked them by the ſtreets. Cortes ſent a captain with a hundred ſoldiers to drive the nobles from that ſtation, which, being ſo very high and neighbouring, entirely commanded the quarters; but having made three different attempts to aſcend there, they were vigorouſly repulſed. The general then determined to make the aſſault upon the temple himſelf, although he ſtill ſuffered from a ſevere wound he had received in his left hand ever ſince the firſt engagement. He tied his ſhield to his arm, and having cauſed the temple to be ſurrounded by a ſufficient number of Spaniards and Tlaſcalans, began to aſcend the ſtairs of it with a great part of his people. The nobles who were now beſieged diſputed their aſcent with great courage, and overturned ſome of the Spaniards; in the mean while, other Mexican troops having entered the lower area, fought furiouſly with thoſe who ſurrounded the temple. Cortes, though not without the utmoſt fatigue and difficulty, at laſt gained

BOOK IX. the upper area along with his party. Now came on the greateſt heat and danger of the conteſt, which laſted upwards of three hours. Part of the Mexicans died by the point of the ſword, and part threw themſelves down to the lower floors of the temple, where they continued the fight until they were all killed. Cortes ordered the ſanctuary to be ſet on fire, and returned in good order to the quarters. Forty-ſix Spaniards loſt their lives in this action, and all the reſt came off wounded and bathed in blood. This ſpirited aſſault was one of thoſe in which the opponents fought with the greateſt courage on both ſides, and on that account the Tlaſcalans as well as the Mexicans repreſented it in their paintings after the conqueſt (*g*).

Some hiſtorians have added the circumſtance of the great danger in which, according to their account, Cortes was of being precipitated from the upper area by two Mexicans, who being reſolved to ſacrifice their lives for the good of their country, ſeized Cortes in their arms upon the edge of it in order to drag him along with themſelves in their fall from thence, truſting to put an end to the war by the death of that general; but this fact, of which neither Cortes nor Bernal Diaz, nor Gomara, nor any other of the more ancient hiſtorians make mention, is rendered ſtill more improbable by the circumſtances added to it by ſome modern authors (*h*).

Cortes having returned to the quarters, had a freſh conference with ſome reſpectable perſons among the Mexicans, repreſenting to them the loſſes they ſuſtained from the Spaniſh arms. They anſwered, that it was of no importance to them provided the Spaniards were deſtroyed; that if they were not all cut off by the Mexicans,

(*g*) The differences of opinion among hiſtorians reſpecting the order and circumſtances of the engagements which happened in thoſe days, is inexpreſſible. We follow the account given by Cortes, conſidering him the beſt authority.

(*h*) Solis ſays, that the two Mexicans approached *on their knees to Cortes, in the act of imploring his mercy, and without delay threw themſelves downwards with their prey in their hands, increaſing the violence of the effort with their natural weight; that Cortes got clear of them and repulſed them, though not without difficulty.* We find it rather difficult to believe Cortes poſſeſſed of ſuch ſurpriſing force: the very humane gentlemen Raynal and Robertſon, moved with compaſſion it would appear, for the danger Cortes was in, have provided ſome kind of unknown battlements and iron rails, by which he ſaved himſelf until he got clear of the Mexicans; but neither did the Mexicans ever make iron rails, nor had that temple any battlements. It is wonderful that theſe authors, ſo incredulous concerning what is atteſted by the Spaniſh and Indian writers, ſhould yet believe what is neither to be found among the ancient authors nor probable in itſelf.

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they would infallibly periſh by famine ſhut up in their quarters. Cortes having obſerved that night ſome inattention and want of vigilance among the citizens, ſallied out with ſome companies of ſoldiers, and proceeding through one of the principal ſtreets of the city, he ſet fire to more than three hundred houſes (*i*).

The next day his machines being repaired, he went out with them and the greateſt part of his troops, and directed his courſe along the great road of Iztapalapan with more ſucceſs than before; for in ſpite of a vigorous reſiſtance from the enemies in their intrenchments made to defend them from the fire of the Spaniards, he took poſſeſſion of the four firſt bridges, and ſet fire to ſome of the houſes upon that road, and made uſe of the ruins to fill up the ditches and canals, that there might be no difficulty of paſſage if the Mexicans ſhould raiſe the bridges. He left a ſufficient garriſon upon the poſts which he had taken, and returned to quarters with many wounded, leaving ten or twelve dead behind him.

The day after he continued his attacks upon the ſame road, took the three bridges which remained, and charging the enemy which defended them, he at laſt got upon the main land. Whilſt he was attending to fill up the laſt ditches, to facilitate as is probable his retreat from that capital by means of that ſame road by which he had been now ſeven months entered, he was told that the Mexicans were willing to capitulate; and, in order to hear their propoſitions, he returned in haſte to the quarters with the cavalry, leaving the infantry to guard the bridges. The Mexicans intimated that they were ready to deliſt from all hoſtilities; but, that the capitulation might take place, it was neceſſary to have the high-prieſt, who had been made priſoner by the Spaniards when they made the aſſault upon the temple: Cortes ſet him at liberty, and a ſuſpenſion of arms took place. This appears to have been a mere ſtratagem of the electors to recover the chief of their religion, for whoſe perſon they had occaſion to anoint the new king whom they had choſen, or were going now to chuſe; for Cortes had hardly obtained a ceſſation of arms, when ſome Tlaſcalans arrived with the news that the Mexicans had retaken

(*i*) Bernal Diaz ſays, that it was a great fatigue to make them burn, from their being covered with terraces and ſeparated from each other.

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the bridges and killed ſome Spaniards, and that a great body of warriors were coming againſt the quarters; Cortes went immediately to meet them with the cavalry, and making way through them with the utmoſt difficulty and danger, he recovered the bridges, but whilſt he was retaking the laſt, the Mexicans had again taken the four firſt, and had began to draw out the materials with which the ditches had been filled up by the Spaniards. The general returned at length to regain them, and then retired to the quarters with his people, who were now all weary, melancholy, and wounded.

Cortes, in his letter to Charles V. repreſents the great danger he was in, that day, of loſing his life, and aſcribes it to particular providence that he eſcaped from among ſuch a multitude of enemies. It is certain, that from the moment they roſe againſt the Spaniards, they would have been able to have deſtroyed them with all their allies, if they had obſerved a better order in fighting, and if there had been more agreement among the inferior officers who led on the attacks; but they could not agree among themſelves, as will appear hereafter, and the populace were merely actuated by their tumultuous fury. On the other hand, it is not to be doubted, that the Spaniards muſt have appeared to them to have been made of iron; for they neither yielded to the diſtreſs of famine, nor to the neceſſity of ſleep, nor to continual fatigue and wounds; after having employed all the day in combating with their enemies, they ſpent the night in burying the dead, curing the wounded, and repairing the damages done to their quarters during the day by the Mexicans, and even in the little time which they allowed for repoſe, they never quitted their arms, but were always ready to riſe before their enemy. But the hardineſs of their troops will appear ſtill more extraordinary in thoſe terrible engagements which we ſhall preſently relate.

SECT. XIX. Death of king Montezuma, and other lords.

On one of thoſe days, probably the thirtieth of June, died, in the quarters of the Spaniards, the king Montezuma, in the fifty-fourth year of his age, in the eighteenth of his reign, and the ſeventh month of his impriſonment. With regard to the cauſe and the circumſtances of his death, there is ſo great a difference and contradiction among hiſtorians, it is altogether impoſſible to aſcertain the truth. The Mexican hiſtorians blame the Spaniards, and the Spaniſh hiſtorians accuſe

accuſe the Mexicans of it (*k*). We cannot be perſuaded that the Spaniards ſhould reſolve to take away the life of a king to whom they owed ſo many benefits, and from whoſe death they could only expect new misfortunes. His loſs was lamented, if we are to credit Bernal Diaz, an eye-witneſs and moſt faithful writer, not leſs by Cortes and every one of his officers and ſoldiers, than if he had been their father. He ſhewed them infinite favour and kindneſs, whether it had been from natural inclination or fear; he always appeared to them to be their friend at heart, at leaſt there is no reaſon to believe the contrary, nor was it ever known that he ſpoke like an enemy of them, as they themſelves proteſted.

His good and bad qualities may be gathered from an account of his actions. He was circumſpect, magnificent, liberal, zealous for juſtice, and grateful for the ſervices of his ſubjects; but his reſerve and diſtance made the throne inacceſſible to the complaints of his people. His magnificence and liberality were ſupported by the burdens laid on his ſubjects, and his juſtice degenerated into cruelty. He was exact and punctual in every thing appertaining to religion, and jealous of the worſhip of his gods and the obſervance of rites (*l*). In his youth he was inclined to war and courageous, and came off conqueror, according to hiſtory, in nine battles; but in the laſt year of his reign, domeſtic pleaſures, the fame of the firſt victories of the Spaniards, and, above all, ſuperſtition, weakened and debaſed his mind to ſuch a degree, that he appeared, as his ſubjects reproached him, to have changed his ſex. He delighted greatly in muſic and the chace, and was as dextrous in the uſe of the bow and arrow as in that of the ſhooting-tube. He was a perſon of a good ſtature, but of an indifferent complexion, and of a long viſage with lively eyes.

(*k*) Cortes and Gomara affirm, that Montezuma died of the blow from the ſtone with which his people hit him on the head. Solis ſays his death was occaſioned by his not having his wound dreſſed. Bernal Diaz adds to this omiſſion and neglect, his voluntary abſtinence from food. The chronicler Herrera ſays, that the wound was not mortal, but that he died of a broken heart. Sahagun, and other Mexican hiſtorians, affirm, that the Spaniards killed him, and one of them mentions the circumſtance of a ſoldier having pierced him with an eel-ſpear.

(*l*) Solis ſays that Montezuma *hardly bent his neck*, that is bowed his head to his gods; that he had a higher idea of himſelf than of them, &c. He adds alſo, that *the devil favoured him with frequent viſits*. Such credulity does not become the greater hiſtoriographer of the Indies

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He left at his death ſeveral ſons, of whom three periſhed that unlucky night of the defeat of the Spaniards, either by the hands of the Spaniards themſelves, as the Mexicans affirm, or by the hands of the Mexicans, as the Spaniards report. Of thoſe who ſurvived, the moſt remarkable was Johualicahuatzin, or Don *Pedro Motezuma*, and of him deſcended the Counts Montezuma and Tula. Montezuma had this ſon by Miahuaxochitl, the daughter of Ixtlilcuechahuac, lord of Tollan. By another wife he had Tecuichpotzin, a beautiful princeſs, from whom deſcended the two noble houſes of Cano Montezuma and Andreda Montezuma. The Catholic kings granted ſingular privileges to the poſterity of Montezuma, on account of the unparalleled ſervice rendered by that monarch in voluntarily incorporating a kingdom ſo great and rich as Mexico with the crown of Caſtile. Neither the repeated importunities made to him by Cortes, nor the continual exhortations of Olmedo, particularly in the laſt days of his life, were ſufficient to prevail upon him to embrace Chriſtianity.

As ſoon as the king died, Cortes communicated intelligence of his death to the prince Cuitlahuatzin, by means of two illuſtrious perſons who had been preſent at his death, and a little after he made the royal corpſe be carried out by ſix nobles, attended by ſeveral prieſts, who had likewiſe been in priſon (*m*). The ſight of it excited much mourning among the people; the laſt homage which they pay to their ſovereign, extolling his virtues to the ſtars, whom a ſhort time before they could find poſſeſſed of nothing but weakneſſes and vice. The nobility, after ſhedding abundance of tears on the cold body of their unfortunate king, carried it to a place of the city called *Copalco* (*n*), where they burned it with the uſual ceremonies, and buried the aſhes

(*m*) Torquemada, and other authors, ſay, that Montezuma's dead body was thrown into the *Tolnahuac*, along with others; but from the accounts of Cortes and B. Diaz, it is certain that it was carried out of the quarters by the nobles.

(*n*) Herrera conjectures that Montezuma was buried in Chapoltepec, becauſe the Spaniards heard a great mourning towards that quarter. Solis affirms poſitively, that it was buried in Chapoltepec, and that the ſepulchre of the kings was there; but this is totally contrary to the truth, becauſe Chapoltepec was not leſs than three miles diſtant from the Spaniſh quarters: it was therefore impoſſible that the Spaniards ſhould have overheard the mourning which was made there, eſpecially when they were in the center of a populous city, and at a time of ſo much tumult and noiſe. The kings, beſides, had no fixed place of burial; and it is alſo certain, from the depoſitions of the Mexicans, that Montezuma's aſhes were buried at Capalco.

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with the utmoſt reſpect and veneration, although ſome low illiberal Mexicans treated the ceremony with ridicule and abuſe.

Upon this ſame occaſion, if there is any truth in what hiſtorians relate, Cortes ordered the dead bodies of Itzquauhtzin lord of Tlatelolco, and other impriſoned lords, of whoſe names there is no mention, to be thrown out of the quarters into a place called *Tehuajoc*, all of whom had been put to death, as they affirm, by order of Cortes, although none of them aſſign a reaſon for ſuch a conduct, which, even if it was juſt, can never be cleared from the charge of imprudence, as the ſight of ſuch ſlaughter muſt neceſſarily have exaſperated the anger of the Mexicans, and induced them to ſuſpect that the ſovereign likewiſe had been ſacrificed by his command (*o*). However it was, the people of Tlatelolco carried off the dead body of their chief in a veſſel, and celebrated his funeral rites with great lamentation and mourning.

In the mean time, the Mexicans continued their attacks with ſtill more ardour. Cortes, although he made great ſlaughter of them and came off always conqueror, yet ſaw that the blood ſpilt of his own ſoldiers was a greater loſs than the advantages obtained by his victories compenſated; and that at laſt the want of proviſions and ammunition, and the multitude of his enemies, would prevail over the bravery of his troops and the ſuperiority of his arms: believing, therefore, the immediate departure of the Spaniards indiſpenſibly neceſſary, he called a council of his captains, to deliberate upon the method and time for executing ſuch reſolution. Their opinions were different. Some of them ſaid that they ought to depart by day, forcing their way by arms, if the Mexicans oppoſed them: others thought that they ſhould depart by night; this was the ſuggeſtion of a ſoldier named Botello, who pretended ſkill in aſtrology, to whom Cortes paid more deference than was proper, having been induced to do ſo by having ſeen ſome of his predictions accidentally verified. It was reſolved, therefore, the vain obſervations of that wretched ſoldier being preferred to the dictates of

(*o*) Concerning the death of thoſe lords, no mention is made by Cortes, B. Diaz, Gomara, Herrera, and Solis; but Sahagun, Torquemeda, Betancourt, and the Mexican hiſtorians, report it as certain. In reſpect to the latter, and the fidelity due to hiſtory, we recite the event, though one of great improbability.

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military ſkill and prudence, to depart during the night, with all poſſible ſecrecy: as if it had been poſſible to conceal the march of nine thouſand men, with their arms, their horſes, their artillery, and baggage, from the detection of ſo numerous and watchful an enemy. They fixed the night of the firſt of July for their departure (*p*), a night the moſt unlucky and memorable to the Spaniards, from the great ſlaughter they ſuffered, on which account they gave it the name of *noche triſte*, by which it is ſtill known in their hiſtories. Cortes ordered a bridge of wood to be made, which could be carried by forty men, to ſerve for the paſſing of ditches. He then made all the gold, ſilver, and gems, which they had hitherto amaſſed, to be brought out, took the fifth part of it which belonged to the king, and conſigned it to the officers belonging to his majeſty, declaring the impoſſibility which he found of preſerving and ſaving it. He left the reſt to his officers and ſoldiers, permitting each of them to take what he pleaſed; but at the ſame time, he warned them how much fitter it would be to abandon it all to the enemy; for, when free of that weight, they would find leſs difficulty to ſave their lives. Many of them, rather than be diſappointed of the principal object of their deſires, and the only fruit of their labours, loaded themſelves with that heavy burden, under the weight of which they fell victims at once to their avarice and the revenge of their enemies.

SECT. XX. Terrible defeat ſuffered by the Spaniards in their retreat.

Cortes ordered his march in the greateſt ſilence of the night, which was rendered ſtill darker by a cloudy ſky, and more troubleſome and dangerous by a ſmall rain which never ceaſed falling. He committed the van guard to the invincible Sandoval, with ſome other officers, and two hundred infantry and twenty horſes; the rear guard to Pedro de Alvarado, with the greater part of the Spaniſh troops. In the body of the army the priſoners were conducted, with the ſervants and baggage people, where Cortes took alſo his ſtation, with five horſes and an hundred infantry, in order to give ſpeedy relief wherever it ſhould be neceſſary. The auxiliary troops of Tlaſcala, Chempoalla,

(*p*) B. Diaz ſays, that the defeat of the Spaniards happened on the night of the tenth of July; but we believe this to have been a miſtake of the printer, as Cortes affirms, that in their retreat, they arrived at Tlaſcala on the tenth of July; and from the journal of their march kept by this conqueror, it is evident that their defeat could not have happened on any other day than the firſt of July.

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and Cholula, which amounted then to more than ſeven thouſand men, were diſtributed among the three diviſions of the army. Having firſt implored the protection of Heaven, they began to march by the way of Tlacopan. The greateſt part of them paſſed the firſt ditch or canal by the aſſiſtance of the bridge which they carried with them, without meeting any other reſiſtance than the little which the centinels who guarded that poſt were able to make; but the prieſts who watched in the temples having perceived their departure, cried loudly "to arms," and rouſed the people with their horns. In an inſtant the Spaniards found themſelves attacked by water and by land, by an infinity of enemies, who impeded their own attack by their number and confuſion. The encounter at the ſecond ditch was moſt terrible and bloody, the danger extreme, and the efforts of the Spaniards to eſcape moſt extraordinary. The deep darkneſs of the night, the ſounds of arms and armour, the threatening clamours of the combatants, the lamentations of the priſoners, and the languid groans of the dying, made impreſſions both horrid and piteous. Here was heard the voice of a ſoldier calling earneſtly for help from his companions, another imploring in death mercy from Heaven: all was confuſion, tumult, wounds, and ſlaughter. Cortes, like an active feeling general, ran intrepidly here and there, frequently paſſing and repaſſing the ditches by ſwimming, encouraging ſome of his men, aſſiſting others, and preſerving the remains of his harraſſed little army, at the utmoſt riſk of being killed or made priſoner, in as much order as poſſible. The ſecond ditch was ſo filled with dead bodies, that the rear guard paſſed over the heap. Alvarado, who commanded it, found himſelf at the third ditch ſo furiouſly charged by the enemy, that, not being able to face about to them, nor ſwim acroſs without evident danger of periſhing by their hands, fixed a lance in the bottom of the ditch, graſping the end of it with his hands, and giving an extraordinary ſpring to his body, he vaulted over the ditch. This leap, conſidered as a prodigy of agility, obtained to that place the name which it ſtill preſerves of *Salto d'Alvarado*, or Alvarado's leap.

The loſs ſuſtained by the Mexicans on this unlucky night was unqueſtionably great: concerning that of the Spaniards, authors are, as

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in other affairs, of various opinions (*q*); we are apt to think the computation true which has been made by Gomara, who appears to have made the moſt diligent enquiries, and to have informed himſelf both from Cortes and the other conquerors; that is, there fell, beſides four hundred and fifty Spaniards, more than four thouſand auxiliaries, and among them, as Cortes ſays, all the Cholulans: almoſt all the priſoners the men and women who were in the ſervice of the Spaniards, were killed (*r*), alſo forty-ſix horſes; and all the riches they had amaſſed, all their artillery, and all the manuſcripts belonging to Cortes, containing an account of every thing which had happened to the Spaniards until that period, were loſt. Among the Spaniards who were miſſing, the moſt conſiderable perſons were, the captains Velaſquez de Leon, the intimate friend of Cortes, Amador de Laviz, Franciſco Morla, and Franciſco de Saucedo, all four, men of great courage and merit. Among the priſoners who were killed was Cacamatzin, that unfortunate king, and a brother and ſon, and two daughters of Montezuma (*s*), and a daughter of prince Maxixcatzin.

In ſpite of his greatneſs of ſoul, Cortes could not check his tears at the ſight of ſuch calamity. He ſat down upon a ſtone in Popotla, a village near Tlacopan, not to repoſe after his toil, but to weep for the loſs of his friends and companions. In the midſt of ſo many diſaſters, however, he had at leaſt the comfort of hearing that his brave captains Sandoval, Alvarado, Olid, Ordaz, Avila, and Lugo, his inter-

(*q*) Cortes ſays, that one hundred and fifty Spaniards periſhed; but he either deſignedly leſſened the number for particular ends, or there was ſome miſtake made by the copyiſt or firſt printer of that letter. B. Diaz numbers eight hundred and ſeventy to have fallen; but in this account he includes, not only thoſe who were killed on that unlucky night, but alſo thoſe who died before he reached Tlaſcala. Solis reckons only upon two hundred, and Torquemada two hundred and ninety. Concerning the number of auxiliary troops which periſhed then, Gomara, Herrera, Torquemada, and Betancourt, are agreed. Solis ſays only, that more than two thouſand Tlaſcalans were miſſed; but in this he does not agree with the computation made by Cortes, or other authors.

(*r*) Ordaz affirms, that all the priſoners were killed; but he ought to have excepted Cuicuitzcatzin, whom Cortes had already placed on the throne of Acolhuacan; becauſe we know from the account of Cortes, that he was one of the priſoners, and on the other hand, it is certain that he was killed afterwards in Tezcuco.

(*s*) Torquemada affirms, as a well certified point, that Cortes, a few days after he took Cacamatzin, made him be ſtrangled in priſon. Cortes, B. Diaz, Betancourt, and others, ſay that he was killed along with the other priſoners on that memorable night.

preters Aguilar and Donna Marina, were ſafe, by means of whom he chiefly truſted to be able to repair his honour and conquer Mexico.

SECT. XXI. Fatiguing march of the Spaniards.

The Spaniards found themſelves ſo dejected and enfeebled with fatigue, and with their wounds, that if the Mexicans had purſued them, not one of them could have eſcaped with life; but the latter had hardly arrived at the laſt bridge upon that road, when they returned to their city, either becauſe they were contented with the ſlaughter already committed, or having found the dead bodies of the king of Acolhuacan, the royal princes of Mexico, and other lords, they were employed in mourning for their death and paying them funeral honours. They would have obſerved the ſame conduct with their dead relations or friends; for they left the ſtreets and ditches entirely clean that day, burning all the dead bodies, before they could infect the air by corruption.

At break of day the Spaniards found themſelves in Popotla, ſcattered about, wounded, wearied, and afflicted. Cortes having aſſembled and formed them in order, marched through the city of Tlacopan, ſtill harraſſed by ſome troops of that city and of Azcapozalco, until they came to Otoncalpolco, a temple ſituated upon the top of a ſmall mountain nine miles to the weſt of the capital, where at preſent ſtands the celebrated ſanctuary or temple of the Virgin *de los remedios*, or ſuccour. Here they fortified themſelves as well as they could, to defend themſelves with the leſs trouble from the enemy, who continued to annoy them the whole day. At night they repoſed a little, and had ſome refreſhment furniſhed them by the Otomies, who occupied two neighbouring hamlets, and lived impatient under the yoke of the Mexicans. From this place they directed their courſe towards Tlaſcala, their only retreat in their misfortunes, through Quauhtitlan, Citlaltepec, Xoloc, and Zacamolco, annoyed all the way by flying troops of the enemy. In Zacamolco they were ſo famiſhed, and reduced to ſuch diſtreſs, that at ſupper they eat a horſe which had been killed that day by the enemy, of which the general himſelf had his part. The Tlaſcalans threw themſelves upon the earth to eat the herbs of it, praying for aſſiſtance from their gods.

SECT. XXII. Famous battle of Otompan.

The day following, when they had juſt began their march by the mountains of Aztaquemecan, they ſaw at a diſtance in the plain of Tonan, a little way from the city of Otompan, a numerous and brilliant

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(*t*) This ſort of ſtandard was called by the Mexicans *Tlahuizmatlaxopilli*.

until

until he came close up with the general, who was accompanied by some of his officers, and with one stroke of his lance extended him on the ground. Juan de Salamanca, a brave soldier, who attended Cortes, dismounting quickly from his horse, put an end to his life, and seizing the plume of feathers on his head presented it to Cortes (*u*). The army of the enemy, as soon as they saw their general killed, and the standard taken, went into confusion and fled. The Spaniards, encouraged by this glorious action of their chief, pursued, and made great slaughter of the fugitives.

This was one of the most famous victories obtained by the Spanish arms in the New World; Cortes distinguished himself in it above all the rest; and his captains and soldiers said afterwards, that they had never seen more courage and activity displayed than upon that day; but he received a severe wound on the head, which daily growing worse, brought his life into the utmost danger. Bernal Diaz justly praises the bravery of Sandoval, and shews how much that gallant officer contributed to this victory, encouraging them all not less by his example than his words. The Spanish historians have also highly celebrated Maria de Estrada, the wife of a Spanish soldier, who, having armed herself with a lance and shield, ran among the enemy, wounding and killing them with an intrepidity very extraordinary in her sex. Of the Tlascalans, Bernal Diaz says, that they fought like lions, and amongst them Calmecahua, captain of the troops of Maxixcatzin, particularly distinguished himself. He was not, however, less remarkable for his bravery than for his longevity, living to the age of one hundred and thirty years.

The loss of the enemy was undoubtedly great in this defeat, but greatly less than several authors represent it, who make it amount to twenty thousand men; a number rather incredible, according to the miserable state to which the Spaniards were reduced, and the want of artillery and other fire-arms. On the contrary, the loss of the Spaniards was not so small as Solis reports it (*x*), for almost all the Tlascalans

(*u*) Charles V. granted some privileges to Juan de Salamanca, and among others a shield of arms for his house, which had a plume upon it in memory of the one which he had taken from the general Cihuacatzin.

(*x*) Solis, in order to exaggerate the victory of Otompan says, that amongst the troops under Cortes some were wounded, of whom two or three Spaniards died in Tlascala: but this author

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lans perifhed, and many of the Spaniards in proportion to the number of their troops, and all of them came off wounded.

The Spaniards, tired at length with purfuing the fugitives, refumed their march towards Tlafcala by the eaftern part of that plain, remaining that night under the open fky, where the general himfelf, after the fatigue and wounds he had received, kept guard in perfon for their greater fecurity. The Spaniards were now not more than four hundred and forty in number. Befides thofe who had been flain in the engagements, preceding the unfortunate night of their departure from Mexico, there perifhed during it and the fix days following, as Bernal Diaz, an eye-witnefs affirms, eight hundred and feventy, many of whom having been made prifoners by the Mexicans, were inhumanly facrificed in the greater temple of the capital.

SECT. XXIII. Return of the Spaniards into Tlafcala.

The next day, the 8th of July, 1520, they entered, making ejaculations to heaven, and returning thanks to the Almighty, into the dominions of Tlafcala, and arrived at Huejotlipan (*y*), a conficerable city of that republic. They feared ftill to find fome change in the fidelity of the Tlafcalans, well knowing how common it is to fee men abandoned in their misfortunes by their deareft friends: but they were foon undeceived by meeting with the moft fincere demonftrations of eftеem and compaffion for the difafters they had undergone. The four chiefs of that republic had no fooner intelligence of their arrival, than they came to Huejotlipan to pay their compliments to them, accompanied by one of the principal lords of Huexotzinco, and many of the nobility. The prince Maxixcatzin, though feverely afflicted by the death of his daughter, endeavoured to confole Cortes with hopes

author, folely attentive to the ornament of his ftyle, and the panegyric of his hero, took little note of numbers. He affirms, that Cortes, after the defeat of Narvaez, carried eleven hundred men with him to Mexico, who with other eighty that, according to his account, remained with Alvarado, make eleven hundred and eighty. In the engagements, preceding the defeat of the Spaniards at Mexico, he makes no mention of any death. In the defeat he reckons two hundred only to have been killed; and, in his account of their journey to Tlafcala, he fpeaks of no other but the two or three who died in Tlafcala of the wounds they had received at Otompan. Where then are, or how have the other five hundred men and upwards difappeared, which are wanting to make up the number of eleven hundred and eighty. We have a very different idea given us of the battle of Otompan from thofe who were prefent at it, as appears from the letters of Cortes, and the Hiftory of Bernal Diaz.

(*y*) Huejotlipan is called by Cortes and Herrera *Gualipan*, by Bernal Diaz *Gualiopar*, and by Solis *Gualipar*.

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of revenge, which he aſſured him he might obtain from the courage of the Spaniards and the forces of the republic, which from that time he promiſed him, and all the other chiefs made offers to the ſame purpoſe. Cortes returned them thanks for their kind wiſhes and offers, and laying hold of the ſtandard which he had taken the day before from the Mexican general, he preſented it to Maxixcatzin, and gave to the other lords ſome other valuable ſpoils. The Tlaſcalan women conjured Cortes to revenge the death of their ſons and relations, and vented their grief in a thouſand imprecations againſt the Mexican nation.

After repoſing three days in this place, they proceeded to the capital of the republic, diſtant about fifteen miles, for the more ſpeedy cure of their wounded, of whom, however, eight ſoldiers died. The concourſe of people at their entry into Tlaſcala was great, and perhaps greater than when they made their firſt entry into that city. The reception which Maxixcatzin gave them, and the care he took of them were becoming his generoſity of mind, and demonſtrative of the ſincerity of his friendſhip. The Spaniards acknowledged themſelves every day more and more obliged to that nation, the friendſhip of which, by being properly cultivated, proved the moſt effectual means not only for the conqueſt of the capital of the Mexican empire, but alſo of all the provinces which oppoſed the progreſs of the Spaniſh arms, and for the ſubduing of the barbarous Chichimecas and Otomies, by whom the conquerors were long harraſſed.

SECT. XXIV. Election and proceedings of the king Cuitlahuatzin in Mexico.

While the Spaniards were repoſing after their fatigues and recovering of their wounds in Tlaſcala, the Mexicans were employed in repairing the evils done to their capital and their kingdom. The loſſes and injuries which they had ſuſtained in the ſpace of one year, were truly heavy and diſtreſſing; for, beſides immenſe ſums of gold and ſilver, gems, and other precious things, expended partly in preſents to the Spaniards, partly in homage to the king of Spain, of which they recovered but little, the fame of their arms was obſcured, and the reſpect of the crown of Mexico diminiſhed; the Totonacas, and other people, had renounced their obedience; all their enemies had grown more inſolent; their temples were materially damaged, and their religion ſpurned at; many houſes of the city were totally demoliſhed, and above all other grievances, they had loſt their king, ſeveral royal per-

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perſonages, and a great part of the nobility. To thoſe reaſons for deſpondence and diſguſt at the Spaniards, thoſe which were cauſed by their own civil war were added, for the knowledge of which we are indebted to the manuſcripts of a Mexican hiſtorian who happened to be at this time in the capital, and ſurvived a few years the ruin of the empire. At the time the Spaniards were ſo much diſtreſſed in the capital by famine from the hoſtilities of the Mexicans, ſeveral lords of the firſt nobility, either in order to favour the party of the Spaniards, or, what is fully more probable, to give ſuccour to the king, who, by being among them was neceſſarily an equal ſufferer with them, ſecretly ſupplied them with proviſions, and perhaps, declared themſelves openly in their favour, in confidence of their own perſonal authority. From this cauſe aroſe a fatal diſſenſion among the Mexicans, which could not be terminated without the death of many illuſtrious perſons, and particularly ſome of the ſons and brothers of Montezuma, according to the account of the above hiſtorian.

The Mexicans found the neceſſity of placing at the head of their nation a man capable of re-eſtabliſhing its honour, and repairing the loſſes ſuffered in the laſt year of the reign of Montezuma. A little before, or a little after the defeat of the Spaniards, the prince Cuitlahuatzin was elected king of Mexico. He, as we have ſaid already, was lord of Iztapalapan, the particular counſellor of his brother Montezuma, and Tlachcocalcatl, or general of the army. He was a perſon of great talents and ſagacity, agreeable to the teſtimony of Cortes his rival, and liberal and magnificent like his brother. He took great delight in architecture and gardening, as appears from the ſplendid palace he built in Iztapalapan, and the celebrated garden which he planted there, in whoſe praiſes no ancient hiſtorian is ſilent. His bravery and military ſkill acquired him the higheſt eſteem amongſt the Mexicans; and ſome authors affirm, from particular information of his character, that if he had not met an early death, the capital would never have been taken by the Spaniards (z). It is probable, that the ſacrifices

(z) Solis gives Cuitlahuatzin the name of *Quetlabaca*, and ſays, that he lived on the throne but a few days, and thoſe were ſufficient to make the memory of his name amongſt his countrymen be for ever cancelled from his cowardice and inſignificance. But this is falſe, and contrary to the accounts given by Cortes, Bernal Diaz, Gomara, and Torquemada, authors who were

crifices made at the feſtival of his coronation were thoſe Spaniards whom he himſelf had taken priſoners in the night of their defeat.

Sect. XXV. Embaſſy of the king Cuitlahuatzin to the Tlaſcalans.

As ſoon as the feſtival of his coronation was over, he employed himſelf to remedy the diſaſters ſuffered by the crown and the empire. He gave orders to repair the damaged temples, and to rebuild the demoliſhed houſes, augmented and improved the fortifications of the capital, ſent embaſſies to the different provinces of the empire, encouraging them to the common defence of the ſtate againſt thoſe hoſtile ſtrangers, and promiſed to relieve thoſe who would take up arms in behalf of the crown, from all their tributes. He ſent alſo ambaſſadors to the republic of Tlaſcala, with a conſiderable preſent of fine feathers, habits of cotton, and ſome ſalt, who were received with due honour, according to the laws eſtabliſhed among the poliſhed nations of that country. The purport of the embaſſy was to repreſent to that ſenate, that although the Mexicans and Tlaſcalans had hitherto been the inveterate enemies of each other, it was now become neceſſary to unite themſelves together as the inhabitants originally of one country, as people of the ſame language, and as worſhippers of the ſame deities, againſt the common enemy of their country and religion; that they had already ſeen the bloody ſlaughter which had been committed in Mexico, and other places, the ſacrilege to the ſanctuaries, and the venerable images of the gods, the ingratitude and perfidy ſhewn to his brother and predeceſſor, and the moſt reſpectable perſonages of Anahuac; and laſtly, that inſatiable thirſt in thoſe ſtrangers for gold, which impelled them to violate every ſacred law of friendſhip; that if the republic continued to favour the perverſe deſigns of ſuch monſters, they would in the end meet with the ſame recompence which Montezuma had for the humanity with which he received them into his court, and the liberality which he exerciſed ſo long towards them: the Tlaſcalans would be execrated by all nations for giving aid to ſuch iniquitous uſurpers, and

were better informed than Solis. How could the memory of his name amongſt the Mexicans be cancelled, while it was preſerved indelibly among the Spaniards, they having conſidered him as the perſon who was the cauſe of their defeat on the firſt of July, as they themſelves teſtify? Cortes was ſo mindful of him, and felt ſo much reſentment for thoſe diſaſters, that when he found he had forces ſufficient to undertake the ſiege of Mexico, being deſirous of revenging himſelf on that king, but not being able to get revenge on his perſon, he took it upon his favourite city. This was the motive, as Cortes himſelf ſays, of his expedition againſt Iztapalapan.

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the gods would pour down all the vengeance of their anger upon them for confederating with the enemies of their worſhip. If, on the contrary, they would as he prayed, declare themſelves the enemies of thoſe men who were abhorred by heaven and earth, the court of Mexico would form a perpetual alliance with them, and from that time forward have a free commerce with the republic, by which they would eſcape the miſery to which they had been hitherto ſubjected: all the nations of Anahuac would acknowledge their obligation to them for ſo important a ſervice, and the gods, appeaſed with the blood of thoſe victims, would ſhower down the neceſſary rain upon their fields, ſtamp ſucceſs upon their arms, and celebrate the name of Tlaſcala through all that land.

The ſenate, after having liſtened to the embaſſy, and diſmiſſed the ambaſſadors from the hall of audience, according to their cuſtom, entered into conſultation upon that important queſtion. To ſome among them the propoſals of the court of Mexico appeared juſt and conſiſtent with the ſecurity of the republic; they exaggerated the advantages which were offered to them; and on the other hand, the unlucky iſſue of the undertaking of the Spaniards in Mexico, and the ſlaughter made of the Tlaſcalan troops which had been under their command. Amongſt the reſt the young Xicotencatl, who had always been the bitter enemy of the Spaniards, raiſed his voice, and endeavoured, with all the reaſons he could urge, to perſuade the ſenate to the Mexican alliance; adding, that it would be much better to preſerve the ancient cuſtoms of their fathers than to ſubmit to the new and extravagant policy of that proud and imperious nation; that it would be impoſſible to find a fitter opportunity to rid themſelves of the Spaniards than then, when they were reduced in number, feeble in ſtrength, and dejected in mind. Maxixcatzin, who, on the contrary, was ſincerely attached to the Spaniards, and poſſeſſed of more diſcernment of the laws of nations, alſo of a diſpoſition more inclined to obſerve them, arraigned the ſentiments of Xicotencatl, charging him with abominable perfidy in counſelling the ſenate to ſacrifice to the revenge of the Mexicans, men who had juſt felt the rod of adverſity, and ſought an aſylum in Tlaſcala, truſting in the promiſes and proteſtations of the ſenate and the nation. He continued, that if they flattered themſelves with receiving the advantages which the

the Mexicans offered, he on the contrary hoped for greater from the bravery of the Spaniards; that if there was no motive to place confidence in them, they ought ſtill leſs to confide in the Mexicans, of whoſe perfidy they had ſo many examples; laſtly, that no crime would be capable of provoking ſo ſtrongly the anger of the gods, and obſcuring the glory of the nation, as ſuch impious treachery to their innocent gueſts. Xicotencatl preſſed his counſel upon the ſenate, preſenting to them an odious picture of the genius and cuſtoms of the Spaniards. So great an altercation enſued, and their minds became ſo much heated, that Maxixcatzin, tranſported with paſſion, gave a violent puſh to Xicotencatl, and threw him down ſome ſteps of the audience chamber, calling him a ſeditious traitor to his country. Such an accuſation made by a perſon ſo circumſpect, ſo reſpected and loved by the nation, obliged the ſenate to impriſon Xicotencatl.

The reſolution which they came to was, to anſwer to the embaſſy that the republic was ready to accept the peace and friendſhip of the court of Mexico, when it did not require ſo unworthy an act, and a crime ſo enormous, as the ſacrifice of their gueſts and friends; but when the ambaſſadors were ſought for, to have the anſwer of the ſenate delivered to them, it was found they had already departed in ſecret from Tlaſcala: for having obſerved the people a little unquiet upon their arrival, they were afraid that ſome attempt might have been made againſt the reſpect due to their character. It is therefore probable that the ſenate ſent Tlaſcalan meſſengers with their anſwer to the court. The ſenators endeavoured to conceal from the Spaniards the purport of the embaſſy, and all that had happened in the ſenate; but, in ſpite of their ſecrecy, Cortes knew it, and with juſtice thanked Maxixcatzin for his good offices, and engaged to confirm him in the favourable idea he entertained of the bravery and friendſhip of the Spaniards.

The ſenate, not content with thoſe proofs of its great fidelity, acknowledged freſh obedience to the Catholic king; and what was ſtill more flattering to their gueſts, the four chiefs of the republic renounced idolatry, and were baptized, while Cortes and his officers ſtood their godfathers, and the function was celebrated by Olmedo with great rejoicing and jubilee through all Tlaſcala.

Cortes

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SECT. XXVI. New diſcontents and fears among ſome of the Spaniards.

Cortes was now freed from the danger to which his life was expoſed from the blow he had received on his head in the laſt battle; and the reſt of the Spaniards, except a few who died, were cured of their wounds by the aſſiſtance of the Tlaſcalan ſurgeons. During the time of his ſickneſs, Cortes thought of nothing elſe than the means he muſt uſe to conduct his undertaking of the conqueſt of Mexico to a proſperous end; and to further this, he had ordered a conſiderable quantity of timber to be cut for the conſtruction of thirteen brigantines; but while he was forming thoſe grand projects, many of his ſoldiers were indulging very different thoughts in their minds. They beheld their number diminiſhed, themſelves poor, ill accoutred, and unfurniſhed with horſes as well as arms. They could not chaſe from their thoughts the terrible conflict and tragic night of the firſt of July, and were unwilling to expoſe themſelves any more to new adventures. Their preſent ideas, and future apprehenſions, were both too much for them; and they blamed their general for his obſtinacy in ſo raſh an undertaking. From murmurs in private, they proceeded to make a legal requeſt to him, deſirous of prevailing on him, by a variety of arguments, to return to Vera Cruz, where they could procure freſh troops, and a ſupply of arms and proviſions, for the purpoſe of attempting the conqueſt with greater hopes, as at preſent they deemed it impoſſible. Cortes was much troubled at this alteration of their ſentiments, which threatened to fruſtrate all his deſigns; but exerciſing his talent to perſuade his ſoldiers to his own pleaſure, he made them a pointed energetic ſpeech, which had effect enough to make them give up their pretenſions. He reproached them for that bud of cowardice he ſaw ſpringing in their minds, awakened their ſentiments of honour, by a flattering recital of their glorious actions, and the proteſtations full of ardor and courage which they had frequently made him. He made them fully ſenſible how much more difficult it would be for them to return to Vera Cruz than to remain at Tlaſcala; aſſured them of the fidelity of that republic, of which they ſeemed a little doubtful. Laſtly, he prayed them to ſuſpend their reſolution, until they ſhould ſee the event of the war, which he deſigned to make upon the province of Tepejacac, in which he hoped to find new proofs of the ſincerity of the Tlaſcalans.

SECT. XXVII. War of the Spaniards againſt Tepejacac.

The lords of the province of Tepejacac, which bordered on the republic of Tlaſcala, had declared themſelves the friends of Cortes, and

ſubjects

ſubjects of the court of Spain, ever ſince that terrible maſſacre which the Spaniards had made in Cholula; but ſeeing afterwards that the Spaniards were worſted, and the Mexicans victorious, they put themſelves again under obedience to the king of Mexico; and, in order to conciliate his favour, they killed ſome Spaniards who were on their journey from Vera Cruz to Mexico, and unappriſed of the tragedy which had happened to their companions there; they admitted a Mexican garriſon into their territory, and occupied the road which led from Vera Cruz to Tlaſcala; and, not even contented with that, they made ſome incurſions into the lands of that republic. Cortes propoſed to make war upon them, not leſs to puniſh their perfidy than to ſecure the road from that port for the ſuccours he expected from thence. He was inſtigated alſo to this expedition by the young Xicotencatl, who had been ſet at liberty by the mediation of the Spaniſh general himſelf, and that he might remove every ſuſpicion againſt him concerning what had paſſed in the ſenate, offered to aſſiſt him in that war with a ſtrong army. Cortes accepted his offer; but before he took up arms, he in a friendly manner demanded ſatisfaction of the Tepejacans, and adviſed them to quit the Mexican cauſe, promiſing to pardon the treſpaſs they had committed in murdering thoſe Spaniards; but his propoſition having been rejected, he marched againſt them with four hundred and twenty Spaniards and ſix thouſand Tlaſcalan archers, while Xicotencatl was levying an army of fifty thouſand men. In Tzimpontzinco, a city of the republic, ſo many troops aſſembled from the ſtates of Huexozinco, and Cholula, that it was imagined their number amounted to a hundred and fifty thouſand.

The firſt expedition was againſt Zacatepec, the place of the confederacy of the Tepejacans. The inhabitants of it laid in ambuſcade for the Spaniards. They fought on both ſides with great courage and obſtinacy, but at laſt the Spaniards were victors, and a conſiderable number of the enemy left dead on the field (*a*). From thence the army marched againſt Acatzinco, a city ten miles to the ſouthward of

(*a*) Several hiſtorians ſay, that the night after the battle of Zacatepec the allies of the Spaniards had a great ſupper of human fleſh; part roaſted on ſpits of wood, part boiled in fifty thouſand pots. But this appears a complete fable. It is not probable that Cortes, or Bernal Diaz, ſhould have omitted an event in their relations of ſo remarkable a nature, particularly Diaz, who is generally too prolix and tedious in his recital of ſuch acts of inhumanity.

Tepejacac,

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Tepejacac, into which the Spaniards entered triumphant, after gaining a battle little leſs difficult than that of Zacatepec. From Acatzinco Cortes ſent detachments to burn ſeveral places in that neighbourhood, and to ſubject others to his obedience; and when it appeared to be time to attack the principal city, he ſet out with all his army for Tepejacac, where he entered without any reſiſtance from the citizens. Here he declared many priſoners taken in that province to be ſlaves, and made the mark of a ſeal upon them with a hot iron, according to the barbarous cuſtom of that century, allotting the fifth part of them to the king of Spain, and dividing the reſt among the Spaniards and the allies. He founded there, according to the manner of ſpeaking of the Spaniards in thoſe days, a city which he called *Segura della Frontera*, the founding of which conſiſted in eſtabliſhing Spaniſh magiſtrates there, and erecting a ſmall fortification (*b*.)

SECT. XXVIII. War of Quauhquechollan.

The Mexican troops, garriſoned in that province, retreated from it, not having ſufficient ſtrength to reſiſt the power of their enemies; but, at the ſame time, there appeared at the city of Quauhquechollan (*c*), diſtant about four miles from Tepejacac, towards the ſouth, an army of Mexicans ſent there by king Cuitlahuatzin, to hinder the paſſage of the Spaniards by that quarter to the capital, if they now ſhould attempt it. Quauhquechollan was a conſiderable city, containing from five to ſix thouſand families, pleaſantly ſituated, and not leſs fortified by nature than by art. It was naturally defended on one ſide by a ſteep rocky mountain, and on another ſide by two parallel running rivers. The whole of the city was ſurrounded by a ſtrong wall of ſtone and lime, about twenty feet high and twelve broad, with a breaſt-work all round, of about three feet in height. There were but four ways to enter, at thoſe places where the extremities of the wall were doubled, forming two ſemicircles, as we have already repreſented in the figure given in our eighth book. The difficulty of the entrance was increaſed by the elevation of the ſite of the city, which was almoſt equal to the height of the wall itſelf; ſo that in order to enter, it was neceſſary to aſcend by ſome very deep ſteps.

(*b*) The city of Tepejacac, or Tepeaca, as the Spaniards call it, is ſtill exiſting; but the name of *Segura della Frontera* was ſoon forgotten. Charles V. gave it the title and honour of Spaniſh City in 1545. At preſent, it belongs to the marquiſate of the valley.

(*c*) Quauhquechollan is called by the Spaniards Guaqueechula, or *Huacachula*. At preſent, it is a pleaſant Indian village, abounding with good fruits.

The

The lord of that city, who was partial to the Spaniards, ſent an embaſſy to Cortes, declaring his ſubmiſſion to the king of Spain, who had been already acknowledged ſovereign of all that land, in the celebrated aſſembly held by king Montezuma with the Mexican nobility, in the preſence of Cortes; that, although deſirous, he was not permitted by the Mexicans to manifeſt his fidelity; that, then there were a great number of Mexican officers in Quauhquechollan, and thirty thouſand men of war partly in that city, partly in the places around it, for the purpoſe of preventing any confederacy with the Spaniards: nevertheleſs, he requeſted him to come to his aſſiſtance, and free him from the vexations which he ſuffered from thoſe troops. Cortes was pleaſed with the intelligence, and immediately ſent with the ſame meſſengers a party of thirteen horſes, two hundred Spaniards, and thirty thouſand auxiliary troops, under the command of captain Olid. The meſſengers, according to the order of their lord, undertook to conduct the army by a way little travelled, and appriſed captain Olid that when they came near to the city, the Quauhquechellans were to attack with ſome armed bodies the quarters of the Mexican officers, and to endeavour to ſeize or kill them, in order that when the Spaniſh army entered the city, it might be eaſy for them to defeat the enemy without their leaders. But twelve miles before the army reached Quauhquechollan, the Spaniſh commander became ſuſpicious that the Huexotzincas might be ſecretly confederated with the Quauhquechollans and the Mexicans, in order to deſtroy the Spaniards. His ſuſpicion, occaſioned by ſecret information, and rendered ſtill more ſtrong by the numbers of the Huexotzincas, who of their own accord joined the army, obliged him to return to Cholula, where he made ſome of the moſt reſpectable perſons among the Huexotzincas and the ambaſſadors of Quauhquechollan be ſeized, and ſent them under a ſtrong guard to Cortes, that he might make enquiry into this ſuppoſed ſtratagem.

Cortes was extremely vexed at this proceeding againſt ſuch faithful friends as the Huexotzincas: nevertheleſs he carefully examined them, diſcovered the innocence and fidelity of both parties, and obſerved, that the late diſaſters had made the Spaniards more timorous, and that fear, as uſual, had induced them to carry their ſuſpicion farther than was proper or neceſſary. He gave kind treatment and made preſents to the

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Quauhquechollans and the Huexotzincas; and, accompanied by them, he marched for Cholula, with a hundred Spaniſh infantry and ten horſes, having reſolved to execute this enterpriſe in perſon. He found the Spaniards in Cholula apprehenſive, but he ſoon encouraged them, and then marched for Quauhquechollan, with all his army, which conſiſted now of three hundred Spaniards and upwards of a hundred thouſand allies: ſuch was the readineſs of thoſe people in taking arms to free themſelves from the yoke of the Mexicans. Before he arrived at Quauhquechollan, Cortes was informed by the chief of that city, that all the purpoſed meaſures had been taken; that the Mexicans were confiding in their centinels poſted upon the towers of the city, and on the road; but that the centinels had already been ſecretly ſeized and confined by the citizens.

The Quauhquechollans no ſooner ſaw the army which was coming to their aſſiſtance, than they attacked the quarters of the Mexican officers with ſuch fury, that, before Cortes entered the city, they preſented him forty priſoners. When the general entered, three thouſand citizens were aſſaulting the principal dwelling of the Mexicans, who, though greatly inferior in number, defended themſelves ſo bravely that they could not take the houſe, although they had rendered themſelves maſters of the terraces. Cortes made the aſſault, and took it; but in ſpite of the efforts he made to ſeize any one of them, from whom he might learn ſome intelligence of the court, the Mexicans fought with ſuch obſtinacy, that they were all killed, and he with difficulty obtained ſome few particulars from a dying officer. The other Mexicans, who were ſcattered through the city, fled out precipitately to incorporate themſelves with the body of the army, encamped on a high ground which commanded all the environs. They immediately formed in order of battle, entered the city, and began ſetting fire to the houſes. Cortes affirms, that he never ſaw an army make a more beautiful appearance, on account of the gold and the plumes with which their armour was adorned. The Spaniards defended the city with their cavalry and many thouſands of allies, and forced them to retreat to a high and almoſt inacceſſible ground; but being likewiſe thither purſued by their enemies, they betook themſelves to the ſummit of a very lofty mountain, leaving numbers dead on the field. The conquerors, after having ſacked the Mexican camp, returned to the city loaded with ſpoils.

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The army reſted three days in Quauhquechollan, and on the fourth marched towards Itzocan (*d*), a city containing from three to four thouſand families, ſituate on the ſide of a mountain, about ten miles from Quauhquechollan, ſurrounded by a deep river and a ſmall wall. It ſtreets were well diſpoſed, and its temples ſo numerous, that Cortes imagined them, including ſmall and large, to be more than a hundred in number. The air of it is hot, from being ſituated in a deep valley, ſhut in by high mountains; and its ſoil, like that of Quauhquechollan, fertile, and ſhaded by trees bearing the moſt beautiful bloſſoms and excellent fruits. A prince of the royal blood of Mexico governed the ſtate at this time, to whom Montezuma had given it in fief, after having put its lawful lord to death, for ſome miſdemeanor of which we are ignorant; and there was now in it a garriſon of from five to ſix thouſand Mexican troops. All theſe particulars having been communicated to Cortes, he was induced to make an expedition againſt Itzocan. His army was ſo much increaſed, that it amounted, according to his own affirmation, to about the number of a hundred and fifty thouſand men. He ſtormed the city on that ſide where the entry was leaſt difficult. The Itzocaneſe, ſeconded by the royal troops, made at firſt ſome reſiſtance; but having been at laſt overcome by ſuperiority of force, they went into confuſion, and fled by the oppoſite part of the city: and, having croſſed the river, they raiſed the bridges to prevent the purſuit of the enemy. The Spaniards and the allies, in ſpite of the difficulty of getting acroſs the river, chaſed them four miles, killing ſome, making others priſoners, and ſtriking terror and diſmay to the whole. Cortes, having returned to the city, made all the ſanctuaries be ſet on fire, and by means of ſome priſoners recalled the citizens who were ſcattered through the mountains, and invited them to return without fear to inhabit their houſes. The lord of Itzocan had abſented from the city, and ſet out for Mexico, whenever the army of the enemy came in ſight. That was ſufficient to the nobility to declare the ſtate vacant, particularly as in all probability he was not very acceptable to them; on which account they agreed, with the authority and under the protection of Cortes, to give it to a ſon of the lord of Quauhquechollan and a daughter of that lord who was put to

(*d*) Itzocan is called Izucar by the Spaniards.

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death by Montezuma; and becauſe he was ſtill a youth of few years, his father, his uncle, and two other nobles, were appointed his tutors.

The fame of the victories of the Spaniards ſpread ſuddenly through all the country, and drew the obedience of many to the Catholic king. Beſides Quauhquechollan, Itzocan, and Ocopetlajoccan, a large city at a little diſtance from the two firſt, ſome lords came to pay homage to the crown of Caſtile, from eight places of Coaixtlahuacan, a part of the great province of Mixtecapan, more than a hundred and twenty miles diſtant towards the ſouth from the city of Quauhquechollan, courting with emulation the alliance and friendſhip of ſuch brave ſtrangers.

SECT. XXX. War of Xalatzinco, Tecamachalco, and Tochtepec.

Cortes, having returned to Tepejacac, made war, by means of his captains, on ſome cities who had ſhewn hoſtilities to the Spaniards. The inhabitants of Xalatzinco, a city at a litle diſtance from the road of Vera Cruz, were conquered by the brave Sandoval, and the principal perſons carried priſoners to Cortes, who, upon ſeeing them humble and penitent, ſet them at liberty again. Thoſe of Tecamachalco, a city of conſiderable ſize, of the Popolocan nation, made a ſtout reſiſtance; but at laſt they ſurrendered, and two thouſand of them were made ſlaves. Againſt Tochtepec, a large city upon the river Papaloapan, where there was a Mexican garriſon, he ſent a captain, named Salcedo, with eighty Spaniards, of whom not one returned alive to bring the general the news of their defeat. This loſs was ſenſibly felt by Cortes, and on account of the few Spaniards he then had, was a very heavy one; but, in order to revenge it, he ſent two brave captains, Ordaz and Avila, with ſome horſes and two thouſand allies againſt the garriſon, who, notwithſtanding the great courage with which the Mexicans defended themſelves, took the city, and killed a number of the enemy.

The loſs of thoſe eighty ſoldiers was not the only thing which diſtreſſed Cortes. Thoſe who a little time before had conjured him to return to Vera Cruz, perſiſted now ſo obſtinately in their demand, that he was obliged to grant them permiſſion not to return to Vera Cruz, to wait for ſome reinforcement, but to Cuba, in order to be at a greater diſtance from the dangers of war, it appearing a leſs evil to that judicious and diſcerning leader to diminiſh the number of his troops than to keep diſcontented men, who, by their want of ſpirit, would relax

the courage and damp the minds of the reſt; but this loſs was quickly and abundantly ſupplied by a conſiderable number of ſoldiers, who arrived with horſes, arms, and ammunition, at the port of Vera Cruz; one party being ſent by the governor of Cuba to the aſſiſtance of Narvaez, the other by the governor of Jamaica, to the expedition of Panuco: who all willingly joined themſelves to Cortes, converting thoſe very means, which were employed by his enemies for his ruin, into inſtruments of his ſucceſs.

SECT. XXXI. Havock made by the ſmall-pox. Death of king Cuitlahuatzin and the prince Maxixcatzin, and election of king Quauhtemotzin.

The conqueſts of the Spaniards, and the number of their allies, ſo aggrandiſed their name, and procured ſuch authority to Cortes among thoſe people, that he was the umpire in all their differences, and they repaired to him as if he had been the ſovereign lord of all the region, to obtain confirmation of the inveſtiture of vacant ſtates, and in particular thoſe of Cholula and Ocotelolco in Tlaſcala, both vacant by deaths occaſioned by the ſmall-pox. This ſcourge of the human race, totally unknown hitherto in the new world, was brought there by a Mooriſh ſlave belonging to Narvaez. He infected the Chempoalleſe, and from thence the infection ſpread through all the Mexican empire, to the irremediable deſtruction of thoſe nations. Many thouſands periſhed and ſome places were utterly depopulated. They whoſe conſtitution ſurmounted the violence of the diſtemper, remained ſo disfigured and marked with ſuch deep pits in the face, that they raiſed horror in every perſon who viewed them. Among other diſaſters occaſioned by this diſorder, the death of Cuitlahuatzin, after a reign of three or four months, was moſt ſenſibly felt by the Mexicans, and the death of prince Maxixcatzin by the Tlaſcalans and Spaniards.

The Mexicans choſe Quauhtemotzin, nephew of the deceaſed Cuitlahuatzin, for their king, as no brother of the two laſt kings was ſurviving. This was a youth of about twenty-five years, of great ſpirit; and although not much practiſed in the art of war, on account of his age, he continued the military diſpoſitions of his predeceſſor. He married his coufin Tecuichpotzin, daughter of Montezuma, and formerly wife to his uncle Cuitlahuatzin.

The death of Maxixcatzin was greatly lamented by Cortes, as much on account of the particular friendſhip formed between them, as to him it had been principally owing that there was ſo much harmony between

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between the Tlaſcalans and the Spaniards. Having rendered the road of Vera Cruz perfectly ſecure, and ſent the captain Ordaz to the court of Spain, with a diſtinct account in writing, addreſſed to Charles V. of all that had hitherto happened; and the captain Avila to the iſland of Hiſpaniola, to ſolicit new ſuccours for the conqueſt of Mexico, he departed from Tepejacac for Tlaſcala, entered there, dreſſed in mourning, and made other demonſtrations of grief for the death of his friend the prince. At the requeſt of the Tlaſcalans themſelves, and in the name of the Catholic king, he conferred the vacant ſtate of Ocotelolco, one of the four principal ſtates of that republic, on the ſon of the late prince, a youth of twelve years, and, in honour of the merits of his father, he armed him as a knight according to the cuſtom of Caſtile.

SECT. XXXII. Exaltation of prince Coanacotzin and death of Cuicuitzcatzin.

About this ſame time, though from a very different cauſe, the death of the prince Cuicuitzcatzin happened, whom Montezuma and Cortes had placed on the throne of Acolhuacan in the room of his unfortunate brother Cacamatzin. He was not permitted to enjoy long his borrowed dignity, for he who had given him the crown very ſoon deprived him of his liberty. He departed from Mexico among the other priſoners that night of the defeat of the Spaniards; but he had then the fortune, or perhaps rather misfortune to eſcape, as he was ſoon to loſe his life in a more ignominious manner. He accompanied the Spaniards in their engagements as far as Tlaſcala, where he remained, until having become either impatient of oppreſſion or deſirous of recovering the throne, he fled in ſecret to Tezcuco. At this court his brother Coanacotzin was then reigning, to whom, after the death of Cacamatzin the crown in right belonged. Cuicuitzcatzin had hardly made his appearance when he was made priſoner by the royal miniſters, who gave ſpeedy advice to their king of it, who was then abſent at Mexico. He communicated it to king Quauhtemotzin his couſin, who conſidering that fugitive prince a ſpy of the Spaniards, thought he ſhould be put to death. Coanacotzin, either to pleaſe that monarch, or to take away from Cuicuitzcatzin any opportunity of attempting to recover the crown to the prejudice of his own right and the peace of the kingdom, executed that ſentence upon him.

BOOK X.

March of the Spaniards to Tezcuco; their negociations with the Mexicans; their excurſions and battles in the environs of the Mexican lakes; expeditions againſt Ixcapichtlan, Quauhnahuac, and other cities; conſtruction of the brigantines; conſpiracy of ſome Spaniards againſt Cortes; review, diviſion, and poſts, of the Spaniſh army; ſiege of Mexico, impriſonment of king Quauhtemotzin, and fall of the Mexican empire.

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Sect. I. Review and march of the Spaniſh army to Tezcuco.

CORTES, who never quitted the thought of the conqueſt of Mexico, attended moſt diligently, while in Tlaſcala, to the building of the brigantines and to the diſcipline of his troops. He obtained of the ſenate a hundred men of burden, for the tranſportation of the ſails, cordage, iron, and other materials of the veſſels, which he had unrigged the preceding year on purpoſe to equip the brigantines; for tar he extracted a large quantity of turpentine from the pines on the great mountain Matlalcueje. He gave notice to the Huexotzincas, Cholulans, Tepejacheſe, and other allies, to prepare their troops and collect a large ſtore of proviſions of every kind for a numerous army, which was to be employed in beſieging Mexico. When it appeared to him to be time to march, he made a review of his troops, which conſiſted of forty horſe and five hundred and fifty infantry. He divided this ſmall body of cavalry into four troops and the infantry into nine companies, ſome of them armed with guns, ſome with croſs-bows, ſome with ſwords and ſhields, and others with pikes. From the horſe on which he was mounted, while he was reviewing his troops and ordering the ranks, he made them this ſpeech: "My friends and "brave companions! any diſcourſe which I might make to animate "your zeal would be altogether ſuperfluous, as we all acknowledge "ourſelves bound to repair the honour of our arms, and to revenge "the

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" the death of the Spaniards and our allies: let us go to the conqueſt of " Mexico, the moſt glorious enterprize which can preſent itſelf to us " through life; let us go, to puniſh, with one ſtroke, the perfidy, " the pride, and the cruelty of our enemies; to extend the dominions " of our ſovereign, by adding this large and rich domain to them; to " pave the way to religion, and open the gates of heaven to many millions " of ſouls; to gain with the labour of a few days a competence for " our families, and to render all our names immortal; motives all ca- " pable of encouraging even the moſt daſtardly minds, as well as your " generous and noble hearts: I ſee no difficulty before us, which your " bravery may not overcome: our enemies are indeed numerous, but " we are ſuperior to them in courage, in diſcipline, and in arms; be- " ſides, we have ſuch a number of auxiliaries under our command, that " we might conquer with their aſſiſtance not one only, but many cities " equal to Mexico: however ſtrong it may be, it is not yet ſo powerful " as to withſtand the attacks we ſhall make upon it by land and water: " laſtly, God, for whoſe glory we fight, has ſhewn a diſpoſition to " proſper our deſigns; his providence has preſerved us in the midſt " of all our diſaſters and dangers, has ſent us new companions in the " room of thoſe we have loſt, and converted to our benefit the means " which our enemies employed for our ruin: what may we not expect " in future from his mercy? let us confide in him, and not render " ourſelves unworthy of his protection by diffidence and puſillani- " mity."

The Tlaſcalans, who endeavoured to imitate the diſcipline of the Spaniards, thought proper alſo to make a review of their troops before Cortes. The army was preceded by their martial muſic of horns, ſea-ſhells, and other ſuch wind-inſtruments, after which came the four chiefs of the republic, armed with ſword and ſhield, and adorned with moſt rich and beautiful plumes, which roſe more than two feet above their heads; they wore their hair tied with fillets of gold, pendants of gems at their lips and ears, and ſhoes of great value upon their feet; behind them came their four ſhield-bearers, armed with bows and arrows; next the four principal ſtandards of the republic appeared, each with its proper enſign wrought of feathers; then paſſed in regular ranks of twenty each the troops of archers, carrying at certain diſtances,

diſtances the particular ſtandards of their companies, every one of which was compoſed of three or four hundred men. They were followed by the troops, armed with ſwords and ſhields, and laſtly, by the pikemen. Herrera and Torquemada affirm, that the archers amounted to ſixty, the pikemen to ten, and the others armed with ſwords to forty thouſand in number. Xicotencatl, the younger, made alſo an addreſs to his troops, after the example of Cortes, in which he told them, that the next day, as had already been intimated, they were to march with the brave Spaniards againſt the Mexicans, their inveterate enemies; that although the Tlaſcalan name was ſufficient to intimidate all the nations of Anahuac, they muſt exert themſelves to acquire new glory from their actions.

Cortes, on his part, aſſembled the principal lords of the allied ſtates, and exhorted them to conſtant fidelity to the Spaniards, exaggerating to them the advantages they might hope for, from the ruin of their enemy, and the evils they might dread, if ever from the ſuggeſtions of the Mexicans, or the fear of war, or ficklenеſs of mind, they ſhould violate their promiſed faith. He then publiſhed a military proclamation for the conduct of his troops, containing the following articles:

1ſt. No perſon ſhall blaſpheme againſt God, nor the bleſſed Virgin, nor againſt the ſaints.

2d. No perſon ſhall quarrel with another, nor put his hand to his ſword, nor any other weapon, to ſtrike him.

3d. No perſon ſhall game with his arms, or his horſe, or iron tools.

4th. No perſon ſhall force any woman, under pain of death.

5th. No perſon ſhall take away the property of another, nor puniſh any Indian, unleſs he is his ſlave.

6th. No perſons ſhall make excurſions from the camp without our permiſſion.

7th. No perſon ſhall make any Indian priſoner, nor plunder his houſe, without our permiſſion.

8th. No perſon ſhall ill uſe the allies, but, on the contrary, muſt exert every means to maintain their friendſhip.

And becauſe it is of no ſervice to publiſh laws, if the obſervance of them is not zealouſly attended to, and delinquents puniſhed, he ordered

BOOK X. two Moors, his ſlaves, to be hanged, becauſe they ſtole a turkey and two cotton mantles. By theſe, and other ſimilar puniſhments, he made his orders be regarded, which greatly contributed to the preſervation of his troops.

After he had made all the diſpoſitions which he thought would conduce to the happy iſſue of his enterpriſe, he at length marched with all his Spaniards, and a conſiderable number of the allies, on the 28th of December, 1520, having firſt heard maſs, and invoked the Holy Spirit. He did not then chooſe to take the whole army of the allies with him, which had been reviewed the day before, both on account of the difficulty which there would be to maintain ſo numerous an army in Tezcuco, and becauſe he thought it neceſſary to leave the greater part of them in Tlaſcala to guard the brigantines, when it ſhould be time to tranſport them. Of the three roads, which led to Tezcuco, Cortes choſe the moſt difficult, being wiſely perſuaded that the Mexicans would not expect him there, and his march would conſequently be more ſafe. He proceeded therefore by Tetzmellocan, a village belonging to the ſtate of Huexotzinco. On the 30th, they diſcovered, from the higheſt ſummit of thoſe mountains, the beautiful vale of Mexico, partly with gladneſs, becauſe there lay the object of their deſires; partly with ſome diſguſt,, from the remembrance of their diſaſters. In beginning to deſcend towards that vale, they found the way obſtructed with trunks and branches of trees laid acroſs it deſignedly, and were obliged to employ a thouſand Tlaſcalans to clear it. As ſoon as they reached the plain, they were attacked by ſome flying troops of the enemy; but upon ſome of them being killed by the Spaniards, the reſt fled. That night they quartered in Coatepec, a place about eight miles diſtant from Tezcuco; and the day following, as they were marching towards that capital, in ſome doubt and anxiety concerning the diſpoſition of the Tezcucans, but at the ſame time reſolved not to return without having taken ſome revenge of their enemies, they ſaw coming to them four reſpectable perſons unarmed, one of them with a little golden flag in his hand; and Cortes recollecting that this was an enſign of peace, he advanced to confer with them. Theſe four meſſengers were ſent by king Coanacotzin to compliment the Spaniſh general, to invite him to the court, and to requeſt him not to commit

mit any hoſtilities in his ſtates, which preſented him the flag, containing thirty-two ounces of gold. Cortes, notwithſtanding this ſhew of friendſhip, reproached them for the death they had a few months before been the cauſe of to forty-five Spaniards, five horſes, and three hundred Tlaſcalans, who accompanied them loaded with gold, ſilver, and arms for the Spaniards who were then in Mexico, and executed with ſuch inhumanity, that they had hung up the ſkins of the Spaniards, with their arms and habits, and thoſe of the horſes with their armour, as trophies in the temples of Tezcuco. He added, that although it was impoſſible to compenſate the loſs of his people, they muſt at leaſt pay the gold and ſilver which they had robbed from them; that if they did not make the due ſatisfaction, he would, for every Spaniard they had killed, ſlay a thouſand Tezcucans. The meſſengers anſwered, that the Mexicans, and not the Tezcucans, under whoſe orders the Zoltepecheſe had acted, were blameable for that; but, notwithſtanding, they would uſe every endeavour to make all be reſtored to him; and having taken polite leave of the Spaniſh general, returned in haſte to Tezcuco with the news of the near arrival of the Spaniards at that court.

SECT. II. Entry of the Spaniards into Tezcuco, and revolutions in that court.

Cortes entered with his army into Tezcuco, on the laſt day of that year. Some nobles came out to meet him, and conducted him to one of the palaces of the late king Nezahualcojotl, which was ſo large, that not only the ſix hundred Spaniards were lodged in it, but, according to what Cortes ſays, it could have accommodated ſix hundred more. That general ſoon perceived the concourſe of people in the ſtreets remarkably diminiſhed, as he thought he did not ſee the third part of of the inhabitants which he had ſeen upon former occaſions, and particularly obſerved that the women and children were out of the way, which was a manifeſt token of ſome evil diſpoſition in that court. In order to leſſen the diſtruſt of the citizens, and avoid any accident to his own people, he publiſhed a proclamation, in which he forbad, under pain of death, any of his ſoldiers to leave their quarters without his permiſſion. After dinner, they obſerved from the terraces of the palace a great number of people abandoning the city, ſome withdrawing to the neighbouring woods, and others to different places around the lake. The night following, the king Coanacotzin abſented,

BOOK X. tranſporting himſelf to Mexico by water, in ſpite of Cortes, who deſigned to have taken him, as he had formerly done, his three brothers Cacamatzin, Cuicuitzcatzin, and Ixtlilxochitl. Coanacotzin could not purſue any other meaſure; for how was it poſſible he could think himſelf ſecure among the Spaniards, after having ſeen what had happened to his brothers, and Montezuma his uncle? And particularly being apprehenſive that many of his own ſubjects would take occaſion to declare themſelves his enemies, ſome from their fear of the Spaniards, or the particular intereſt of their families; others, to revenge the death of Cuicuitzcatzin, and place Ixtlilxochitl on the throne.

The revolutions which happened in that court ſufficiently juſtified the reſolution he formed. Cortes was hardly three days in Tezcuco, when the lords of Huexotla, Coatlichan, and Atenco, three cities ſo near, as we have already mentioned, to Tezcuco, that they appeared like its ſuburbs, preſented themſelves to him, intreating him to accept their alliance and friendſhip. Cortes, who deſired nothing more earneſtly than to augment his party, received them kindly, and promiſed his protection. The court of Mexico, as ſoon as it knew of this change, ſent a ſevere reprimand to thoſe lords, telling them, that if their motive for adopting ſo baſe a meaſure was the fear which they had of the power of their enemies, it was fit for them alſo to know, that the Mexicans had ſtill greater forces, by which they would ſoon ſee the Spaniards, with their favourite allies the Tlaſcalans, totally cruſhed; that if they had been obliged to it, for the intereſt of the ſtates and poſſeſſions which they owned in Tezcuco, they might come to Mexico, where they would be aſſigned better lands. But thoſe lords, inſtead of being intimidated with the reprimand, or yielding to the promiſes made them, ſeized the meſſengers, and ſent them to Cortes. He demanded of them the purport of their embaſſy? To which they anſwered, that as they knew thoſe lords to be in his favour, they had come to intreat them to be mediators for peace between the Mexicans and the Spaniards. Cortes affected to believe what they told him, ſet them at liberty and charged them to tell their ſovereign, that he did not wiſh for war, nor would not wage it, if he was not compelled by hoſtilities from the Mexicans; that therefore the king ſhould attend, and guard againſt offering any injury to the Spaniards, otherwiſe

otherwiſe they would become his enemies, and infallibly ruin his capital.

The alliance of thoſe cities was of no ſmall importance to Cortes, but of all things it was moſt neceſſary to bring that court in his favour, both on account of the numerous nobility which it contained, and their influence on the other cities of the kingdom. From the firſt moment he entered that city he ſtudied to gain their minds by every civility and courteſy, and enjoined the ſame thing to his people, forbidding moſt ſeverely all kinds of hoſtility towards the citizens. He diſcovered, from the beginning, a party of the nobility favourable to the prince Ixtlilxochitl, whom he ſtill kept confined for ſome purpoſe in Tlaſcala. He made him be brought to court by a ſtrong party of Spaniards and Tlaſcalans, preſented him to the nobility, and got them to acknowledge him king, and crown him with the ſame ceremonies and rejoicings uſually made for their lawful ſovereign. Cortes promoted his advancement as much to revenge himſelf of the lawful king Coanacotzin, as becauſe the kingdom was dependent upon him. The people accepted him, either becauſe they durſt not oppoſe the Spaniards, or perhaps becauſe they were tired of the government of Coanacotzin. Ixtlilxochitl was a youth of about twenty-three years; from the time of the firſt entry of the Spaniards into Tlaſcala he had declared himſelf openly for the Spaniards, had preſented himſelf to Cortes with offers of his army, and invited him to make his journey to Mexico by Otompan, where he was then encamped; but, in ſpite of his friendly intentions and obſequiouſneſs, he was made priſoner by the Spaniards, when they came off in defeat from Mexico, and was confined in Tlaſcala until he was called to the throne. The circumſtances of this event makes us believe, that his impriſonment was an honourable oppreſſion of his liberty, coloured with one of thoſe ſpecious pretexts, which are uſually invented by artful politicians, when, on account of ſome particular diffidence and diſtruſt, they wiſh to render themſelves ſecure. From long habit with the Spaniards he had become familiariſed with their cuſtoms and manners. On the throne he had but the appearance of majeſty; he was much leſs the lord of his ſubjects than miniſter of the pleaſure of the Spaniards, to whom he rendered great ſervices, not only in the conqueſt of Mexico, in which he

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ſerved with his perſon and troops, but alſo in the rebuilding of that capital, for which he furniſhed ſome thouſands of architects, maſons, and labourers. He died extremely young, in 1523, and was ſucceeded in the ſovereignty of Tezcuco by his brother Don Carlos, of whom afterwards we ſhall make honourable mention. By the advancement of Ixtlilxochitl, and the civilities ſhewn him by Cortes, the party of the Spaniards was conſiderably augmented, and all thoſe families of Tezcuco which had abſented from fear of hoſtilities from thoſe ſtrangers, finding themſelves now ſecure, gladly returned to their houſes.

Cortes was reſolved to keep his quarters in Tezcuco, and had therefore buſied himſelf in fortifying the royal palace, where his troops were lodged. He could not take any meaſure more conducive to his purpoſes. Tezcuco, the capital of the kingdom of Acolhuacan, and a city of great extent, abounded with every ſort of proviſion for the ſupport of an army. It had good houſes for their habitations, excellent fortifications for their defence, and plenty of artificers for every kind of labour they required. The dominions of Tezcuco alſo, from bordering on thoſe of Tlaſcala, rendered the neceſſary communication with that republic more eaſy; the neighbourhood of the lake was of great importance for the conſtruction of the brigantines, and the advantageous ſituation of that court gave the Spaniards a knowledge of all the movements of their enemies, without expoſing them to their attacks.

SECT. III. Dangerous expedition againſt Iztapalapan.

After having arranged matters in Tezcuco, Cortes reſolved to make an aſſault on the city of Iztapalapan, to revenge himſelf upon it and its citizens, for the offences received from their ancient lord Cuitlahuatzin, whom he knew to be the author of the memorable defeat of the firſt of July. He left a garriſon of more than three hundred Spaniards, and many allies, under the command of Sandoval, in Tezcuco, and marched himſelf with upwards of two hundred Spaniards, and more than three thouſand Tlaſcalans, and a great many of the Tezcucan nobility. Before they arrived at Iztapalapan, they were met by ſome troops of the enemy, who feigned to oppoſe their entry, fighting partly on land, and partly by water, but retiring as they fought, with a ſhew of not being able to withſtand the attack. The Spaniards and Tlaſcalans

calans thus employed in driving the enemy before them, entered the city, the houſes of which they found in a great meaſure unpeopled, the citizens having withdrawn with their wives and children, and the greater part of their goods, to the houſes which they had upon the little iſlands in the lake; but there they were purſued by their enemies, who fought alſo in the water. The night was now well advanced, and the Spaniards, who were rejoicing at the victory which they believed they had obtained, were buſied in ſacking the city, and the Tlaſcalans were ſetting fire to the houſes; but their gladneſs ſoon changed into terror, for by the ſame light of the burning of the city, they obſerved the water overflow the canals, and begin to lay the city under water. As ſoon as the danger was diſcovered, a retreat was ſounded, and the city was in haſte abandoned, in order to return to Tezcuco; but in ſpite of their diligence they came to a place where there was ſo much water that the Spaniards paſſed it with difficulty, and ſome of the Tlaſcalans were drowned, and the greateſt part of the booty loſt. Not one of them would have eſcaped with life, if, as Cortes affirms, they had continued three hours longer in the city; for the citizens, in order to drown all their enemies, broke the mole of the lake, and entirely deluged the city. The next day they continued their march along the lake, ſtill harraſſed by the enemy. This expedition did not prove very agreeable to the Spaniards; but although they loſt their plunder, and many were wounded, only two Spaniards and one horſe died. The loſs of the enemy was a great deal more; for, beſides the ruin of their houſes, upwards of ſix thouſand of them, agreeable to the account made by Cortes, were ſlain.

SECT. IV. New confederacies with the Spaniards.

The diſguſt, which this expedition gave to Cortes was ſoon compenſated by the obedience which he received by means of their ambaſſadors from the cities of Mizquic, Otompan, and others in that quarter, alledging, in order to obtain his favour, that thoſe ſtates having been ſolicited by the Mexicans to take arms againſt the Spaniards, would never conſent. Cortes, who was continually increaſing his authority, the more he augmented his party, required from them, as a neceſſary condition for the obtainment of his alliance, that they ſhould ſeize all the meſſengers which were ſent to them from Mexico, and all the Mexicans who arrived at their cities. They, though not without the

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the greateſt difficulty, bound themſelves to do ſo, and from that time forward were conſtantly faithful to the Spaniards.

This confederacy was immediately followed by that with Chalco, a conſiderable city and ſtate on the eaſtern border of the lake of ſweet water; for Cortes knowing that the Chalcheſe were diſpoſed to adhere to his party, but dared not declare themſelves for fear of the Mexican garriſon in their ſtate, ſent Sandoval there with twenty horſes, two hundred Spaniſh infantry, and a number of allies; but, previouſly, he ordered ſome Tlaſcalan troops to march, who were deſirous of carrying home to their own country that part of the booty which they had brought off from Iztapalapan, and from thence to return towards Chalco, and drive the Mexicans from that ſtate. Sandoval gave the van-guard to the Tlaſcalans; ſome Mexican troops, who were in ambuſh, charged ſuddenly upon them, threw them into diſorder, killed ſome of them, and took their booty; but the Spaniards coming up, defeated the Mexicans and put them to flight. Having recovered their booty, the Tlaſcalans continued their journey in ſafety, and Sandoval marched towards Chalco; but long before he arrived at the city, the greateſt part of the Mexican garriſon came to meet him, which, as ſome hiſtorians affirm, conſiſted of twelve thouſand men. A battle was fought, which laſted two hours, and concluded with the ſlaughter of many Mexicans, and the flight of the reſt. The Chalcheſe, appriſed of the victory, came with great rejoicing to meet the Spaniards, and introduced them in triumph into their city (*e*). The lord of that ſtate, who had died a ſhort time before of the ſmall-pox, had, in the laſt moments of his life, warmly recommended it to his two ſons to confederate with the Spaniards, to cultivate their friendſhip, and adopt Cortes for a father. In conſequence of his laſt deſire, thoſe two youths repaired to Tezcuco, accompanied by the Spaniſh army, and many Chalcheſe nobles, preſented the value of one hundred and fifty ſequins in gold to Cortes, and eſtabliſhed the alliance, to which they were always faithful. The

(*e*) Solis, in his account of this event, commits two geographical errors: firſt, he ſuppoſes the city of Chalco contiguous to Otompan, whereas the court of Tezcuco, and other conſiderable cities of the kingdom of Acolhuacan are between them, as we have ſhewn in our geographical chart of the Mexican lakes. Secondly, he ſays, that the ſtates of Chalco and Tlaſcala bordered upon each other, whereas there is a wood of fifteen miles long, and a part of the dominions of Huexotzinco between them.

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cauſe of rebellion, ſo frequent among the people of that empire, was in ſome the fear of the Spaniſh arms, and the power of their allies; and in others, their hatred to, and impatience under, the Mexican yoke. It is impoſſible to expect conſtant fidelity from ſubjects who are rather influenced by terror than kindneſs. No throne can be more unſtable than that which is ſupported by force of arms more than by the love of the people. Cortes, after careſſing the two Chalcheſe youths, divided the ſtate between them, either at their own requeſt, or the ſuggeſtions of the nobility. He conferred on the eldeſt the principal city, and ſome other places; and on the youngeſt he ſettled Tlalmanalco, Chimalhuaca, and Ajotzinco.

The Mexicans did not ceaſe to make incurſions into the ſtates which had confederated with the Spaniards, but the diligence uſed by Cortes in ſending ſuccour to them, made their attempts generally fruitleſs. Amongſt others, the Chalcheſe came in the ſpace of a few days to requeſt the aſſiſtance of the Spaniards; for they had learned that the Mexicans were preparing to ſtrike a ſevere blow upon that ſtate which had recently renounced ſubjection to them. Cortes could not at this time comply with their demand; for having now finiſhed all the labour of the maſts, the planks, and other apparatus of the brigantines, he had occaſion for all his troops to tranſport them ſafely to Tezcuco. He adviſed the Chalcheſe, however, to make an alliance with the Huexotzincas, the Cholulans, and the Quauhquechollans. They objected to ſuch a confederacy, on account of their ancient enmity to thoſe people. The Chalcheſe were hardly departed, when three meſſengers came ſeaſonably to Tezcuco from Huexotzinco and Quauhquechollan, ſent by thoſe lords to expreſs their apprehenſions, on account of certain ſmoke, obſerved by the centinels whom they had poſted on the tops of the mountains, which was a ſtrong indication of war, and to offer their troops to his command whenever he choſe to make uſe of them. Cortes availed himſelf of this favourable opportunity to unite thoſe ſtates in alliance with that of Chalco, obliging them to lay aſide for their common benefit any reſentment ſubſiſting between individuals. This alliance was ſo firm, that from that time forward they mutually aſſiſted each other againſt the Mexicans.

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SECT. V. Tranſport of the materials of the brigantines.

It being now time to tranſport the timber, ſails, cordage, and iron, for the brigantines, Cortes ſent Sandoval with two hundred Spaniards and fifteen horſes for that purpoſe, charging him to go firſt to Zoltepec, and take ample revenge on thoſe citizens for the ſlaughter of the forty-five Spaniards and three hundred Tlaſcalans, of whom we have already made mention. The Zoltepecheſe, when they perceived this ſtorm coming upon them, deſerted their houſes to ſave their lives by flight, but they were purſued by the Spaniards, and many of them killed, and others made ſlaves. From thence Sandoval marched to Tlaſcala, where he found every thing ready for the tranſport of the finiſhed materials of the brigantines. The firſt brigantine was built by Martino Lopez, a Spaniſh ſoldier, who was an engineer in the army of Cortes, and was put to proof in the river Zahuapan. After that model the other twelve were built by the Tlaſcalans. The tranſport of them was executed with great rejoicing and expedition by the Tlaſcalans, the load appearing to them of little weight, which was to contribute to the ruin of their enemies. Eight thouſand Tlaſcalans carried on their backs the beams, ſails, and other materials, neceſſary for the conſtruction of the brigantines; two thouſand were loaded with proviſions, and thirty thouſand were armed for defence, under the command of the three chiefs Chichimecatl or Chichimecateuctli, Ajotecatl, and Teotepil or Teotlipil. This convoy occupied, according to Bernal Diaz, upward of ſix miles of ſpace, from van to rear. When they ſet out from Tlaſcala, Chichimecatl commanded the vanguard, but whenever they got without the dominions of the republic, Sandoval gave him the rear-guard, fearing ſome attack from the enemy. This occaſioned great diſguſt to the Tlaſcalan, who boaſted of his bravery, alledging, that in all the battles in which he had ever been concerned, he had always, in example of his anceſtors, taken the moſt dangerous poſt; and Sandoval was obliged to make uſe of arguments and entreaties to pacify him. Cortes, arrayed in his moſt ſplendid apparel, and accompanied by all his officers, came to meet them, and embraced and thanked thoſe Tlaſcalan lords for their kind ſervices. Six hours were ſpent in entering into Tezcuco in the beſt order, and with

with the cry of *Caſtile! Caſtile! Tlaſcala! Tlaſcala!* in the midſt of the noiſe of the military muſic.

SECT. VI. Expedition againſt the cities of Xaltocan and Tlacopan.

The general Chichimecatl was hardly arrived, when, without taking any reſt after the fatigue of his journey, he requeſted Cortes to employ him and his troops againſt the enemy. Cortes, who waited for nothing elſe than the arrival of the auxiliary troops of Tlaſcala, to execute an expedition which he had been meditating for ſome time, after leaving a ſtrong garriſon in Tezcuco, and giving the proper orders for the completing of the brigantines, ſet out on his march in the beginning of ſpring 1521, with twenty-five horſes, and ſix ſmall pieces of artillery, three hundred and fifty Spaniards, thirty thouſand Tlaſcalans, and a part of the Tezcucan nobility; and becauſe he was afraid that the Tezcucans, whom he did not altogether truſt, might give ſecret advice to the enemy and fruſtrate his deſigns, he left Tezcuco without publiſhing the object of his expedition. The army travelled twelve miles towards the north, and remained that night under the open ſky. The next day it proceeded to attack Xaltocan, a ſtrong city ſituated in the middle of a lake, with a road leading to it, cut like thoſe of Mexico, with ſeveral ditches. The Spaniſh infantry, aſſiſted by a conſiderable number of the allies, paſſed the ditches, through a thick ſhower of darts, arrows, and ſtones, by which many were wounded; but the citizens not being able to endure longer the ſlaughter which the Spaniſh arms made of them, abandoned the city, and ſaved themſelves by flight. The conquerors plundered the city, and ſet fire to ſome of the houſes.

The day following they proceeded towards the large and beautiful city of Quauhtitlan, as Cortes juſtly calls it, but they found it depopulated; the citizens having been terrified by what had happened to Xaltocan, and betaken themſelves to ſome place of ſecurity.

From thence they paſſed to Tenajocca, and to Azcapozalco, and becauſe they met with no reſiſtance from any of thoſe three cities they did them no hurt. At laſt they came to the court of Tlacopan, the limit which Cortes had propoſed to himſelf for the expedition, where he meant to ſolicit ſome accommodation with the court of Mexico, and if that ſhould not ſucceed, to inform himſelf in the neighbourhood of its deſigns and preparations. He found the citizens of that

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place diſpoſed to diſpute his entrance. They attacked the Spaniards with their uſual fury, and fought courageouſly for ſome time; but at length becoming unable to withſtand the fire of their guns, and the impetuoſity of the horſes, they retreated to the city. The Spaniards, on account of its being late, lodged in a large houſe of the ſuburbs. The next day the Tlaſcalans ſet fire to many houſes of the city, and, during ſix days, which the Spaniards remained there, they had continual ſkirmiſhes, and ſome famous duels were fought between the Tlaſcalans and the citizens of Tlacopan; but they both fought with extreme bravery, and vented the hatred which they bore each other in a thouſand reproaches. Thoſe of Tlacopan called the Tlaſcalans the damſels of the Spaniards, without whoſe protection they never would have dared to advance ſo near to that city. The Tlaſcalans anſwered in their turn, that the Mexicans, and all their partizans, rather ought to have the name of women given them; being ſo ſuperior in number and yet never able to ſubdue the Tlaſcalans. The Spaniards themſelves did not eſcape from inſults of this kind. They were ironically invited to enter Mexico to command there like lords, and to enjoy all the pleaſures of life. "Do you think Chriſtian," they ſaid to Cortes, "that things will go on in the ſame way as they did laſt time? Perhaps "you imagine there is another Montezuma reigning in Mexico de-"voted to your pleaſures? Enter, enter the court, where you will "all be made a ſacrifice to the gods." During the engagements, which they had in thoſe ſix days, the Spaniards entered that fatal road and approached to thoſe memorable ditches, where, nine months before they had been ſo cruelly defeated. They found there a terrible reſiſtance, and in an inſtant they apprehended to be utterly deſtroyed; for by being buſied in purſuing ſome Mexican troops who had come deſignedly to inſult them, and lead them into danger, they found themſelves unexpectedly attacked, from both quarters on the road, by ſuch a numerous enemy, that they with difficulty retreated, combating moſt furiouſly until they came to the main land. In this conflict five Spaniards were killed and many wounded. Of the Mexicans, many were ſlain in this and the other engagements. Cortes, diſguſted with the ill ſucceſs of his expedition, returned with his army by the ſame road to Tezcuco, ſuffering new inſults from the enemy in his

march, who aſcribed his retreat to fear and cowardice. The Tlaſcalans, who accompanied the Spaniards in their expedition, having amaſſed a large quantity of ſpoils, demanded permiſſion of Cortes to carry them into their own country, which was readily granted.

SECT. VII. Expedition againſt Huaxtepec.

Sandoval, who, in the abſence of Cortes, had taken care of that poſt, departed from it two days after the arrival of that general with twenty horſes, three hundred Spaniards, and a great number of allies, to the ſuccour of the Chalcheſe, who were apprehenſive of a ſtrong aſſault from the Mexicans; but having found a great number of the troops of Huextotzinco and Quauquechollan, who were come to their aſſiſtance, and knowing that the greateſt damage was done to that city by the Mexicans, who were in the garriſon of Huaxtepec, a city ſituated in the mountains, fifteen miles to the ſouthward of Chalco, he proceeded there. On their march they were attacked by two great bodies of the enemy, but they quickly defeated them; this was owing in a great meaſure to the immenſe multitude of allies, whom the Spaniards took with them. They entered into Huaxtepec, and lodged themſelves in ſome great houſes of that city, to reſt themſelves and cure their wounded; but immediately they had a new aſſault from the Mexicans, and were compelled to take up arms again to repulſe them. Having defeated and purſued them upwards of three miles until they were entirely routed, they returned to the city, where they halted two days. Huaxtepec was a city at that time famous not only for its excellent manufactures of cotton, but alſo for its wonderful garden, of which we have already made mention.

From Huaxtepec Sandoval ſent meſſengers to offer peace to the inhabitants of Jacapichtla, a very ſtrong place about ſix miles diſtant, ſituated on the top of a mountain, almoſt inacceſſible to cavalry, and defended by a competent garriſon of Mexicans; but his propoſals being rejected, he marched towards that city, determined to ſtrike a blow there, which would humble their pride, and for ever deliver the Chalcheſe from the evils which harraſſed them continually from that quarter. The Tlaſcalans, and other allies, were intimidated by the ſight of ſo much difficulty and danger; but Sandoval, animated by that great ſpirit which diſplayed itſelf in all his actions, reſolved to conquer or die. He began to aſcend with his infantry, having to ſurmount at the

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ſame time both the ruggedneſs of the mountain, and the multitude of the enemy, who defended it with a ſhower of darts, and ſtones, ſome of which were of immoderate ſize, and although they broke in falling on the rocks between, wounded the Spaniards with the fragments; but nothing could reſtrain them from entering the city bathed in ſweat and blood, after which example the allies did the ſame. The fatigue and their wounds inflamed their indignation ſo much, that they attacked the enemy with the utmoſt fury; who, to eſcape from their ſwords, fled down the precipices of the mountain. So much blood was ſpilt, that it purpled a little ſtream which ran there, and changed its waters ſo, that for more than an hour the conquerors could not uſe it to quench the thirſt which diſtreſſed them (*f*); "This," ſays Cortes, "was one of the moſt ſignal victories, in which the Spaniards gave the "ſtrongeſt proofs of their courage and conſtancy." This day coſt the life of Gonzalo Dominguez, one of the braveſt ſoldiers Cortes had, and whoſe loſs was moſt ſenſibly felt by them all.

The Mexicans were ſo enraged at the ſlaughter committed at Jacapichtla, that they ſent twenty thouſand armed men, in two thouſand veſſels, againſt Chalco. The Chalcheſe implored as before the aſſiſtance of the Spaniards, and their meſſengers arrived juſt as Sandoval returned from Jacapichtla, with his army fatigued, exhauſted, and wounded. Cortes, aſcribing too inconſiderately thoſe repeated hoſtilities of the Mexicans againſt the Chalcheſe to ſome neglect of that unparalleled commander, without firſt enquiring into his conduct, hearing, or allowing him a moment of repoſe, commanded him to march immediately to Chalco with the ſoldiers who were leaſt wounded, to the aſſiſtance of thoſe allies. Sandoval was extremely diſguſted with the ſlight offered him by his general, at the time he ought rather to have expected the greateſt praiſes; but he had as much prudence in diſſembling his ſenſe of this injury, and as much readineſs to obey, as he had ſhewn courage in that arduous enteprize. He ſet out without delay for

(*f*) Bernal Diaz ridicules Gomara for this account of the waters having been ſo diſcoloured with blood: but Diaz was not preſent at this expedition, and we ought therefore to give more faith to Cortes, who ſays, the ſlaughter which the Spaniards made of the enemy, and which the enemy made of themſelves by precipitating themſelves from that eminence, was ſo great, that all who were preſent affirm, that a little river which ſurrounded almoſt all that place, remained for upwards of an hour ſo tinged with blood that they could not drink of it.

Chalco;

Chalco; but when he arrived there he found the battle over, in which the Chalcheſe remained victorious, with the aſſiſtance of their new allies of Heuxotzinco and Quauhquecholla; and although they ſuſtained a conſiderable loſs, they killed a number of the enemy and made forty priſoners, among whom were a general of the army and two perſons of the firſt nobility, who were conſigned by the Chalcheſe to Sandoval, and by him ſent to Cortes. This general having diſcovered his error, and being well informed of the irreprehenſible conduct of Sandoval, endeavoured to appeaſe his juſt reſentment by particular marks of honour and eſteem.

SECT. VIII. Fruitleſs negociation of Cortes with the court of Mexico.

Cortes being deſirous of an accommodation with the court of Mexico, both in order to avoid the fatigue and diſtreſſes of war, and to make himſelf maſter of ſo beautiful a city without ruining it, reſolved to ſend thoſe two perſons who were priſoners with a letter to king Quauhtemotzin; which, although it could not be underſtood by the court, as they were totally ignorant of the characters of it, would however be a credential and token of his embaſſy. He explained the contents of the letter to the meſſengers, and charged them to repreſent to their ſovereign, that he pretended to nothing more than that the king of Spain ſhould be acknowledged lord of that land, agreeable to what had been granted by the Mexican nobility in that reſpectable aſſembly which was held in Mexico, in preſence of Montezuma; that they ſhould remember the homage which the Mexican lords then did to the great monarch of the Eaſt; that he wiſhed to eſtabliſh a peace, and to make a perpetual alliance with them, and was not diſpoſed to war unleſs conſtrained to it by their hoſtilities; that it would grieve him to ſpill ſo much Mexican blood, and deſtroy ſuch a large and beautiful city; that they themſelves were witneſſes of the bravery of the Spaniards, the ſuperiority of their arms, the multitude of their allies, and the ſucceſs of their enterprizes; that they ſhould finally reflect within themſelves, and not oblige by their obſtinacy a war to be continued to the utter ruin of the court and the empire.

The fruit of this embaſſy was ſoon diſcovered in the lamentations of the Chalcheſe, who knowing of the great force which was levying againſt their ſtate, came to implore the aſſiſtance of the Spaniards; ſhewing

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ſhewing to Cortes, painted on a cloth, the cities which were arming againſt them by order of the king, and the routes which they were to take. While Cortes was preparing his troops for this expedition, meſſengers arrived at Tezcuco from Tuzapan, Mexicatlzinco, and Nauhtlan, cities ſituated on the coaſt of the Mexican gulf beyond the colony of Vera Cruz, to offer obedience in the name of their chiefs to the king of Spain.

SECT. IX. March of the Spaniſh army through the ſouthern mountains.

On the fifth of April Cortes ſet out from Tezcuco, with thirty horſes, three hundred Spaniſh infantry, and twenty thouſand allies, leaving the command of that place and the care of the brigantines to Sandoval. He went ſtrait to Tlalmanalco, and from thence to Chimalhuacan (*g*), where he increaſed his army with other twenty thouſand men, and who, to revenge themſelves on the Mexicans, or from the hopes of ſpoil, or from both motives, came from different places to ſerve in that war. Directing his way according to the route marked in the Chalcheſe paintings, he travelled through the ſouthern mountains towards Huaxtepec; he ſaw near to the road a ſteep mountain, the top of which was occupied by a vaſt number of women and children, and the ſides by innumerable warriors, who, truſting to the natural ſtrength of that place, made game of the Spaniards with howling and whiſtling. Cortes, unable to endure this mockery, attacked the mountain on three ſides; but they were hardly begun to aſcend with the greateſt difficulty through a ſhower of darts and ſtones, than he ordered a retreat; for, beſides that he perceived the attempt to be raſh and more dangerous than fruitful, an army of the enemy came in ſight, marching towards the ſame place, with an intent to attack the Spaniards behind, when they were moſt engaged in the aſſault. Cortes immediately made againſt them, with his troops well formed. The battle laſted a ſhort time, for the enemy ſoon finding their inferiority of ſtrength, quickly abandoned the field. The Spaniards purſued them upwards of an hour and a half, until they were entirely routed. The loſs of the Spaniards on this occaſion was almoſt nothing, but in the aſſault of the mountain eight were killed and many of them wounded.

(*g*) There were, and ſtill are, two places of this name: the one ſituated upon the border of the lake of Tezcuco, cloſe to the peninſula of Iztapalapan, and called ſimply *Chimalhuacan*; the other, which is in the mountains to the ſouthward of the vale of Mexico, is called *Chimalhuacan Chalco*; and it was to this laſt place that Cortes went.

The

The thirſt which diſtreſſed the army, and the intimation which Cortes had of another mountain three miles off ſimilarly occupied, forced him to march towards that part. He obſerved on one ſide of the mountain two lofty rocks, defended by many warriors; but they, thinking that the Spaniards would attempt the aſſault on the ſide oppoſite, abandoned the rocks, and repaired where they apprehended moſt danger. Cortes, who knew well how to profit by all conjunctures which either fortune, or the imprudence of his enemies preſented, ordered one of his captains to endeavour to occupy one of the rocks with a competent number of men, while he employed the beſieged on the oppoſite quarter. He began then to aſcend, though not without the utmoſt difficulty; but when he had reached a poſt as high as that taken by the enemy, he ſaw the Spaniſh flag hoiſted upon one of the rocks. The enemy finding themſelves attacked on both ſides, and having already began to feel the loſs which the fire-arms occaſioned among them, ſurrendered. Cortes treated them with the utmoſt humanity; but demanded from them, as a condition neceſſary to obtain his pardon, that they ſhould induce thoſe alſo who occupied the firſt mountain to ſurrender alſo, which they accordingly did.

SECT. X. Conqueſt of Quauhnahuac.

Cortes, finding theſe obſtacles removed, proceeded through Huaxtepec, Jauhtepec, and Xiuhtepec, to the large and pleaſant city of Quauhnahuac (*b*), the capital of the nation of the Tlahuicas, upwards of thirty miles diſtant from Mexico, towards the ſouth. This city was very ſtrong from its natural ſituation; being on one ſide ſurrounded by ſteep mountains, and on the other by a hollow about ſeven perches deep, through which ran a little river. The cavalry could not enter there except by two ways, which were unknown to the Spaniards, or by the bridges which had been raiſed as ſoon as they had appeared. While they were ſeeking a convenient place to begin the aſſault, the Quauh-

(*b*) The name Quauhnahuac has been ſtrangely altered by the Spaniards: Cortes calls this city *Cuernavaca*, Bernal Diaz *Coadalbaca*, Solis *Quatlabaca*, &c. That of *Cuernavaca* prevailed afterwards, by which it is known among the Spaniards at preſent; but the Indians ſtill retain the old name Quauhnahuac. It is one of the thirty places which Charles V. gave to Cortes, and is at preſent part of the eſtates of the duke of Monteleon, as marquis of the valley of Oaxaca.

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nahuacheſe ſhot an incredible number of arrows, darts, and ſtones at them. But a courageous Tlaſcalan having obſerved, that two great trees, which grew on the oppoſite ſides of the hollow inclining towards each other, had croſſed and mutually interwoven their branches, he made a bridge of them to paſs to the other ſide; and his example was quickly followed, though with great difficulty and with great danger, by ſix Spaniſh ſoldiers, and afterwards by many Spaniards and Tlaſcalans (*i*). This act of intrepidity ſo intimidated thoſe who defended the aſſault in that quarter, that they immediately retreated, and went to join the other citizens, who, at another part of the city, were oppoſing the troops led by Cortes; but while moſt employed in the defence, they found themſelves unexpectedly attacked by thoſe troops, who, following that courageous Tlaſcalan, were now entered by the undefended part into the city. Terror made the citizens give up reſiſtance, and put them to flight precipitately through the mountains; while the allies, without any oppoſition, burned a great part of the city. The lord of it, who had fled with the reſt, fearing to be overtaken in the mountains by the Spaniards, took occaſion to ſurrender himſelf, declaring that he had not done it before becauſe he waited till the rage of the Spaniards ſhould be exhauſted on the city, and by being ſatisfied with other hoſtilities, might abſtain from treating his perſon cruelly.

SECT. XI. Conqueſt of Xochimilco.

After ſome repoſe the army left Quauhnahuac, loaded with ſpoils, directing their way towards the north, through a large wood of pines, where they endured a great thirſt, and the day following found themſelves near the city of Xochimilco. This beautiful city, the largeſt next to the three royal reſidences of all thoſe in the Mexican vale, was founded upon the border of the lake of Chalco, a little more than twelve miles diſtant from the capital: its inhabitants were numerous, its temples many, its buildings magnificent, and its gardens floating on the lake ſingularly beautiful, from whence it took its name of Xo-

(*i*) Solis, without making mention of that Tlaſcalan, attributes all the glory of that action to Bernal Diaz; in which particular he contradicts Cortes, and other hiſtorians. Bernal Diaz himſelf, who, in the relation of this event, does himſelf all the honour he can, boaſts of having been one of thoſe who did not regard the riſk of their lives, and paſſed the depth on the branches of the trees; but by no means takes the honour to himſelf of having been the firſt who paſſed or ſuggeſted the attempt.

chimilco

chimilco (*k*): it had, like the capital, many canals or ditches, and for fear of the Spaniards, they had now ſeveral entrenchments. As ſoon as they ſaw the enemy approach, they raiſed the bridges of the canals, to make the entry more difficult. The Spaniards divided their army into three ſquadrons, to attack the city by as many places, but every where they met with a ſtout reſiſtance, and could not take the firſt ditch until after a terrible engagement of more than half an hour, in which two Spaniards were killed and many wounded; but having at laſt overcome thoſe obſtacles, they entered the city, purſuing the inhabitants, who perſevered till night, fighting in the veſſels in which they had made their retreat. They frequently heard voices among the combatants who demanded peace, but the Spaniards underſtanding that thoſe cries were made with no other view than to gain time to place their families and goods in ſecurity, and to receive the ſuccour which they expected from Mexico, preſſed them ſtill harder; until, finding all reſiſtance dropt, they retired to repoſe and cure the wounded: but they had hardly began to draw their breath a little, when they ſaw themſelves attacked by a great number of enemies, who came formed in order of battle by the ſame road by which the Spaniards had entered. They were now reduced to great difficulties, and Cortes himſelf was in imminent danger of becoming a priſoner of the enemy; for his horſe having fallen from fatigue, as he ſays, or being cut down by the blows from the Xochimilcas, as ſome hiſtorians report, he continued fighting on foot with his lance; but being overpowered by the enemy, he would not have been able to have ſaved himſelf from ruin, if a brave Tlaſcalan (*l*), and after him two of his own ſervants, had not ſeaſonably come to his relief.

The Xochimilcas being at laſt defeated, the Spaniards had leiſure to repoſe a little after the fatigues of the day, in which ſome of their ſoldiers had been killed, and almoſt all of them wounded, and the general himſelf and the principal officers Alvarado and Olid among the reſt.

(*k*) *Xochimilco* means gardens and fields of flowers.

(*l*) Herrera and Torquemada ſay, that the day after the great hazard Cortes had been in of being made priſoner, he ſought for the Tlaſcalan who had reſcued him, but could not find him either dead or alive; on which account, from the devotion which the general paid to St. Peter, he became perſuaded that, that apoſtle had been the perſon who ſaved him.

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Four Spaniards, made priſoners, were conducted to the capital, and ſacrificed without delay, and their arms and legs ſent to different places to encourage the ſubjects againſt the enemies of the ſtate. It is beyond a doubt, that on this, as well as on other occaſions, Cortes might eaſily have been put to death by the enemy, if they had not had ſo much anxiety to take him alive to ſacrifice him to their gods.

The news of the taking of Xochimilco threw the court of Mexico into great conſternation. King Quauhtemotzin aſſembled ſome military chiefs, and repreſented to them the loſs and danger occaſioned to Mexico by the capture of ſo conſiderable a place, the ſervice they would render their gods and the nation in retaking it, and the courage and ſtrength which was neceſſary to overcome thoſe daring and deſtructive ſtrangers. They immediately gave orders, therefore, to raiſe an army of twelve thouſand men, to be ſent by land, and another to be ſent by water; which were ſo ſpeedily executed, that the Spaniards had hardly repoſed after the fatigues of the preceding day, when Cortes was adviſed by his centinels of the march of the Mexicans towards that city. This general divided his army into three diviſions, and gave his captains the neceſſary orders; he left ſome troops to garriſon the quarters, and commanded that twenty horſe with five hundred Tlaſcalans ſhould paſs acroſs the enemy's front, to occupy a neighbouring little mountain, and wait there his final orders for the attack. The Mexican commanders advanced full of pride, making great oſtentation of ſome European ſwords which had been taken from the Spaniards on the night of the firſt of July. The battle was begun without the city, and when it appeared proper time, Cortes ordered the troops poſted on the little mountain to attack the rear of the Mexicans. They finding themſelves attacked on every ſide, went into diſorder and fled, leaving five hundred dead on the field. The Spaniards, on their return to their quarters, found that the body of men left there had been in great danger from the great number of Xochimilcas who had encountered them. Cortes, after having been for three days in Xochimilco in frequent ſkirmiſhes with the enemy, made the temples and houſes be ſet on fire, and went to the market-place, which was without the city, to order his people for their march. The Xochimilcas being perſuaded that his departure was the effect of fear, fell upon the rear-guard with great

great clamour; but they were ſoon ſo ſeverely repulſed by the Spaniards, that they never dared again to attack them.

SECT. XII. March of the Spaniards round the lake to Tezcuco.

Cortes advanced with his army as far as Cojohuacan, a large city ſituated upon the bank of the lake, ſix miles diſtant from Mexico towards the ſouth, with a view to obſerve all thoſe poſts, and make the fitter diſpoſitions for the ſiege of the capital. He found the city evacuated, and the next day he ſet out from it, to examine the road which led from that city to the road of Iztapalapan. He found an entrenchment made there by the Mexicans, and ordered his infantry to attack it, who, in ſpite of the terrible reſiſtance of the enemy who defended it, took it; ten Spaniards being wounded, and ſome Mexicans killed. Cortes having mounted the trench, ſaw the road of Iztapalapan darkened with an innumerable enemy, and the lake covered with ſome thouſands of boats, and after having obſerved every thing neceſſary to his purpoſe, he returned to the city, whoſe houſes and temples he cauſed to be ſet on fire.

From Cojohuacan he marched the army to Tlacopan, though harraſſed on the way by ſome flying troops of the enemy, who attacked the baggage. In one of thoſe ſcuffles, where Cortes was in great danger, they took two of his ſervants priſoners, who were conducted to Mexico and immediately ſacrificed. Cortes arrived at Tlacopan in affliction at this misfortune, but his diſpleaſure was greatly increaſed when he beheld from the upper area of the greater temple of that court, along with ſome other Spaniards, that fatal road wherein ſome months before he had loſt ſo many of his friends and ſoldiers, and conſidered attentively the great difficulties which muſt be overcome before he could render himſelf maſter of the capital. Some of his officers ſuggeſted to him, to ſend his troops by that road to commit ſome hoſtilities on the Mexicans; but he did not chuſe to expoſe them to ſo great riſk; and, without remaining longer in that city, he returned by Tenajoccan, Quauhtitlan, Citlaltepec, and Acolman, to Tezcuco, having made a circuit in this expedition round all the lakes of the Mexican vale, and obſerved what efforts and exertions were neceſſary to execute the great enterprize in his mind with ſucceſs.

SECT. XIII. Conſpiracy againſt Cortes.

In Tezcuco Cortes continued all the preparations for the ſiege. The brigantines were equipped, and a canal formed, a mile and a half long, ſufficiently

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ſufficiently deep, and furniſhed on both ſides with a fence, to receive the water of the lake into which the brigantines were to be launched, and a machine conſtructed to launch them. The troops which Cortes had under his command were almoſt without number, and likewiſe that of the Spaniards was conſiderably augmented by ſome who a few days before had arrived at the port of Vera Cruz, in a veſſel from Spain loaded with horſes, arms, and ammunition. Every thing appeared to promiſe a happy iſſue, at the moment the enterprize was in the greateſt danger of being totally fruſtrated and ruined. Some Spaniſh ſoldiers, partiſans of the governor of Cuba, incited either to hatred of Cortes, or envious of his glory, or, what ſeems ſtill as probable, from fear of the dangers which threatened them in the ſiege of the capital, ſecretly agreed to take away his life, and thoſe of his captains Alvarado, Sandoval, and Tapia, and all thoſe who appeared to be moſt attached to the party of the general. The conſpirators had not only determined the time and manner of ſecurely executing the blow, but elected alſo thoſe on whom the vacant poſts of general, judge, and captains were to be conferred; when one of the accomplices, having repented of the deed, ſeaſonably revealed the treaſon to Cortes. This general immediately made Antonio de Villafaña, the chief of the conſpirators, be ſeized, committed his examination to a judge, and he having freely confeſſed the crime, was according to juſtice hanged from a window of the quarters. With reſpect to his accomplices, Cortes prudently diſſembled, affecting not to believe them culpable, and aſcribing the infamy imputed to them by the confeſſion, to the malice of Villafaña; but, in order that in future he might not be expoſed to ſo much riſk of his life, he formed a body-guard of ſeveral ſoldiers whoſe fidelity and courage he had tried, who attended him day and night, and watched continually over the ſafety of his perſon.

SECT. XIV. The laſt preparation for the ſiege of Mexico.

Having thus cruſhed, by the puniſhment of the ringleader, that pernicious conſpiracy, Cortes applied himſelf with the utmoſt activity to put the laſt hand to his great undertaking. On the twenty-eighth of April, after the celebration of the maſs of the Holy Spirit, at which all the Spaniards communicated, and the brigantines were given benediction by a prieſt, they were launched into the water, and immediately diſplaying their ſails, began to plough the lake under a diſcharge of the artillery

artillery and ſmall arms, which was followed by the ſinging of Te Deum to the muſic of military inſtruments. All thoſe demonſtrations of ſatisfaction were in conſequence of the great confidence Cortes had in the brigantines for the ſucceſs of his enterprize, without which perhaps he would never have been able to have conducted it to a happy end. He afterwards made a review of his army, and found it to conſiſt of eighty-ſix horſes, and more than eight hundred infantry, three large iron cannon, fifteen ſmaller of copper, a thouſand Caſtilian pounds of gunpowder, and a large quantity of balls and arrows, the number and ſtrength of his little army having been doubled by the ſupplies of that year from Spain and the Antilles. In order to encourage them, he made them an harangue ſimilar to that which he had delivered to them when he left Tlaſcala. He ſent meſſengers to this republic, to Cholula, Huexotzinco, and other cities, to let them know that the brigantines were now completed, and requeſting them to ſend within ten days as many choſen troops as they could muſter, for that now the time was come for giving ſiege to that proud city, which had for ſo many years oppreſſed their liberty. Five days before the feaſt of Pentecoſt, the army of Tlaſcala arrived at Tezcuco, conſiſting, according to what Cortes affirms, of more than fifty thouſand men, under the command of ſeveral famous chiefs, among which came the young Xicotencatl and the brave Chichimecatl; who were met by Cortes and his people. The troops of Huexotzinco and Cholula paſſed thither through the mountains of Chalco, agreeable to the orders given them. In the two following days came other troops from Tlaſcala and other neighbouring places, which, together with thoſe above mentioned, made more than two hundred thouſand men, as is atteſted by their leader and conductor Alfonſo d'Ojeda.

SECT. XV. Diſpoſition of the army in the ſiege of the capital.

On the Monday of Pentecoſt, twentieth of May, Cortes muſtered his people in the greater market-place of Tezcuco, to make a diviſion of his army, to appoint the commanders, to aſſign to each the ſtation where they were to form their camp, and the troops which were to be immediately under them, and to publiſh afreſh the military proclamation formerly publiſhed in Tlaſcala. He ordered Pedro de Alvarado to remain in camp in the city of Tlacopan, to prevent any aſſiſtance coming through that quarter to the Mexicans, and aſſigned him thirty horſes

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and one hundred and ſixty-eight foot ſoldiers, diſtributed into three companies under as many captains, with twenty thouſand Tlaſcalans and two pieces of artillery. Chriſtopher Olid was created camp-maſter, and chief of the diviſion deſtined for the city of Cojohuacan, and aſſigned thirty-three horſes, one hundred and ſixty-eight foot ſoldiers, under three other captains, with two pieces of artillery, and more than twenty-five thouſand allies. To Gonzales de Sandoval he gave twenty-four horſes, one hundred and ſixty-three Spaniſh infantry, under two captains with two cannons, and the allies of Chalco, Huexotzinco, and Cholula, who were more than thirty-thouſand in number, and ordered him firſt to go and deſtroy the city of Iztapalapan, and then to encamp himſelf wherever he thought he could moſt effectually hem in the Mexicans. Cortes, in ſpite of the remonſtrances made him by his captains and ſoldiers, took the command of the brigantines, where he thought his aſſiſtance would be moſt neceſſary. He diſtributed among the thirteen brigantines three hundred and twenty-five Spaniards and thirteen falconets, aſſigning to each brigantine a captain, twelve ſoldiers, and as many rowers; ſo that the whole army deſtined to begin the ſiege of the capital, conſiſted of nine hundred and ſeventeen Spaniards, and more than ſeventy-five thouſand auxiliary troops (*m*); which number was ſoon after increaſed, as we ſhall find, to two hundred thouſand and more. All the other troops which had repaired to Tezcuco, either remained there to be employed when it was neceſſary, or returned to their own places of abode, as they were not too diſtant from the capital to be ſpeedily ſummoned whenever it was requiſite.

SECT. XVI. Puniſhment of Xicotencatl.

Olid and Alvarado departed together with their troops from Tezcuco, to go to their reſpective poſts aſſigned them by the general. Among the higher ranks of Tlaſcalans who accompanied Alvarado, were the young Xicotencatl, and his couſin Pilteuctli. In a quarrel which happened, the latter was wounded by a Spaniard, who, regardleſs of the orders publiſhed by the general, or the reſpect due to that perſon, was near occaſioning the deſertion of the Tlaſcalans. This outrage diſ-

(*m*) Solis ſays, that Bernal Diaz complains often that the allies gave them more hidrance than aſſiſtance; but this is totally falſe, for Bernal Diaz on the contrary frequently ſays, that the allies were of great aſſiſtance, and fought courageouſly againſt the Mexicans; "The Tlaſ-"calans our friends," he ſays, in chap. 151. "aſſiſted us greatly during the whole war, like "brave people."

guſted

guſted them extremely, and made them expreſs their diſſatisfaction in an open manner. Ojeda, their leader, endeavoured to pacify them, and gave permiſſion to Pilteuctli to return to be cured in his native country. Xicotencatl, who, on account of his rank as well as his relation to Pilteuctli, was moſt ſenſible of the inſult, finding no other way to be revenged, ſecretly abandoned the army, and, with ſome other Tlaſcalans, took the road to Tlaſcala. Alvarado gave immediate advice of this to Cortes, who ordered Ojeda to overtake and ſeize him; and after being taken made him be publicly hanged in the city of Tezcuco (*n*), as Herrera and Torquemada ſay, or in a place near to it as Bernal Diaz affirms; it having been firſt publiſhed by a herald, that the cauſe of his condemnation was his having deſerted, and excited the Tlaſcalans againſt the Spaniards. It is probable that Cortes would not have riſked the execution of ſuch a ſentence, if he had not firſt obtained, as Herrera expreſsly affirms, the conſent of the ſenate of Tlaſcala; which was not difficult, conſidering their ſeverity in puniſhing crimes even when committed by the moſt eminent perſons, and the particular hatred alſo which they bore to that prince, whoſe pride and arrogance of character they could not endure. So alarming a puniſhment, which ought naturally to have inflamed the minds of the Tlaſcalans againſt the Spaniards, intimidated them to ſuch a degree, as well as the other allies, that from that time forward they obſerved more punctually the articles of war, and kept under more ſubordination to thoſe ſtrangers who were their leaders; the Spaniards profiting even from their faults and miſconduct: but the Tlaſcalans were not afraid to make many demonſtrations of their eſteem and veneration for that prince, bewailing his death and diſtributing his cloaths as precious relics among themſelves, and celebrating, as is probable, his funeral with uſual honours. The family and property of Xicotencatl were adjudged to the king of Spain, and brought

(*n*) Cortes does not make mention of this event: it is probable he had particular motives for concealing it. Solis thinks it impoſſible that Xicotencatl was puniſhed in Tezcuco; "Becauſe "Cortes would have riſked too much by the execution of ſo violent a ſentence under the eyes "of ſo many Tlaſcalans, who would naturally have been ſhocked and diſguſted at ſo igno-"minious a puniſhment being inflicted on one of the firſt men of their nation." But Cortes riſked a great deal more, when he impriſoned Montezuma in his own court, and under the eyes of a much ſuperior number of Mexicans, who muſt have been equally ſenſible of the outrage done to the firſt man of their nation.

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to Tezcuco. In his family were thirty wives, and amongſt his property a large quantity of gold.

Alvarado and Olid continued their march towards Tlacopan, where their object was to break the aqueduct of Chapoltepec, to cut off the water from the Mexicans; but they were unable to execute this meaſure without ſurmounting a powerful reſiſtance from the enemy, who, having foreſeen the blow, had made preparations both by land and water for their defence. They were ſoon defeated, and the Tlaſcalans in purſuing them killed twenty, and made ſeven or eight priſoners. Having ſo ſucceſsfully accompliſhed this ſtep, thoſe two commanders reſolved to go by the way of Tlacopan, to take ſome ditch by aſſault; but ſo great was the multitude of Mexicans who came againſt them, and ſo thick the ſhower of arrows, darts, and ſtones, which were ſhot at them, that eight Spaniards were killed and more than fifty wounded, and they with difficulty were able to retreat in ſhame to Tlacopan, where Alvarado encamped, according to the order of the general, and Olid marched to Cojohuacan on the thirtieth day of May, conſecrated that year to the ſolemnity of Corpus Domini, on which day began, according to the computation made by Cortes, the ſiege of Mexico.

SECT. XVII. Firſt hoſtilities of the Spaniards, and beginning of the ſiege of Mexico.

While Alvarado and Olid were employed in filling up ſome ditches which were made upon the border of the lake, and were repairing ſome paſſages for the convenience of the cavalry, the commander Sandoval, with the number of Spaniards above mentioned, and with more than thirty-five thouſand allies, marched from Tezcuco on the thirty-firſt of May, with an intent to take the city of Iztapalapan by aſſault, againſt which Cortes was particularly bent. Sandoval made his entry there, committing terrible devaſtation and havoc by fire upon the houſes and by his arms upon the inhabitants, who in terror attempted to ſave their lives by water. Cortes, in order to attack at the ſame time that part of the city which was contiguous to the water, after having made the whole lake be ſounded, embarked with his people in his brigantines, and proceeded by means of ſails and oars towards Iztapalapan. He ſtruck ground near to an inſulated little mountain, at a ſmall diſtance from that city, the top of which was occupied by a numerous enemy, reſolved to defend themſelves and annoy the Spaniards as much as poſ-

ſible. Cortes diſembarked there, and, with one hundred and fifty men, ſurmounting the ſteepneſs and difficulty of the aſcent and the reſiſtance of the enemy, took the mount and killed all the Mexicans who defended it. But they had hardly taken poſſeſſion of it, when they perceived a fleet of boats coming againſt them, which had been ſummoned there by a ſignal of ſmoke, that, on the firſt appearance of the brigantines, was made from that little mountain and from ſome temples in that neighbourhood. The Spaniards immediately re-embarked and ſtood without moving upon their defence, until at length being favoured with a freſh breeze which ſprung up ſuddenly, and increaſing the velocity of the brigantines, with the impulſe of the oars, they ruſhed violently upon the boats, breaking ſome of them to pieces and overſetting others. Some of the enemy were killed by balls and many were drowned; all the others fled, and were purſued for eight miles by the brigantines, as far as the capital.

The commander Olid, as ſoon as he diſcovered from a temple of Cojohuacan the engagement of the brigantines, marched with his troops in order of battle along the road which led to Mexico, took ſome ditches and trenches, and killed a number of the enemy. Cortes, on his part, collected that night all his brigantines, and went with them to attack the baſtion, which, as we have already mentioned, was erected in that angle which was formed by the junction of the road of Cojohuacan with the road of Iztapalapan. He made the attack by land as well as water, and in ſpite of the bravery with which it was defended by the Mexican garriſon poſted there, he took it, and made a horrid ſlaughter, with two large pieces of cannon, of the multitude which covered the lake as well as the road. That place, called by the Mexicans *Xoloc*, appeared extremely advantageous to Cortes for the eſtabliſhment of his camp, and it certainly would not have been eaſy to have found another more ſuitable to his deſigns; for, by means of it he became maſter of the principal road and that part of the lake where the greateſt ſuccours could enter to the city, and beſides that of the road of Cojohuacan which formed a communication with the camp of Olid. The ſmall diſtance of that place from the camps of Cojohuacan and Tlacopan was of great importance to Cortes, in giving his orders with expe-

BOOK X. dition, and to render aſſiſtance when it proved neceſſary. In ſhort, its vicinity to Mexico contributed to make every attack more eaſy.

There he aſſembled his brigantines, and abandoning the expedition againſt Iztapalapan, formed a reſolution to give very ſoon a commencement to his operations. He ordered to his camp one half of the troops of Cojohuacan, and fifty choſen ſoldiers from the troops under Sandoval. That night he heard a great body of enemies coming towards his camp. The Spaniards, knowing that the Mexicans were not uſed to combat by night unleſs when they were ſecure of victory, were at firſt apprehenſive; but, although they received ſome hurt from the enemy, they obliged them by the fire of their artillery and muſkets to retire to the city. The next day they found themſelves attacked by a prodigious multitude of warriors, who enlarged their number in the imagination of the Spaniards with dreadful howls. The ſupply expected from Cojohuacan being arrived, Cortes made a ſally with his people in order of battle. They fought with great courage and obſtinacy on both ſides, but the Spaniards and their allies took one ditch and an intrenchment, and did ſo much damage to the Mexicans with their artillery and horſes, that they were compelled to retreat to their city; and becauſe, by that part of the lake which was to the weſt of the road, they were much annoyed by the veſſels of the Mexicans, Cortes made one of the ditches be enlarged, that the brigantines might paſs there, which immediately charged impetuouſly upon them, purſued them as far as the capital, and ſet fire to ſome houſes of the ſuburbs.

In the meanwhile, Sandoval having ſucceſsfully terminated, though not without infinite peril, the expedition of Iztapalapan, marched with his troops towards Cojohuacan. On his way thither, he was attacked by the troops of Mexicaltzinco, but he defeated them, and ſet fire to the city. Cortes, appriſed of his march, and alſo of a great ditch which had been recently made in that road, ſent two brigantines to facilitate the paſſage to the army. It marched towards Cojohuacan, and Sandoval came with ten cavalry to the camp of Cortes. When he arrived there he found the Spaniards in combat with the Mexicans: the fatigue of the journey and the battle of Mexicaltzinco was not ſufficient to reſtrain him from engaging: he joined battle with his uſual courage, but while fighting he was pierced in the leg by a dart, and many other Spaniards

Spaniards were wounded with him. Thoſe advantages, if we may call them ſo, are little in compariſon with the loſs which the Mexicans ſuſtained that day, or the dread which the fire of the artillery excited in them; which was ſo great, that for ſome days they durſt not come near the Spaniſh camp. The Spaniards continued for ſix days in continual ſkirmiſhes; the brigantines ſailing round the capital, ſet fire to many houſes of the ſuburbs, and in their expeditions diſcovered a large and deep canal, by which they could eaſily enter the city. This was in future a circumſtance of great advantage to the Spaniards.

Alvarado, on his part, hemmed in the Mexicans as much as poſſible, by taking at different encounters ſome ditches and intrenchments on the road of Tlacopan; but ſome of his men were killed, and many wounded. He obſerved, that by the road of Tepejacac, ſituated towards the north, proviſions were continually introduced to the city, and perceived alſo, that by that road the beſieged could eaſily eſcape, when they found they could no longer reſiſt the beſiegers. He communicated this obſervation to Cortes, who commanded Sandoval to go with one hundred and eighteen Spaniards and a very ſtrong army of allies to occupy that place, and intercept the ſupplies which ſhould come that way to the enemy. Sandoval obeyed, though ſtill unrecovered of the wound in his leg, and took poſſeſſion without oppoſition of that ſtation, by which means every communication of the Mexicans with other cities by land was cut off (*o*).

SECT. XVIII. Firſt entry of the beſiegers into Mexico.

This being done, Cortes determined to make an entry the next day into the city, with more than five hundred Spaniards and more than eighty thouſand allies from Tezcuco, Tlaſcala, Chalco, and Huexotzinco, leaving ſome cavalry with ten thouſand allies to guard the camp; ordering Sandoval and Alvarado to enter there at the ſame time, each by his different road, with their troops, which were not leſs

(*o*) Doctor Robertſon ſays, that Cortes deſigned to attack the city at three different places; from Tezcuco, on the eaſt ſide of the lake; from Tacuba, on the weſt; and from Cuzocan (that is, Cojohuacan), in the ſouth; thoſe cities, he adds, commanded the principal cauſeways which led to the capital, and were built for its defence: but this is an error; becauſe to the eaſtward there was not, nor could be, any road which led to the capital, on account of the depth of the lake. Sandoval did not encamp in Tezcuco, from whence it was impoſſible to attack Mexico, but in Tepejacac, towards the north.

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than eighty thouſand in number. Cortes marched along his road, with his numerous army well marſhalled and flanked by the brigantines; but had advanced only a ſhort way when they met with a broad deep ditch and intrenchment more than ten feet high. The Mexicans courageouſly oppoſed their paſſage, but being beat back by the artillery from the brigantines, the Spaniards paſſed, purſuing the enemy as far as the city, where they found another great ditch and a ſtrong and high intrenchment. The force of the water in this ditch, the monſtrous ſwarms of the enemy who aſſembled to defend it, their dreadful and menacing airs and the unceaſing ſhower of arrows, darts, and ſtones, which they diſcharged, ſtaggered for ſome time the reſolution of the Spaniards; but having at length, with the fire of all the artillery and other arms, driven thoſe from the intrenchments who defended them, the army paſſed and advanced, taking other ditches and intrenchments, unto the principal ſquare of the city, which was full of people. In ſpite of the havoc they ſaw made on the multitude by a large cannon planted in the entrance of the ſquare, the Spaniards dared not to enter there, until the general himſelf, reproaching them for their ignominious fear and charging intrepidly upon the enemy, infuſed new courage into his ſoldiers. The Mexicans, intimidated by ſuch great intrepidity, fled for ſhelter within the incloſure of the greater temple, and finding themſelves attacked there alſo, they took refuge in the upper area of the temple, whither they were ſtill purſued; but all on a ſudden the Spaniards found themſelves attacked behind by other Mexican troops, and reduced to ſuch difficulty, that not being able to withſtand the fury of the enemy neither within the incloſure nor without in the ſquare, they were obliged to retire to the road by which they had entered the city, leaving the piece of artillery in poſſeſſion of the enemy. A little time after, three or four horſes came ſeaſonably into the ſquare, and the enemy being perſuaded that the whole cavalry was coming againſt them, went into confuſion from the fear they had of thoſe large and fiery animals, and ignominiouſly abandoned the temple and the ſquare, which were immediately occupied by the Spaniards. Ten or twelve Mexican nobles were fortified in the upper area of the great temple; but, in ſpite of their obſtinate reſiſtance, they were vanquiſhed and killed by thoſe who attacked them. The Spaniſh army in its retreat

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ſet fire to the largeſt and moſt beautiful houſes on the road of Iztapalapan, though not without the utmoſt danger, on account of the impetuoſity with which the Mexicans attacked the rear, and the annoyance they ſuffered from the terraces. Alvarado and Sandoval made great havoc of the Mexicans with their troops, and the allies received on this day great encomiums from the Spaniſh general.

SECT. XIX. Augmentation of the auxiliary troops.

The forces of the Spaniards were daily ſo much increaſed with freſh ſupplies, and with the alliance of new cities and whole provinces; that although there were not in their three camps at firſt more than ninety thouſand men, in the ſpace of a few days they amounted to two hundred and forty thouſand. The new king of Tezcuco, in order to manifeſt his gratitude to Cortes, endeavoured to gain the whole nobility of his kingdom to his party, and equipped an army of fifty thouſand men, which he ſent to the aſſiſtance of the Spaniards, under the command of a prince, his brother; a youth, of whoſe bravery all ancient hiſtorians give teſtimony, and, amongſt others, Cortes himſelf, who boaſts of the ſeaſonableneſs and importance of his aid. That prince remained with thirty thouſand men in the camp of Cortes, and the other twenty thouſand were diſtributed in the camps of Sandoval and Alvarado. This ſupply of the king of Tezcuco was quickly followed by the confederacy of the Xochimilcas and the Otomies, the mountaineers, with the Spaniards, which new troops added twenty thouſand men to the army of Cortes.

There was nothing wanting to this general for the completion of the ſiege, but the prevention of the ſupplies which were introduced by water into the city. Retaining ſeven of the brigantines, he therefore ſent the other ſix towards that part of the lake which was between Tlacopan and Tepejacac, that there they might be ready to aſſiſt the camps of Sandoval and Alvarado, when thoſe commanders ſhould require it; but while not employed by them, they were to cruize two by two, and endeavour to intercept all the veſſels which were tranſporting either men or proviſions to the city.

Cortes, finding he had now a ſufficient number of allied troops, determined, in the courſe of three days to make an entry into the city. He gave the neceſſary orders for this purpoſe, and on the day appointed he marched with the greater part of his cavalry, with three hundred infantry,

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infantry, ſeven brigantines, and innumerable multitudes of allies. They found the ditches open, the intrenchments thrown up, and the enemy well prepared to reſiſt them; but notwithſtanding this, they took all the ditches and intrenchments, which were formed between them and the principal ſquare of Tenochtitlan. Here the army made a halt, Cortes not permitting them to proceed forward, without leaving all the difficult paſſes which they had taken levelled; but while ten thouſand of the allies were buſied in filling up the ditches, others ſet fire to and demoliſhed ſome of the temples, houſes, and palaces, and, amongſt others, that of king Axajacatl, where the Spaniards were formerly quartered, and the celebrated palace of birds of Montezuma. After having committed thoſe hoſtilities with great difficulty and danger, on account of the efforts which the Mexicans made to hinder them, Cortes ſounded a retreat, which was happily effected, although the rear-guard was inceſſantly harraſſed by the troops of the enemy. The ſame thing was performed by Sandoval and Alvarado in their quarter. This was indeed a day of great fatigue to the Spaniards and their allies, but likewiſe of unſpeakable affliction to the Mexicans, as much on account of ſo many beautiful edifices which were deſtroyed, as the ſcorn and mockery they ſuffered from their own vaſſals who were leagued with the Spaniards, and from their mortal enemies the Tlaſcalans, who, while they combated, ſhewed the arms and legs of the Mexicans whom they had ſlain, and threatened to eat them that night to their ſupper, as in fact they did.

SECT. XX. New entries into the city.

The next day, in order to give no time to the Mexicans to dig the ditches which had been filled up, or repair the intrenchments which had been beat down, Cortes ſet out early from his camp, in the ſame manner as the preceding day; but, in ſpite of his diligence, the Mexicans had already renewed the greater part of the fortifications, and defended them ſo obſtinately, that the army of the beſiegers could not take them till after a moſt furious engagement of five hours. The army puſhed forward, and took two ditches on the road of Tlacopan; but the day being now near finiſhed, they retired to their camp, fighting all the way with the troops of the enemy, who fell upon the rear-guard. The armies of Sandoval and Alvarado had ſimilar conteſts, the beſieged being obliged to oppoſe, at the ſame time, three moſt numer-

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ous armies, ſuperior to them in arms, in horſes, in the brigantines, and in military diſcipline. Alvarado, on his ſide, had now demoliſhed all the houſes, from one end to the other, on both ſides of the road of Tlacopan (*e*), for the habitations of the capital were continued on that road unto the continent or main land, according to the accounts both of Cortes and Bernal Diaz.

Cortes would willingly have ſaved his troops the trouble and fatigue of daily repeating their engagements to take the ſame ditches and intrenchments, but he could not leave a garriſon to preſerve thoſe acquiſitions, without ſacrificing it to the fury of the enemy, nor was he willing to encamp within the city, as ſome of his captains adviſed him; for, beſides the inceſſant aſſault which they muſt have endured from the enemy, they could not from thence ſo eaſily as from the poſt of Xoloc prevent ſupplies from coming into the city.

SECT. XXI. Confederacy of ſeveral cities on the lake with the Spaniards.

While ſuccours were daily diminiſhing to the beſieged, thoſe of the beſiegers were gradually increaſing; and at this very juncture they received one which was as advantageous for them as it was hurtful to the enemy. The inhabitants of the cities ſituate upon the border and little iſlands of the lake of Chalco, had been hitherto the enemies of the Spaniards, and could have done much damage to the camp of Cortes, if their troops had attacked it from one part of the road, while at the ſame time the Mexicans had attacked it from another; but they had not attempted any hoſtilities againſt the Spaniards, perhaps becauſe they reſerved themſelves for ſome very favouring occaſion. The Chalcheſe, and other allies, who did not like the neighbourhood of ſo many enemies, endeavoured to draw them over to their party, ſometimes by promiſes, ſometimes by threats and vexations; and their importunity, and perhaps alſo the fear of revenge from the Spaniards, had ſo much influence, that the nobles of Iztapalan, Mexicaltzinco, Colhuacan, Huitzilopochco, Mizquiz, and Cuitlahuac, which cities formed a conſiderable part of the Mexican vale, came to the camp to make a confederacy with the Spaniards. Cortes was extremely glad of their alliance,

(*e*) Theſe houſes were not built on the road itſelf, but upon little iſlands near to it, on both ſides. We do not find that there was any other building upon the road but a temple, ſituated on that part where the road broadened out, and formed a little ſquare. This temple was taken by Alvarado, who kept a garriſon there almoſt the whole time of the ſiege.

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and requeſted of them that they would not only aſſiſt him with their troops and veſſels, but likewiſe tranſport materials for the erection of huts along that road; for it being now the ſeaſon of rain, his people ſuffered much from the want of habitations.

His demand was ſo readily complied with, that they ſent immediately a large body of troops, the number of which is not known, to be under the command of Cortes, and three thouſand veſſels to aſſiſt the brigantines in their operations. In theſe they tranſported the materials, with which they built ſuch a number of barracks, that all the Spaniards, and two thouſand Indians employed in their ſervice, were conveniently accommodated; for the majority of the allied troops were encamped in Cojohuacan, four miles diſtant from Xoloc; and, not content with giving this aſſiſtance, they brought many proviſions to the camp, particularly fiſh and cherries in great quantities.

Cortes, finding himſelf ſo well reinforced with troops, entered two or three days ſucceſſively into the city, making dreadful ſlaughter of the citizens. He was inclined to imagine that the beſieged would neceſſarily ſurrender, ſeeing ſuch an exceſſive number of troops armed againſt them, and having experienced the ruinous effects of their obſtinacy: but in this he was miſtaken, for the Mexicans were determined to loſe their lives ſooner than their liberty. He reſolved therefore to make continued entries into the city, in order to compel them by hoſtilities to aſk for that peace which they had refuſed. He formed two armaments of his veſſels, each conſiſting of three brigantines and fifteen hundred ſmall boats, ordering them to proceed towards the city, to ſet fire to its houſes, and do the Mexicans all the miſchief in their power. He gave orders to Sandoval and Alvarado to do the ſame on their ſide, while he with all his Spaniards, and eighty thouſand allies, by what appears, marched as uſual by the road of Iztapalapan towards the city, but without being able to gain, neither in this nor other entries which he made in thoſe particular days, any other advantage than that of gradually reducing the number of the enemy, demoliſhing ſome of their buildings, and advancing daily ſome little way farther for the purpoſe of opening a communication with the camp of Alvarado, although then it was not in his power to effect it.

Alvarado

SECT. XXII. Operation of Alvarado, and bravery of Tzilacatzin.

Alvarado and all his troops, ſeconded by the brigantines, had already taken poſſeſſion of a temple, which ſtood in a little ſquare in the road of Tlacopan, in which he maintained from that time a garriſon, in ſpite of the violent aſſaults of the Mexicans. He had alſo taken ſome ditches and entrenchments, and knowing that the greateſt force of the enemy was in Tlatelolco, where the king Quauhtemotzin reſided, and numbers of the inhabitants of Tenochtitlan had reſorted, he directed his operations towards that quarter; but although he fought frequently with all his force both by land and water, he could not advance where he wiſhed, from the gallant oppoſition of the beſieged. In thoſe engagements many periſhed on both ſides. In one of the firſt conteſts a ſtrong and courageous warrior of Tlatelolco, diſguiſed like one of the Otomies, with an *Ichcahupilli*, or breaſt-plate of cotton, and with no other arms than a ſhield and three ſtones, made his appearance, and running moſt ſwiftly towards the beſiegers, he threw his three ſtones ſucceſſively with ſuch dexterity and with ſuch force, that with each he knocked down a Spaniard, exciting no leſs indignation among them than fear and wonder in the allies. They endeavoured, by every means, to get him into their hands, but could never take him, for in every engagement he appeared differently dreſſed, and in each occaſioned much loſs to the beſiegers, having as much ſwiftneſs in his feet to make his eſcape as force in his arms to ſtrike his blows. The name of this celebrated hero of Tlatelolco was *Tzilacatzin*.

Alvarado, elated with ſome advantages obtained over the Mexicans, ſtrove one day to puſh forward as far as the market-place: he had already taken ſeveral ditches and intrenchments, and among others, one which was fifty feet broad, and more than ſeven feet deep; but forgetting, through his ſucceſs, to make it be filled up, as his general had enjoined, he advanced with forty or fifty Spaniards, and ſome allies. The Mexicans having obſerved this neglect, ſoon poured in numbers upon them, and defeated and put them to flight, and in repaſſing the ditch, killed ſome of the allies and made four Spaniards priſoners, who were inſtantly ſacrificed in ſight of Alvarado and his people, in the greater temple of Tlatelolco. Cortes was extremely troubled at this diſaſter, as it muſt have increaſed the courage and pride of the enemy, and went immediately to Tlacopan, to give a ſevere reprimand to Alvarado for his

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diſobedience and raſhneſs; but when he was informed how courageouſly he had conducted himſelf that day, and taken poſſeſſion of the moſt difficult poſts, he gave him only a kind admonition, and inculcated his former orders reſpecting the manner of making his entry.

SECT. XXIII. Treachery of the Xochimilcas and other people.

The troops of Xochimilco, Cuitlahuac, and other cities on the lake, which were in the camp of Cortes, willing to profit by the opportunity which preſented itſelf in the entries which the Spaniards made, to plunder the houſes of the capital, availed themſelves of a moſt abominable piece of treachery. They ſent a ſecret embaſſy to king Quauhtemotzin, declaring their inviolable fidelity to the crown, and complaining of the Spaniards, becauſe they had forced them to take arms againſt their natural lord; and adding, that they deſigned on their next entry to unite with the Mexicans againſt thoſe enemies of their country, to kill them all, and thus put an end to his calamities. The king praiſed their reſolution, appointed them the poſts which they were to occupy, and alſo returned them gifts in reward of their pretended fidelity. Thoſe traitors entered the city as uſual, and feigning at firſt to turn their arms againſt the Spaniards, began afterwards to plunder the houſes of the Mexicans, killing thoſe who oppoſed them, and impriſoning the women and children; but the Mexicans ſoon detecting their perfidy, fell upon them with ſuch mercileſs fury, that almoſt every one of them atoned for his treachery with his life. A great many of them were killed in the conteſt, and the others, who were made priſoners, were immediately ſacrificed by order of the king. This treaſon appears to have been both deſigned and executed by the very loweſt of the populace of thoſe cities, who are always guilty of ſuch meanneſſes.

SECT XXIV. Victory of the Mexicans.

Twenty days were now paſt in which the Spaniards had made continual entries into the city. Some captains and ſoldiers weary of ſo many repeated engagements, the fruits of which appeared ſtill very diſtant to them, complained to the general, and earneſtly conjured him, to exert all the forces he had in one deciſive blow, which would end all his dangers and fatigues. The deſign formed by them was to advance as far as the center of Tlatelolco, where the Mexicans had aſſembled all their forces, and attempt to ruin them in one night, or at leaſt bring them to a ſurrender. Cortes, who well knew the immi-

nent danger of this enterprize, ſtrove to divert them from it with all his arguments; but thoſe being of no avail, nor being able to reject a meaſure which had been almoſt generally adopted, yielded at laſt to their importunities. He ordered Sandoval to join Alvarado with one hundred and fifteen Spaniards and ten horſes, to put the cavalry in ambuſcade, and carry off the baggage under pretence of making a departure, and abandoning the ſiege of the city, in order that the Mexicans, by being induced to purſue them, might be attacked by the cavalry in their rear; to aim at gaining poſſeſſion, by the aſſiſtance of ſix brigantines, of that great ditch where Alvarado was defeated, making it be filled up and levelled; to advance not a ſtep without leaving the road well accommodated for a retreat, and then to enter in a body into the ſquare of the market.

On the day fixed for the general aſſault, Cortes marched with twenty-five horſes, with all his infantry, and more than an hundred thouſand allies. His brigantines, with more than three thouſand canoes, formed the two wings of his army on both ſides of the road. He entered the city without oppoſition, and quickly divided his army into three parts, that they might each, by three different roads, arrive at the ſame time in the ſquare of the market. The command of the firſt diviſion was given to Julian Alderete, treaſurer to the king, who was the perſon that had moſt earneſtly preſſed Cortes to undertake this expedition; and he was ordered to proceed through the principal and largeſt road with ſeventy Spaniards, ſeven horſes, and twenty thouſand allies. Of the other two roads, which led from the great road of Tlacopan to the ſquare of the market, the leaſt confined, was aſſigned to the captains Andrea de Tapia, and George Alvarado, brother of P. de Alvarado, with eighty Spaniards, and upwards of ten thouſand allies; and the narroweſt and moſt difficult, the general charged himſelf with, having one hundred ſoldiers, and the body of the auxiliary troops, leaving the cavalry and artillery in the entry to each road. The parties entered all at one time, and engaged courageouſly. In the beginning the Mexicans made ſome reſiſtance, but afterwards feigning cowardice, they retreated, abandoning the ditches to the Spaniards, in order that, allured by the hopes of victory, they might run themſelves into greater dangers. Some Spaniards puſhed forward to the ſtreets near to the ſquare

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of the market, unwarily leaving behind them a broad ditch badly filled up, and when they were moſt ardently advancing, and ſtriving who ſhould firſt enter into that ſquare, they heard the formidable ſound of the horn of the god Painalton, which was blown by the prieſts in caſes of public and preſſing neceſſity, to excite the people to arms. Immediately ſuch a multitude of Mexicans aſſembled, and poured with ſuch fury upon the Spaniards and allies, that they threw them into confuſion, and compelled them to return precipitately back towards the ditch, which was apparently filled up with faggots, and other light materials; but when they attempted to paſs, it ſunk with the weight and violence of the multitude. Here the ſharpeſt conflict and greateſt peril of the fugitives happened; for being unable at the ſame time to defend themſelves and paſs by ſwimming, they were wounded and taken by the Mexicans. Cortes, who with the uſual diligence of a good general, had advanced to the ditch when his defeated troops arrived there, endeavoured to ſtop their flight by his cries, that their diſorder and confuſion might not increaſe the ſlaughter made of them by the enemy; but words are not capable of reſtraining the flight of a diſordered multitude to whom fear adds wings. Pierced with vexation at the diſaſters of his people, and regardleſs of his own perſonal danger, he approached to the ditch to ſave all thoſe he could. Some were got out diſarmed, ſome wounded, and ſome almoſt drowned. He at laſt put them into ſome order to proceed towards the camp, he himſelf remaining behind with from twelve to twenty men to guard their rear; but they had hardly began to march, when he found himſelf in a narrow paſs ſurrounded by the enemy. That day would certainly have been his laſt, in ſpite of the extraordinary bravery with which he defended himſelf, and with his life all hopes would have fled of the conqueſt of Mexico, if the Mexicans, inſtead of wiſhing to kill him, which was frequently in their power, had not eagerly ſtrove to take him alive, to honour their gods with the ſacrifice of ſo illuſtrious a victim. They had already ſeized him, and were leading him off for this purpoſe, when his people, appriſed of his being a priſoner, came ſpeedily to relieve him. Cortes owed his life and his liberty to a ſoldier of his guard, called Chriſtoval de Olea, a man of infinite courage and great dexterity in arms; who, upon another occaſion, had reſcued him from ſimilar danger, and upon

on this ſaved him at the riſk of his own life, by cutting off with one ſtroke of his ſword, the arm of that Mexican who had taken him. Cortes was indebted in like manner for his liberty to the prince D. C. Ixtlilxochitl, and to a brave Tlaſcalan, named Temacatzin.

The Spaniards at laſt, though not without the greateſt difficulty, and a number of wounds, got upon the great road of Tlacopan, when Cortes was able to rally them, and took himſelf the rear-guard with the cavalry; but the boldneſs and fury with which the Mexicans purſued them were ſuch, that it appeared impoſſible for them to eſcape with their lives. The diviſions which had entered by the other two roads, had alſo had terrible encounters; but, becauſe they had been more careful in filling up the ditches, their retreat was leſs difficult when Cortes ordered them to march to the greater ſquare of Tenochtitlan, where they all collected. From thence they diſcovered, with the utmoſt mortification, the ſmoke of copal ariſing from the ſtoves of the greater Temple, which the Mexicans were burning as a thankſgiving for the victory they had obtained; but the vexation was ſtill ſtronger, when they ſaw the heads of ſome Spaniards thrown towards them by the Mexicans, to diſpirit them, and when they heard a report that the commanders Alvarado and Sandoval were ſlain. From the ſquare they proceeded by the road of Iztapalapan, to their camp, ſtill purſued by a multitude of the enemy.

Alvarado and Sandoval had made an effort to enter into the ſquare of the market by a road, which led from that of Tlacopan to Tlatelolco, and had advanced their operations ſo far as to a poſt at a little diſtance from that ſquare, but upon ſeeing the ſacrifices of the Spaniards, and having heard the Mexicans ſay, that Cortes and his captains were killed, they retired, though with the greateſt difficulty; for the enemy, with whom they had been engaged, were joined by thoſe who had defeated the troops of Cortes.

The loſs ſuſtained by the beſiegers on that day was ſeven horſes, a number of arms and boats, and a piece of artillery, upwards of one thouſand allies, and more than ſixty Spaniards, part killed in battle, part made priſoners, and immediately ſacrificed in the greater temple of Tlatelolco, in ſight of the troops of Alvarado. Cortes received a wound

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wound in his leg, and not one of the beſiegers hardly came off without being either wounded or otherwiſe diſcomfited.

The Mexicans celebrated the victory for eight ſucceſſive days with illuminations and muſic in their temples; they ſpread the fame of it through all the kingdom, and ſent the heads of the Spaniards through all the provinces of the empire who had rebelled againſt the crown, to recall them to obedience, to which many were induced. They dug the ditches again, repaired the intrenchments, and put the city, excepting the temples and houſes ruined by the enemy, into the ſtate it was in before the ſiege commenced.

SECT. XXV. Engagements of the brigantines and ſtratagems of the Mexicans.

In the mean while the Spaniards kept themſelves upon the defence in their camps, curing their wounded, and recruiting themſelves for future combats; but in order alſo that the Mexicans might not avail themſelves of their idleneſs, Cortes ordered the brigantines to go two by two to cruize upon the lake. The Mexicans, ſenſible of the ſuperiority of the Spaniſh veſſels and arms, and though not able to equal the laſt, they endeavoured in ſome meaſure to match the brigantines. They had for this purpoſe conſtructed thirty large veſſels, called by the Spaniards *periaguas*, well finiſhed, and covered with thick planks, to enable them to combat in them without ſo much danger of being damaged. They determined to lay an ambuſcade for the brigantines in one of the ſmall woods, or thickets of reeds, formed by the floating fields of the lake, and fixed in ſeveral places large ſtakes under water, that the brigantines might ſtrike upon them and founder, or at leaſt be made leſs capable of defence. Having prepared their ambuſcade, they ſent out two or three little ordinary veſſels from among the reedy places of the lake, that they might, by attracting the notice of the brigantines, lead them in their flight towards the place of the ambuſcade. The Spaniards, as ſoon as they ſaw them, gave them chace, but while they were in the heat of the purſuit, the brigantines ſtruck upon the ſtakes, and at the ſame time, the thirty large veſſels came out, and attacked them on every quarter. The Spaniards were in great danger of loſing not only their veſſels, but their lives; but while the ſmall guns kept the enemy in play, ſome expert ſwimmers had time to clear the ſtakes, upon which being freed from this hindrance,

drance, they were able to make uſe of their artillery to drive off the enemy. The brigantines were a good deal damaged, the Spaniards wounded, and of the two captains who commanded them, one was killed in the fight, and the other died in three days of his wounds. The Mexicans refitted their veſſels to repeat the ſtratagem, but Cortes being ſecretly informed of the place where they lay, diſpoſed himſelf a counter-ambuſcade of ſix brigantines, and profiting by the example of the enemy, he ordered one brigantine to cruize near the place where the Mexican veſſels were in ambuſh. Every thing ſucceeded as he had planned, for the Mexicans, upon ſeeing the brigantine, puſhed out immediately from their ambuſcade, and when they imagined themſelves moſt certain of their prey, the other five brigantines came out impetuouſly againſt them, and began to play off their artillery, with the firſt fire of which they overſet ſome of the enemy's veſſels and routed the reſt. The greater part of the Mexicans periſhed in the attack, ſome were made priſoners, and among them ſome nobles, whom Cortes thought immediately of employing to ſollicit ſome accommodation with the court of Mexico.

SECT. XXVI. Fruitleſs embaſſy to the king of Mexico.

Thoſe noble priſoners were accordingly ſent to tell king Quauhtemotzin that he ſhould reflect how much the forces of Mexico were daily diminiſhing, while, at the ſame time, thoſe of the Spaniards were augmenting: that at the laſt they would be obliged to yield to ſuperior ſtrength; that although the Spaniards did not enter the capital to commit hoſtilities, in order to reduce them, it would be ſufficient alone to hinder them from receiving any ſupplies; that they might ſtill ſhun the diſaſters which awaited them; that if they would accede to propoſitions of peace, he would immediately ceaſe all hoſtilities; the king ſhould remain in quiet poſſeſſion of his crown, with all his grandeur, power, and authority, which he had hitherto enjoyed; that his ſubjects ſhould remain free, and maſters of all their property, without any thing being demanded from his majeſty, or his ſubjects, but the homage due to the king of Spain, as the ſupreme lord of all that empire, whoſe right had been already acknowledged by the Mexicans themſelves, as founded on the ancient tradition of their anceſtors; that if on the contrary he perſiſted in war, he would be deprived of his crown, the greater part of his vaſſals would loſe their lives, and their

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large and beautiful city totally deſtroyed. The king conſulted with his counſellors, with the generals of the army, and the heads of their religion; he explained to them the ſubject of the embaſſy, the ſtate of the capital, the ſcarcity of proviſions, the afflictions of his people, and the ſtill greater evils which threatened them, and commanded them to ſpeak their opinions freely. Some of them, foreſeeing the iſſue of the war, were inclined to peace; others, inſtigated by hatred to the Spaniards, or the ſentiments of honour, adviſed war. The prieſts, whoſe authority in this, as well as in other matters, was highly reſpected, declared ſtrongly againſt peace; alledging ſeveral pretended oracles of their gods, whoſe indignation ought to be dreaded if they yielded to the claims of thoſe cruel enemies of their worſhip, and whoſe protection ought to be implored with prayers and ſacrifices. This opinion at laſt prevailed, from the ſuperſtitious fear which had ſeized their minds; and, accordingly, they anſwered the Spaniſh general, that they would continue the war, for they were determined to defend themſelves to the laſt breath. If they had not been moved to this reſolution by ſuperſtition, but by a ſenſe of honour, from the love of their country and native liberty, they would not have been ſo blameable; for, although they ſaw their ruin inevitable in continuing the war, they had not much hope of bettering their fortune by means of peace. The experience of paſt events did not permit them to confide in the promiſes which were made them; on which account they muſt have repreſented to themſelves, that it was more conſiſtent with ideas of honour to die with their arms in their hands in defence of their native country and liberty, than to abandon all to the ambition of thoſe ſtrangers, and reduce themſelves by a ſurrender to a wretched ſtate of ſlavery.

SECT. XXVII. Expeditions againſt the Malinalcheſe and Matlazincas.

Two days after the defeat of the Spaniards, ſome meſſengers ſent from the city of Quauhnahuac arrived at the camp of Cortes, to complain of the great injuries done them by their neighbours the Malinalcheſe, who, according to their affirmations, were going into confederacy with the Cohuicas, a very numerous nation, on purpoſe to deſtroy Quauhnahuac, becauſe they had become the allies of the Spaniards, and afterwards to paſs the mountains to make an aſſault, with a large army, on the camp of Cortes. This general, although he felt him-

himſelf rather in a ſtate to demand aſſiſtance than to give it, nevertheleſs, for the reputation of the Spaniſh arms, and to prevent the blow which was threatened, ſent the captain Andrea de Tapia with the meſſengers, two hundred Spaniards, ten horſes, and a large number of allies, with orders to unite themſelves with the troops of Quauhnahuac, and to do every thing which he thought would conduce to the ſervice of his king, and the ſecurity of the Spaniards. Tapia executed all that was enjoined him by the general, and in a place ſituated between Quauhnahuac and Malinalca, had a pitched battle with the enemy, defeated, and purſued them to the foot of the mountain, on whoſe top the city of Malinalco ſtood. He could not, according to his wiſh, make an aſſault upon it, as it was inacceſſible to his cavalry, but he laid the country waſte, and the ten days being now expired, which was the time of abſence preſcribed him, he returned to the camp.

Two days after, meſſengers from the Otomies of the valley of Tolloccan arrived at the ſame camp, praying aid againſt the Matlatzincas, a powerful and warlike nation of the ſame valley, who kept them continually at war, had burned one of their ſettlements, made many of them priſoners, and beſides had agreed with the Mexicans to attack with all their forces the camp of Cortes, by the way of the main land while the Mexicans attacked them from the city. In the entries which the Spaniards had made into Mexico, they had ſometimes heard the Mexicans threaten them with the power of the Matlatzincas, and Cortes now perceived, from the account of the Otomies, the great danger he would run, if he ſhould give the enemy an opportunity of putting their deſign in execution. He would not truſt this expedition to any other than the brave and gallant Sandoval. This indefatigable officer, although he had been wounded on the day of the defeat of Cortes, had acted for ſome days as general, inceſſantly going round the three camps, making the beſt diſpoſition for their ſecurity. Scarcely fourteen days elapſed after the defeat of Cortes, when he marched towards the valley of Tolloccan with eighteen horſes, a hundred Spaniſh infantry, and ſixty thouſand allies. In their way they ſaw ſome marks of devaſtation committed by the Matlatzincas, and when they entered the valley, they found a ſettlement newly laid in ruins, and ſaw the troops of the enemy

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loaded with ſpoils, which however they quickly abandoned as ſoon as the Spaniards appeared, in order to be ſooner ready for battle. They paſſed a river which croſſes the valley, and ſtood upon its border waiting for the Spaniards. Sandoval forded it intrepidly with his army, attacked the enemy, put them to flight, and chaced them for nine miles into a city, where they took refuge, leaving more than a thouſand of them dead on the field. Sandoval laid ſiege to the city, and forced the enemy to abandon it, and betake themſelves to a fortreſs built on the top of a ſteep mountain. The victorious army entered the city, and, after having plundered it, ſet fire to the buildings; and becauſe it was then late in the day, and the troops wearied, they reſerved the aſſault of the fortreſs till the following morning, when, however, although expecting to meet with a ſtrong oppoſition, they found the fortreſs evacuated. Sandoval determined, as he returned, to paſs through ſome ſettlements which had alſo declared themſelves hoſtile to the allies of the Spaniards; but he had no occaſion to make uſe of arms againſt them, for they were ſo intimidated at ſeeing ſo great an army, which was much augmented by numerous troops of the Otomies, that they immediately ſurrendered. Sandoval treated them with the greateſt mildneſs, and requeſted of them that they would perſuade the nation of the Malatzincas to enter into friendſhip with the Spaniards, by repreſenting to them the advantages which they would derive from it; and, on the contrary, the misfortunes which might ſpring from their enmity to them. Thoſe expeditions proved of the utmoſt importance, for four days after Sandoval had returned, ſeveral Matlatzincan, Malinalcheſe, and Cohuixcan lords, arrived at the camp of Cortes, to make an excuſe for their hoſtilities, and to eſtabliſh a confederacy, which was moſt ſtrengthening to the Spaniards, and eminently prejudicial to the Mexicans.

From the ſide of the main land, or continent, the Spaniards had no more enemies to alarm them, and Cortes had under his direction ſuch an exceſſive number of troops, that he was able to have employed in the ſiege of Mexico more people than Xerxes ſent againſt Greece, if from the nature of the ſite of that capital, ſuch a multitude of beſiegers would not have been rather a hindrance. The Mexicans, on the contrary, found themſelves forſaken by their friends and their ſubjects, ſurrounded

ſurrounded by enemies, and oppreſſed by famine. That unfortunate capital had armed againſt it, the Spaniards, the kingdom of Acolhuacan, the republics of Tlaſcala, Huexotzinco, and Cholula, almoſt all the cities of the Mexican vale, and the populous nations of the Totonacas, Mixtecas, Otomies, Tlahuicas, Cohuixcas, Matlatzincas, and others; ſo that, beſides external enemies, more than half of the empire had conſpired againſt its ruin, and the other part ſtood neuter in its cauſe.

SECT. XXVIII. Memorable action of the general Chichimecatl.

While the commander Sandoval was diſplaying his courage againſt the Matlatzincas, the general Chichimecatl gave a ſignal inſtance of his againſt the Mexicans. This famous general, when he ſaw that the Spaniards, after their defeat, ſtood upon the defenſive only, reſolved to make an entry into Mexico with his Tlaſcalans alone. He ſet out with this view from the camp of Alvarado, where he had conſtantly been ſtationed ſince the beginning of the ſiege, accompanying the Spaniards in all their engagements, and every where ſignalizing his bravery. He took on this occaſion all the ditches in the road of Tlacopan, and leaving four hundred archers as a guard to the moſt dangerous paſs, that they might ſecure his retreat, entered with the main body of his troops into the city, where he had a terrible encounter with the Mexicans, in which many were killed and wounded on both ſides. The Mexicans flattered themſelves they would have been able to have defeated them in their retreat, as they paſſed the ditch; but by the arms of the archers poſted there on the oppoſite bank, he paſſed it ſafely with his Tlaſcalans, and returned full of glory to the camp.

In order to revenge this audacious attempt of the Tlaſcalans, the Mexicans one night attacked the camp of Alvarado; but having been heard in their approach by the centinels, the Spaniards and allies ran to arms. The engagement laſted three hours, during which time Cortes having heard from his camp the cannonade, and ſuſpecting the cauſe of it, it appeared to him to be a proper time to make an entry into the city with his people, who were now cured of their wounds. The Mexicans, who had gone to Tlacopan, not being able to overcome the reſiſtance made by the Spaniards, returned to the city, where they found Cortes with his army: they fought with ſpirit, but without any conſiderable advantage being gained by either party.

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At this ſame time, when there was the greateſt neceſſity of arms and ammunition, a veſſel arrived at Vera Cruz, and which brought new ſupplies to the Spaniards, by which they were put in a ſtate fit to continue their operations. The prince D. C. Ixtlilxochitl had adviſed the Spaniſh general not to exhauſt himſelf in new aſſaults, in which his army might ſuffer too much; that without expoſing himſelf to ſuch an evil, or ruining the beautiful edifices of the capital, he would be able to make himſelf maſter of it, merely by hindering the introduction of any ſupplies; for the more numerous the beſieged were, the ſooner they would conſume the few proviſions they had left. Cortes was not inattentive to the acuteneſs of this advice, and valued it the more, as it came from a perſon, who from youth and intrepidity of temper, might rather have deſired an occaſion of diſplaying his bravery: but he could only adhere to it for a few days. Becoming ſoon weary of the tediouſneſs of the ſiege, he re-commenced former hoſtilities, though not without firſt making propoſitions of peace to the Mexicans, drawing a compariſon to them between his and their forces, and repeating the reaſons which he had formerly urged. The Mexicans anſwered, that they would never lay down their arms until the Spaniards ſet off to their own country.

SECT. XXIX. Slaughter made in Mexico, and the bravery of ſome women.

Cortes now ſeeing the reſolution of the Mexicans, after forty-five days of ſiege, and that the more he made overtures of peace the more obſtinately they rejected them, determined not to make another ſtep into the city, without deſtroying every building on either ſide of the road, not only to prevent the miſchief which the troops ſuffered from the terraces, but likewiſe to force the beſieged, by conſtant hoſtilities, to accept of his propoſitions. He applied, therefore, and obtained from his allies, ſome thouſands of their villagers and peaſants, furniſhed with inſtruments fit for demoliſhing buildings and filling up ditches. For ſome days following he made ſeveral entries into the city, with his Spaniards and brigantines, and upwards of a hundred and fifty thouſand allies, demoliſhing every houſe, filling up all the ditches, and diminiſhing the number of his enemies by death, although not without the utmoſt peril to his own perſon and his people; for he was nearly made a priſoner, when he was relieved by his own ſoldiers, and his troops were ſometimes obliged to eſcape the fury of the enemy by

by flight. Some Spaniards and allies perifhed in thofe encounters, and two brigantines were almoft captured by a fleet of canoes; but a third coming up to their affiftance, extricated them from the danger.

In thofe entries feveral Spanifh women made themfelves famous by their bravery (*q*): they voluntarily accompanied their hufbands to war, and, from the continual hardfhips they underwent and the examples of valour which they had always before their eyes, were in a manner become foldiers: they kept guard, marched along with their hufbands, armed with breaft-plates of cotton, fhields, and fwords, and threw themfelves intrepidly into the midft of the enemy, adding in fpite of their fex to the number of the befiegers.

On the twenty-fourth of July they made a new entry into the city with a greater number of troops than on the preceding days; and, vigorouſly bent on conqueft, the Spaniards at laft got poffeffion of that road by which the large road of Iztapalapan communicated with that of Tlacopan; the object which Cortes had fo ardently longed to accompliſh, for the free communication of his with the camp of Alvarado. They took by aſſault and afterwards filled up feveral ditches, and burned and deſtroyed many buildings; among others, a palace of king Quauhtemotzin, which was a vaſt and ſtrong edifice ſurrounded with intrenchments. The Spaniards that day remained maſters of three of the four quarters of the capital, the beſieged being now reduced to the part of Tlatelolco, which, on account of there being more water in it, was more ſtrong and ſecure.

From a Mexican woman of rank, taken in the laſt aſſault, the Spaniſh general learned the miſerable ſtate of the city, through the ſcarcity of proviſions and the diſcord prevailing among the beſieged: for the king, and his relations, and many of the nobles, were determined to die rather than ſurrender; while the people were diſcouraged and weary of the ſiege. Her account was confirmed by two deſerters of inferior rank, who were impelled by hunger to come to the camp of Cortes.

Upon gaining this intelligence, Cortes reſolved not to let a day paſs without entering the city, until he took or ruined it; he therefore returned with his army on the twenty-fifth, and got poſſeſſion of a large

(*q*) Thoſe women were Maria de Eſtrada, whoſe courage we have formerly mentioned, Beatrice Bermudez de Valaſco, Juanna Martin, Elizabeta Roderiguez, and Beatrice Palacios.

road,

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In the entry which was made on the twenty-ſixth, two large ditches were taken, which had been recently dug by the Mexicans. Alvarado in his quarter was daily advancing farther into the city, and on the twenty-ſeventh puſhed ſo far, taking ſeveral ditches and intrenchments, that he came at laſt to occupy two towers neighbouring to the palace where king Quauhtemotzin reſided; but he could proceed no farther on account of the great difficulty he found from other ditches, and the gallant reſiſtance of the enemy, who obliged him to retreat, charging furiouſly upon his rear-guard. Cortes having obſerved an extraordinary ſmoke which aroſe from thoſe towers, made by way of ſignal, and ſuſpecting that which had actually happened, entered as uſual into the city, and employed the whole day in repairing every bad ſtep. He wanted but one canal and one intrenchment to come at the ſquare of the market; he determined to puſh on until he got there, which at laſt he effected; and then, for the firſt time after the commencement of the ſiege, his troops met with thoſe of Alvarado, to the inexpreſſible ſatisfaction of both. Cortes entered with ſome cavalry into the ſquare, and found innumerable people there, lodged in the porticos, the houſes of that diſtrict not being ſufficient to contain them. He mounted the temple, from whence he obſerved the city, and perceived, that of the eight parts of which it conſiſted, only one remained to be taken. He ordered his people to ſet fire to the lofty and beautiful towers of that temple,

where, as in the greater temple of Tenochtitlan, the idol of the god of war was adored. The Mexican populace, on ſeeing the great flame which aroſe from thence and ſeemed to reach the clouds, uttered deep lamentations. Cortes, moved with pity at ſeeing ſo great a body of people reduced to the utmoſt diſtreſſes, commanded all hoſtilities to ceaſe for that day, and new propoſals to be made to the beſieged, if they would ſurrender; but they anſwered, that they never would, and that while but one Mexican remained alive he would continue the defence till death.

SECT. XXX. Lamentable ſtate of the Mexicans.

Four days having paſſed without hoſtilities, Cortes entered anew into the city, and encountered with a large croud of miſerable creatures, of men, women, and young children, emaciated and almoſt dying of hunger; the famine being ſo great, that many of them lived ſolely upon herbs, marſh roots, inſects, and even the bark of trees. The general, compaſſionating ſuch wretches, ordered his troops not to do them any hurt, and paſſed on to the ſquare of the market, where he found the porticos filled with people who were unarmed; a certain token of the deſpondency of the people and their diſpleaſure at the obſtinacy of the king and the nobles. The greater part of that day was employed in negociations for peace; but Cortes finding that nothing would avail, ordered Alvarado to advance with an armed body through a great road where there were more than a thouſand houſes, while he with all his army made an attack in another quarter. The ſlaughter which they made of the beſieged that day was ſo great, that there were upwards of twelve thouſand killed and taken priſoners. The allies raged ſo cruelly againſt theſe unhappy victims, that they ſpared neither age nor ſex, the ſevere orders of the general being of no effect to controul them.

The next day Cortes returned with all his forces, but commanded them to do no hurt to the beſieged, moved not leſs by the compaſſion which the ſight of their miſery excited than the hope he had of inducing them to ſurrender. The Mexicans ſeeing ſuch a hoſt of enemies come againſt them, and among them their own ſubjects who had formerly ſerved them and now threatened them with ruin, finding themſelves reduced to the moſt diſtreſſing ſituation, and viewing before their eyes ſo many objects of affliction, having hardly a place to ſet a

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foot upon, except the dead bodies of their citizens, vented their anguiſh in horrid cries, and demanded death as the only cure for their pitch of miſery. Some of the common people requeſted Cortes to treat with ſome nobles who defended an intrenchment about an accommodation: Cortes went to them, but with little hopes of ſucceſs to his propoſitions: they happened to be ſome of thoſe perſons who could no longer endure the ſeverity of the ſiege. When they ſaw Cortes advancing towards them, they called out with the accents of deſperation, "If you "are the child of the ſun, as ſome do imagine, when your father is ſo "ſwift that in the ſhort ſpace of a day he finiſhes his airy courſe, why "are you ſo tedious in delivering us from all our calamities by death? "We would die, that we may paſs to heaven, where our god Huitzilo-"pochtli waits to give us the repoſe and reward our fatigues and ſervices "and ſacrifices to him have earned." Cortes made uſe of various arguments to move them to a ſurrender; but, as they anſwered that it was not in their power, nor had they any hope of perſuading the king to it, he withdrew, in order to make a ſolicitation to the ſame purpoſe by means of an illuſtrious perſon whom he had three days before made a priſoner; he was an uncle of the king of Tezcuco; him he charged, though wounded, to go to Tlatelolco to confer on the ſubject with the king: but he ſaw no other fruits of his embaſſy than the clamours of the people repeated, with which they demanded their deaths. Some Mexican troops made a deſperate aſſault on the Spaniards, but they were ſo enfeebled by the want of common ſuſtenance, that their efforts made little impreſſion, and the repulſe of their enemies was too ſtrong to be withſtood.

SECT. XXXI. Further fruitleſs attempt to bring the Mexicans to a ſurrender.

Cortes returned the day following to the city, expecting every moment that the Mexicans would ſurrender; and, without allowing any hurt to be done them, he directed his way to ſome perſons of eminence ſtationed in an intrenchment, who were known to him from the firſt time he had been at that court, and demanded of them why they would defend themſelves ſo obſtinately, being unable for more reſiſtance, and finding themſelves in ſuch a ſtate that with one blow he could take away every life among them. They anſwered, that they ſaw moſt clearly that their ruin was inevitable, and they would willingly have prevented it, but it did not lie with them to determine the point. They offered

offered however to petition the king to liſten to propoſitions of peace. They accordingly went immediately to the palace, and in a ſhort time after returned, ſaying that it was ſo late in the day, the king could not come, but that they did not doubt he would meet with Cortes in the ſame place to-morrow. There was in the center of this place a large ſquare terrace, where the Mexicans made their theatrical repreſentations, as we have already mentioned. Cortes ordered tapeſtries and little ſtools or chairs to be placed on this theatre, on purpoſe to hold the deſired conference, and a good entertainment to be provided for the king and the nobility who might accompany him. The day being arrived, he ſent notice to the king that he waited for him at that place; but the king returned five reſpectable perſons, to apologiſe for his not coming in perſon, on account of an indiſpoſition he had, and becauſe he could not place confidence in the Spaniards. Cortes received them with the greateſt benignity, gave them an elegant banquet, and ſent them back to the king, to requeſt him in Cortes's name to come to that interview without fear; as he pledged his faith to pay due reſpect to his royal perſon, that his preſence was abſolutely neceſſary, and nothing could be concluded without him; and accompanied this embaſſy with a preſent of proviſions, which at this juncture was the more valuable. The ambaſſadors, after diſcovering in the courſe of the entertainment the great neceſſities they ſuffered, retired, and about two hours after returned, bearing Cortes a preſent of the fineſt garments, which were ſent him by the king, and a repetition of his former excuſes. Three days were ſpent in thoſe negociations, to no effect.

SECT. XXXII. Terrible conflict, and horrid ſlaughter of the Mexicans.

Cortes had given orders to the allies to remain without the city, as the Mexicans had requeſted him not to allow them to be preſent when he held a conference with the king; but having now loſt every hope of an accommodation, he recalled all the troops of his camp, in which there were upwards of one hundred and fifty thouſand men, and thoſe alſo of the camp of Alvarado; and with all thoſe forces collected he began to ſtorm ſome ditches and intrenchments, which were the ſtrongeſt fortifications remaining to the Mexicans, and at the ſame time Sandoval with his army attacked the city in the quarter of the north. Of all days this was the moſt unfortunate for that city, as on it the Mexican blood was moſt laviſhly ſpilt; the wretched citi-

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zens having now neither arms to repel the multitude and fury of their enemies, ſtrength to defend themſelves, nor ſpace to fight upon; the ground of the city was covered with dead bodies, and the water of every ditch and canal purpled with blood. Nothing was to be ſeen but ſlaughter and ruin, and nothing was heard but piteous moans and cries of deſperation. The allies grew ſtill more cruel againſt that miſerable people, and gave the Spaniards more trouble to check their fierceneſs and inhuman rage, than to combat with the enemy. The havoc made of the Mexicans that day was ſo great, that, according to the account of Cortes himſelf, the number of victims exceeded forty thouſand.

SECT. XXXIII. Laſt aſſault, and taking of the city and king.

The intolerable ſtench ariſing from ſo many unburied dead carcaſes, obliged the beſiegers at this time to withdraw from the city: but the day after, being the thirteenth of Auguſt, they returned, to give the laſt aſſault to that diſtrict of Tlatelolco which yet remained in the poſſeſſion of the Mexicans. Cortes carried three pieces of artillery with him, aſſigned to each captain the place where he was to make the aſſault, and commanded them to make every exertion to force the beſieged to throw themſelves upon the water towards towards that place where he expected Sandoval with the brigantines, which was a ſort of harbour entirely ſurrounded with houſes, where the veſſels of the merchants uſed to come on ſhore when they came to the market of Tlatelolco; and, above all, to endeavour to ſeize the king Quauhtemotzin, as that was ſufficient to render them maſters of the city, and to put an end to the war: but, before he proceeded to this deciſive blow, he made new attempts to bring about an accommodation. He was induced to this, not only from compaſſion on ſo many wretched people, but likewiſe from the deſire of making himſelf maſter of the royal treaſures and thoſe of the nobility; for if this laſt part of the city was taken by aſſault, the Mexicans, when bereft of every hope of ſaving their riches, might throw them into the lake, that the victors might not enjoy them; and in caſe that was not done, they would be ſeized by the allies, who, from being innumerable and more acquainted with the houſes, would leave little or nothing to the Spaniards in the diſorder and confuſion of the aſſault. He, for this purpoſe, went to an eminence to ſpeak with ſome reſpectable Mexicans who were well known to him, repreſented to them their extreme danger, and requeſted them to make new applications

cations to the king, to conſent to that conference which he ſo much deſired for the good of the kingdom, himſelf, and all his ſubjects; for that, if he perſiſted in his purpoſe of defending himſelf, he was determined not to leave a Mexican alive that day among them. Two of thoſe nobles took upon them to perſuade the king, but they were no ſooner gone than they returned, accompanying the *Cihuacoatl*, or ſupreme magiſtrate of the court. He was received by Cortes with many tokens of cordiality and reſpect; but, with an air of ſovereignty, by which it appeared he deſigned to ſhew his mind ſuperior to all calamities, he ſaid to Cortes, "Spare me, O general! the trouble of ſoliciting a confer-"ence for you with my king and lord Quauhtemotzin: he is reſolved "to die rather than appear before you: I cannot expreſs to you how "painful his reſolution is to me; but there is no remedy: you, how-"ever, will follow the counſel you think proper, and act agreeable "to your deſigns." Cortes told him to go and prepare the citizens for the death which they would ſoon ſuffer.

In the mean time, numerous bodies of women and children and low people came to ſurrender themſelves to the Spaniards, haſtening to extricate themſelves from the impending danger; ſome of them, however, periſhed, in attempting to ſwim acroſs the ditches, for want of ſtrength. Cortes ordered no injury to be offered to thoſe who ſurrendered, and ſtationed ſome Spaniards in different places, to check by their authority the barbarous cruelty of the allies; but in ſpite of his orders, more than fifteen thouſand men, women, and children, periſhed in the hands of thoſe furious and inhuman troops.

The nobles and warriors who remained obſtinate in their reſolution to defend themſelves to the laſt moment, occupied the terraces of the houſes and ſome of their paved roads. Cortes obſerving that it was late, and that they did not chuſe to ſurrender, made ſome ſhots of artillery be fired upon them; but that not being ſufficient, he diſcharged an arquebuſe as a ſignal for the aſſault. All the beſiegers made the attack at once, and preſſed ſo hard upon the feeble and harraſſed citizens, that finding no place within the city to fly to, to defend themſelves from the fury of ſo numerous an enemy, many threw themſelves into the water, and others came to ſurrender themſelves to the conquerors. The Mexicans had prepared veſſels, to ſave themſelves by flight

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flight from the fury of the enemy; but Cortes having been aware of this reſource for eſcape, had given orders to Sandoval to take poſſeſſion with the brigantines of the port of Tlatelolco, and to ſeize every bark. In ſpite of the utmoſt diligence employed by Sandoval, many eſcaped, and among others, the one which carried the royal perſonages. This active commander having diſcovered it, ordered Garcia de Holguin, the captain of the ſwifteſt brigantine, to give chace; he made ſuch ſpeed that in a ſhort time he came up with it, and the Spaniards were preparing to fire into it, when they ceaſed their oars and threw down their arms in token of ſurrender. In that large veſſel, or piragua, were the king of Mexico Quauhtemotzin, the queen Tecuïchpotzin his wife, Coanacotzin the king of Acolhuacan, Tetlepanquetzaltzin the king of Tlacopan, and other perſons of rank. The brigantine boarded them, and the king of Mexico advancing towards the Spaniards, ſaid to the captain, "I am your priſoner: I have no favour to aſk, but that you will "ſhew the queen my wife and her attendants the reſpect due to their "ſex and rank." And, taking hold of the queen by the hand, he paſſed with her into the brigantine. Obſerving afterwards, that the Spaniſh captain looked anxiouſly after the other veſſels, he told him that he needed not doubt, that as ſoon as they all knew that their ſovereign was priſoner they would come to die with him.

The captain Holguin conducted thoſe illuſtrious perſons to Cortes, who was then upon the terrace of a houſe in Tlatelolco. He received them with every mark of reſpect and humanity, and made them ſit down. Quauhtemotzin, with much greatneſs of mind, told him; "I have done, brave general! in defence of myſelf and my ſubjects, "every thing which the honour of my crown and regard for my peo-"ple demanded; but, as my gods have been againſt me, I ſee myſelf "now deprived of my crown and my liberty: I am now your priſoner; "at your pleaſure diſpoſe of my perſon:" and putting his hand upon a dagger which Cortes wore at his girdle, he added, "with this dag-"ger take that life from me which I have not loſt in the defence of "my kingdom." Cortes ſtrove to conſole him, with many arguments, declaring that he did not conſider him as his priſoner, but the priſoner of the greateſt monarch of Europe, from whoſe clemency he ought to truſt, that not only the liberty which he had loſt, but alſo the throne

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of his illuſtrious anceſtors, which he had ſo worthily occupied and defended, would be reſtored to him. But what ſolace could he have from ſuch declarations, or what confidence could he put in the words of Cortes, who had always been his enemy, and after having ſeen that though the friend and protector of Montezuma, both were not ſufficient to ſave to that monarch his crown, his liberty, or his life? He deſired of Cortes, that he would do no hurt to his ſubjects; and Cortes in return deſired of him, that he would command them all to ſurrender. Both gave their orders, and both were inſtantly obeyed. It was ordered alſo, that all the Mexicans ſhould leave the city without arms or baggage; and, according to the affirmation of an eye-witneſs of the utmoſt ſincerity (*r*), for three days and three nights all the three roads leading from the city were ſeen full of men, women, and children; feeble, emaciated, and dirty, who went to recover in other places of the empire. The fetid ſmell, which ſo many thouſand putrid bodies emitted, was ſo intolerable, that it occaſioned ſome ſickneſs to the general of the conquerors. The houſes, the ſtreets, and the canals, were full of disfigured carcaſes; the ground of the city was in ſome places found dug up by the citizens, who ſearched under the earth for roots to feed on, and many trees were ſtripped of their bark, to ſupply the exigencies of famine. The general cauſed the dead bodies to be buried, and large quantities of wood to be burned through all the city, as much in order to purify the infected air as to celebrate his victory.

The news of the taking of the capital ſpread quickly through all the land; moſt of the provinces of the empire acknowleged obedience to Cortes, though ſome few for two years after continued to war upon

(*r*) "Es verdad y juro amen que toda la laguna y caſas y barbacoas eſtaban llenas de cuerpos y cabezas de hombres muertos; que yo no sè de que manera lo eſcriba; pues en las calles y en los miſmos patios de Tlatelolco no habia otras cosas y no podiamos andar, ſino entre cuerpos y cabezas de Indios muertos. Yo he leido la deſtrucion de Jeruſalem; mas ſi en ella hu o tanta mortandad como eſta yo no lo sè," &c. Bernal Diaz, chap. 156. of his hiſtory. Such expreſſions, from an eye-witneſs of great ſincerity, who was not given to exaggeration, convey to us a juſt idea of that horrid ſlaughter. We ſuſpect that the Mexicans left the dead bodies unburied, that the ſtench of them might drive away the beſiegers; as otherwiſe it is probable that, on account of their ſtrict attention to funeral rites, they would have removed them all.

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the Spaniards. The allies returned to their native diſtricts, joyful beyond meaſure with their prey, and gratified in extreme to have ſhaken and convulſed that court whoſe dominion they never could brook, and whoſe arms kept them in perpetual uneaſineſs; never perceiving, that with their own hands they had been forming the chains which were to fetter their liberty, and that when that empire was fallen, all the other nations of the region muſt be degraded and enſlaved.

The plunder was greatly inferior to the hopes and expectations of the conquerors. The garments and apparel which they found in the capital were divided among the allies: thoſe works of gold, ſilver, and feathers which, on account of the ſingularity of their workmanſhip were preſerved entire, were ſent as preſents to the emperor Charles V. all the reſt of the gold, which was melted, hardly amounted to nineteen thouſand two hundred ounces (*s*); not only becauſe the Mexicans threw the greater part into the lake (*t*), but alſo becauſe individuals both Spaniards and allies, endeavoured in plundering, to recompenſe themſelves ſecretly for their hardſhips and toils.

The taking of that capital happened on the thirteenth of Auguſt, 1521, one hundred and ninety-ſix years after the foundation of it by the Aztecas, one hundred and ſixty-nine years after it was erected into a monarchy, which was governed by eleven kings. The ſiege of Mexico, ſomething reſembling in the diſaſters and ſlaughters with which it was attended that of Jeruſalem, laſted ſeventy-five days; during which time, of two hundred thouſand and more allies, ſome thouſands periſhed; and of nine hundred Spaniards, more than one hundred were killed and ſacrificed, The number of the Mexicans killed is not known; but according to the account of Cortes and Bernal Diaz, and what other hiſtorians ſay on that ſubject, it appears that

(*s*) Cortes ſays, that the gold which was melted down weighed one hundred and thirty thouſand *caſtellanos*, equal to nineteen thouſand two hundred ounces. There were among the ſpoils ſent to Charles V. pearls of an enormous ſize, moſt valuable gems, and ſome curious works of gold. The ſhip in which they were carried was taken by I. Florin, a famous French pirate, and the treaſure was ſent to the court of France; which authoriſed ſuch depredations, under the not leſs famed than frivolous pretence, that the moſt Chriſtian king was a ſon of Adam as well as the Catholic king.

(*t*) Bernal Diaz ſays, that he ſaw ſome things of gold got up out of the lake, and amongſt others, a ſun ſimilar to that which Montezuma ſent to Cortes when he was on the coaſt of Chalchiuhcuecan.

the ſlain exceeded one hundred thouſand in number. With reſpect to thoſe who died by famine, or ſickneſs occaſioned by the brackiſh water which they drank and the infection of the air, Cortes himſelf affirms they were more than fifty thouſand. The city appeared one complete ruin. The king of Mexico, in ſpite of the magnificent promiſes of the Spaniſh general, was in a few days put ignominiouſly to the torture, which he bore with unſhaken firmneſs, that he might declare where the immenſe riches of the court and temples were depoſited (*u*); and, in three years after, was hanged, together with the kings of Tezcuco and Tlacopan, on account of ſome ſuſpicious circumſtances in their conduct (*w*). The Mexicans, and all the nations that contributed to their ruin, notwithſtanding the humane and benevolent diſpoſitions of the Catholic kings, remained abandoned to miſery and oppreſſion, and the contempt not only of the Spaniards, but even of the loweſt African ſlaves and their infamous deſcendants.

Thus, it has been ſaid, in conducting the Spaniards, a poliſhed nation of Europe, to overturn the rude monarchy of the Mexicans, in America, did Providence puniſh the latter for the injuſtice, cruelty, and ſuperſtition of their anceſtors. But there the victors, in one year of mercileſs maſſacre, ſacrificed more human victims to avarice and ambition, than the Indians during the exiſtence of their empire devoted

(*u*) The torture given to king Quauhtemotzin, was burning his feet ſlowly after they were anointed with oil. An intimate friend of the king voluntarily ſhared his ſufferings, and died under the torment. Bernal Diaz alſo adds, that the king of Tlacopan was tortured along with him. Cortes, in ſpite of his abhorrence of this act, was driven to it by the ſuggeſtions and inſinuations of ſome avaricious Spaniards, who ſuſpected that he had intended not to put the king to the torture in order to poſſeſs himſelf ſecretly of all the royal treaſure.

(*w*) Quauhtemotzin king of Mexico, Coanacotzin king of Acolhuacan, and Tetlepanquetzaltzin king of Tlacopan, were hanged upon a tree in Izancanac, the capital of the province of Acallan, on one of the three days preceding Lent of the year 1525. The occaſion of their death was, ſome diſcourſe they had among themſelves relative to their misfortunes, in which they inſinuated how eaſy it would be for them if they inclined to kill Cortes and the Spaniards and to recover their liberty and their crowns. A Mexican traitor, in order to gain the favour of the Spaniſh general, communicated what had been ſaid, but altered the ſenſe of the words, and repreſented the caſual remarks of converſation as a formed conſpiracy againſt him. Cortes, who was then on his journey towards the province of Comajahua, with a few Spaniards almoſt exhauſted by fatigue, and upwards of three thouſand Mexicans whom he carried along with him, was perſuaded there was no way of ſhunning the danger which threatened him, but putting the three kings to death. "This ſentence," ſays Bernal Diaz, "was extremely unjuſt, and "much blamed by all who were travelling with him that day." It occaſioned ſome watchings and melancholy to Cortes.

BOOK X. in chaſte worſhip to their native gods: there the legiſlative art of Europe corrected the bloody policy of American tribes, and introduced the miniſtry of juſtice, by deſpoiling Indian caziques of their territories and tributes, torturing them for gold, and enſlaving their poſterity: and there the mild parental voice of the Chriſtian religion was ſuborned to terrify confounded ſavages with the malice of a ſtrange, and by them unprovoked, God; and her gentle arm in violence lifted up, to raze their temples and hoſpitable habitations, to ruin every fond relic and revered monument of their anceſtry and origin, and divorce them in anguiſh from the boſom of their country.

APPEN-

APPENDIX:

CONTAINING

DISSERTATIONS

ON

THE LAND, THE ANIMALS, AND THE INHABITANTS OF MEXICO:

IN WHICH

The ANCIENT HISTORY of that COUNTRY is confirmed, many POINTS of NATURAL HISTORY illuſtrated, and numerous ERRORS refuted, which have been publiſhed concerning AMERICA by ſome celebrated modern AUTHORS.

INTRODUCTION.

THE Diſſertations which we enter upon are both uſeful and neceſſary, to illuſtrate the ancient hiſtory of Mexico, and confirm the truth of many points maintained in it. The firſt Diſſertation is requiſite, to ſupply the defective knowledge we have reſpecting the firſt population of that new world. The ſecond, though tedious and leſs calculated to intereſt, ought not to be omitted, in order that we may know the foundations of our chronology; and will prove uſeful to whoever may hereafter write the hiſtory of Mexico. All the others are equally important, to guard incautious readers from the miſtakes and deceptions they would otherwiſe be led into, by the crowd of modern authors, who, without poſſeſſing ſufficient knowledge, have not been aſhamed to write on the land, the animals, and inhabitants of America.

Any perſon who reads the work of M. de P. muſt entertain a thouſand ideas contrary to the ſincerity of our hiſtory. He is a philoſopher of the preſent faſhion, and learned; particularly on certain ſubjects, where it is his misfortune to be wiſe; and ignorance would have been his bliſs. He mingles inſult and buffoonry in his diſcourſes; enters without reſpect into the houſe of God, and ſheds malevolence and invective from his pen without reverence for truth or feelings for innocence. He decides raſhly, and in a magiſterial tone; inceſſantly cites the writers of America, and declares his work to be the fruit of ten years toil. This he means ſhould recommend him with many readers of this philoſophic age, who eſteem nothing but philoſophy, and think thoſe men philoſophers only who ſatirize religion and talk in the language of impiety.

The attempt made by M. de P. is to perſuade the world, that in the vaſt region of America all nature has degenerated; in the plants, in the animals, and in the inhabitants. The earth, incumbered with lofty mountains and rocks, and in the plains deluged with ſtagnant and cor-

rupted waters, or covered with woods ſo vaſt and ſo thick, that the ſun's rays never penetrate them, is, he ſays, generally barren, and more abounding in poiſonous plants than all the reſt of the world: the air unwholeſome, and more cold than that of the other continent: the climate unfavourable to the propagation of animals: all the animals native to theſe countries were ſmaller, more deformed, feeble, cowardly, and ſtupid, than thoſe of the ancient world; and thoſe which were tranſported there ſoon degenerated, as well as all the plants tranſplanted there from Europe: the men hardly differed from the beaſts, except in figure; but even in this, many marks of degeneration appear; their colour olive, their heads extremely hard and armed with coarſe thick locks, and the whole of the reſt of their bodies totally deſtitute of hair: they are brutal and weakly, and ſubject to many violent diſorders, occaſioned by the inſalubrity of their climate; but however their bodies may be formed, their minds are ſtill more imperfect; they are ſo irretentive in memory, that they forget to-day what they did yeſterday; they can neither reflect nor order their ideas, nor are capable of improving them, nor of thinking, becauſe their brains circulate only groſs viſcous humours; they are inſenſible to the deſires of love, or any other paſſion; their ſloth holds them ſunk in a ſavage ſtate; their cowardice was made manifeſt at the conqueſt; their moral vices are correſpondent to their phyſical defects; drunkenneſs, lying, and pederaſty, were common in the iſlands, in Mexico, Peru, and over all the new continent; they lived without laws; the few arts they knew were very rude; agriculture was totally neglected by them, their architecture pitiful, and their utenſils ſtill more imperfect: in the whole new world were only two cities, Cuzco in North, and Mexico in South America, and even theſe conſtituted but miſerable hamlets, &c.

This is a ſlight ſketch of the monſtrous picture which M. de P. draws of America: we do not give it at length, nor ſay how other authors, as ill informed or ſtrongly prejudiced as he is, have repreſented it: it would waſte too much time to copy their abſurdities and errors; neither do we intend to make the apology of America or the Americans; that would require a very voluminous work: to write an error, two lines are ſufficient; two pages, or two ſheets may not be ſufficient

to

to refute it: we ſhall, therefore, reply to thoſe only which affect the truth of our hiſtory: we have choſen the work of M. de P. becauſe in it the errors of moſt others are collected.

Although M. de P. is the principal author to whom we direct our animadverſions, we ſhall have occaſion to remark upon others, and, among thoſe, on Count de Buffon. We have the utmoſt eſteem for this celebrated author, and conſider him the moſt diligent, the moſt accurate, and moſt eloquent naturaliſt of the age; perhaps there never was in the world one who made ſuch progreſs in the knowledge of animals as he has done; but as the ſubject of the work he has undertaken is ſo vaſt and ſo various, it is not wonderful that he has ſometimes erred, or forgot what he has written with reſpect to America, where nature is ſo inexhauſtible; the miſtakes, therefore, or proofs we may adduce of his errors, can have no influence on the reputation of one ſo deſervedly reſpected by the learned world.

In the quotations of the Hiſtory of Quadrupeds of count de Buffon, we made uſe of the Paris edition, in thirty-one volumes, twelves, concluded in the year 1768. In thoſe of the work of M. de P. we have uſed the London edition of 1771, in three volumes, including the anſwer made him by Don Pernety, and reply of M. de Paw.

DIS-

DISSERTATION I.

On the Population of AMERICA, and in particular that of MEXICO.

DISSERT. I.

NO problem in hiſtory has been more difficult of ſolution than the population of America, or has occaſioned a greater diverſity of opinions. Ancient philoſophers were not more divided concerning the ſupreme good than the moderns about this. To examine them all would be a fruitleſs labour. Neither do we intend to eſtabliſh a new ſyſtem, having no foundation to ſupport one: we mean ſimply to offer and ſubmit to the judgment of the learned a few conjectures, which we preſume may not be uſeleſs. In order to proceed with clearneſs and preciſion, we ſhall divide our general ſubject into ſeveral parts, and explain our ſentiments on each ſeparately.

SECT. I.

At what Period America began to be peopled.

BETANCOURT, and other authors, are perſuaded, that the new world began to be peopled before the deluge. That certainly might have happened, becauſe the ſpace of one thouſand ſix hundred and fifty-ſix years elapſed from the creation of the firſt man until the deluge, according to the chronology of the Hebrew text of Geneſis, and our common reckoning; and ſtill more, the ſpace of two thouſand two hundred and forty-two, or two thouſand two hundred and ſixty-two years, according to the computation of the Seventy, was certainly enough to people all the world, as has been already demonſtrated by ſome writers; at leaſt after ten or twelve centuries, ſome of thoſe families which ſcattered themſelves towards the moſt eaſtern parts of Aſia, might paſs to that part of the world which we call at preſent America, whither it was, as we believe, united to the other, or ſepa-

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rated by a ſmall arm of the ſea from it. But how do thoſe authors prove that America was peopled before the deluge? Becauſe they ſay there were giants in America, and the race of giants was antideluvian. Becauſe God, others will ſay, did not create the earth to remain uninhabited; and it is not probable that, after creating America for that purpoſe, he would leave it ſo long without inhabitants. Admitting the ſacred text to be taken in the vulgar ſenſe, and that the giants were men of extraordinary ſize and bigneſs, this would by no means confirm ſuch opinion, becauſe we read in the ſacred writings alſo of giants poſterior to the deluge. Neither does the text of Iſaiah prove any thing in favour of that opinion, becauſe although God created the earth to be inhabited, no one can divine the time prefixed by him for the execution of his deſigns.

The traveller Gemelli ſays, on the evidence of ſome ancient pictures of the Mexicans, that the city of Mexico was founded in the year II Calli, correſponding to the year 1325 of the creation of the world, that is, more than three hundred years before the deluge; but this erroneous abſurdity was not an error of his mind, but a ſlip of his pen, as plainly appears from the context of his narration; wherefore he is unjuſtly reprobated by Mr. de P. who alſo accuſes Siguenza of the ſame error, whereas we are very certain this moſt learned Mexican was of a very different opinion. It is true, that the city of Mexico was founded in the year II Calli, and that that was the year 1325, not of the world, however, but of the vulgar era, which the above mentioned traveller certainly meant to have written.

It is therefore uſeleſs to inveſtigate whether America was peopled before the deluge, becauſe on one hand although we were able to diſcover it, on the other we are certain, that all men periſhed in the deluge. We are therefore obliged always, after that general inundation, to ſeek for new peoplers of America. We know that ſome writers circumſcribe the deluge to a certain part of Aſia; but we know alſo that that opinion is contrary to the Sacred Writings, to the traditions of the Americans, and phyſical obſervations.

Dr. Siguenza believed the population of America began not long after the diſperſion of nations. As we have not the manuſcripts of that celebrated Mexican, we are ignorant on what foundation he ruled his

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his opinion, which was very conformable to the tradition of the Chiapaneſe. Other authors, on the contrary, believe that population very modern, becauſe the writers of the hiſtory of the Mexicans and Peruvians did not find among thoſe nations any memory of their particular events farther back than eight centuries. But thoſe authors confound the population of Mexico made by the Chichimecas and the Aztecas, with that which their anceſtors had made many ages before in the northern countries of America, nor diſtinguiſh the Mexicans from other nations who occupied that country before them. Who can aſcertain when the Otomies, Olmecas, Cuitlatecas, and Michuacaneſe entered into the country of Anahuac? It is not ſupriſing that ſome writers of Mexico could not find any memorials more ancient than eight centuries; ſince, beſides the loſs of the greater part of the hiſtorical monuments of thoſe nations, as they did not know how to adjuſt the Mexican years with ours, they frequently committed groſs anacroniſms; but they who had procured greater abundance of the ancient and ſelect paintings, and knew a little better how to trace the chronology of thoſe people, ſuch as Seguenza and Ixtlilxochitl, found records certainly more ancient, and uſed them in their valuable manuſcripts.

We do not doubt that the population of America has been very ancient, and more ſo than it may ſeem to have been to European authors. 1. Becauſe the Americans wanted thoſe arts and inventions, ſuch, for example, as thoſe of wax and oil for light, which, on the one hand, being very ancient in Europe and Aſia, are on the other moſt uſeful, not to ſay neceſſary, and when once diſcovered, are never forgotten. 2. Becauſe the poliſhed nations of the new world, and particularly thoſe of Mexico, preſerve in their traditions and in their paintings the memory of the creation of the world, the building of the tower of Babel, the confuſion of languages, and the diſperſion of the people, though blended with ſome fables, and had no knowledge of the events which happened afterwards in Aſia, in Africa, or in Europe, although many of them were ſo great and remarkable, that they could not eaſily have gone from their memories. 3. Becauſe neither was there among the Americans any knowledge of the people of the old continent, nor among the latter any account of the paſſage of the former to the new world. Theſe reaſons, we preſume, give ſome probability to our opinion.

SECT.

SECT. II.

Who were the Peoplers of America.

THOSE who queſtion the authority of the ſacred writings ſay the Americans derive not their origin from Adam and Noah, and believe, or feign to believe, that as God created Adam that he might be the father of the Aſiatics, alſo made before or after him other men, that they might be the patriarchs of the Africans, Europeans, and Americans. This does not arraign the authority of the ſacred writings, ſays a modern author (*a*), becauſe although Moſes makes mention of no other firſt patriarch than Adam, it was owing to his having undertaken to write the hiſtory of no other people than the Iſraelites. But this is contrary to the tradition of the Americans, who in their paintings and in their hymns called themſelves the deſcendants of thoſe men who eſcaped from the general deluge. The Toltecas, Mexicans, Tlaſcalans, and all the other nations were agreed on this point. They all ſaid that their anceſtors came from elſewhere into thoſe countries; they pointed out the road they had come, and even preſerved the names, true or falſe, of thoſe their firſt progenitors, who, after the confuſion of languages, ſeparated from the reſt of men.

F. Nunez de la Vega, biſhop of Chiapa, ſays, in the preface to his *Synodal Conſtitutions*, that in the viſit which he made to his dioceſe towards the end of the laſt century, he found many ancient calendars of the Chiapaneſe, and an old manuſcript in the language of that country, made by the Indians themſelves, in which it was ſaid, according to their ancient tradition, that a certain perſon named *Votan* (*b*), was preſent at that great building, which was made by order of his uncle, in order to mount up to heaven; that then every people was given its language, and that Votan himſelf was charged by God to make the diviſion of the lands of Anahuac. The prelate adds afterwards, that there was in his time in Teopixca a great ſettlement of

(*a*) The author of a miſerable little performance, entitled, *Le Philoſophe Docteur*, printed at Berlin, in the year 1775.

(*b*) Votan is the chief of thoſe twenty famous men whoſe names were given to the twenty days of the Chiapaneſe month.

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that dioceſe, a family of the ſurname of Votan, who were the reputed deſcendants of that ancient populator. We are not here endeavouring to give antiquity to the populator of America on the faith of the Chiapaneſe, but merely to ſhew that the Americans conceived themſelves the deſcendents of Noah.

Of the ancient Indians of Cuba ſeveral hiſtorians of America relate, that when they were interrogated by the Spaniards concerning their origin, they anſwered, they had heard from their anceſtors that God created the heavens, the earth, and all things; that an old man, having foreſeen the deluge with which God deſigned to chaſtiſe the ſins of men, built a large canoe, and embarked in it with his family, and many animals; that when the inundation ceaſed, he ſent out a raven, which, becauſe it found carrion to feed on, never returned to the canoe; that he then ſent out a pigeon, which ſoon returned, bearing a branch of *Hoba*, a certain fruit of America, in its mouth; that when the old man ſaw the earth was dry, he diſembarked, and having made himſelf ſome wine of the wood-grape, he became intoxicated and fell aſleep; that then one of his ſons made ridicule of his nakedneſs, and that another ſon piouſly covered him; that, upon awaking, he bleſſed the latter, and curſed the former. Laſtly, that they drew their origin from the curſed ſon, and therefore went almoſt naked; that the Spaniards, as they were well clothed, deſcended perhaps from the other.

The Mexicans uſed to call Noah *Coxcox*, and *Teocipactli*; and the Michuacaneſe, *Tezpi*. They uſed to ſay, "That there was once a great deluge, and that Tezpi, in order to ſave himſelf from being drowned, embarked in a ſhip formed like an ark, with his wife, his children, and many different animals, and ſeveral ſeeds of fruits; and that as the water abated, he ſent out that bird which bears the name of *aura*, which remained eating dead bodies, and then ſent out other birds, who did not return either, except that little bird (the flower-ſucker) which was much prized by them on account of the variety of the colours of its feathers, that brought a ſmall branch with it; and from this family they all believed they drew their origin. If therefore we refer to the ſacred writings, or the traditions of thoſe Americans, we muſt ſeek for the peoplers of America among the deſcendants of Noah.

But

But who were they? Which of the ſons of Noah was the root of the American nations? D. Siguenza, and the very ingenious Mexican Siſter J. Agnes de la Cruz, believed or conjectured, that the Mexicans, and other nations of Anahuac, were the deſcendants of Naphtuhim, ſon of Mezraim, and nephew of Cham. Boturini was of opinion, that they deſcended not only from Naphtuhim, but likewiſe from his other five brothers. The learned Spaniard Arias Montano was perſuaded that the Americans, and particularly the Peruvians, belonged to the poſterity of Ophir, fourth ſon of Shem. The reaſons of this author are ſo weak that they do not merit mention. Of thoſe of Siguenza we ſhall ſpeak preſently.

The other authors, who have not been willing to carry their inquiries ſo far into antiquity, have ſought for the origin of the Americans in different countries of the world. Their opinions are ſo numerous and different, it is not eaſy to recite them. Some think they find the anceſtors of the Americans in Aſia, others trace them in Africa, and others from Europe. Among thoſe who imagine they have found them in Europe, ſome have ſuppoſed their anceſtors the Grecians, others the Romans, others the Spaniards, others the Iriſh, others the Courlanders, and ſome the Ruſſians. Among thoſe who report them originally from Africa, ſome make them the deſcendants of the Egyptians, ſome of the Carthaginians, and ſome of the Numidians. But there is no where greater variety of ſentiment than among thoſe who believe the population of America due to Aſia. The Iſraelites, the Canaanites, the Aſſyrians, the Phœnicians, the Perſians, the Tartars, the Eaſt Indians, the Chineſe, the Japaneſe, all have their advocates among the hiſtorians and philoſophers of the two laſt centuries. Some, however, not content to look for the populators in the known countries of the world, draw the famous iſle Atlantida out of the waters of the ocean, to ſend colonies from it to America. But this is not extraordinary; ſince there are authors who, in order to do wrong to no people, believe the Americans the deſcendants of all the nations of the world.

So great a variety and extravagance of opinion is owing to a perſuaſion, that to make one nation be believed to have ſprung from another, no more is neceſſary than to find ſome affinity in the words of their languages, and ſome ſimilarity in their rites, cuſtoms, and manners. Such

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are the foundations of the above mentioned opinions, collected and illuſtrated with a great ſhew of erudition, by the Dominican Garcia, and thoſe learned Spaniards who reprinted his work with additions: which thoſe who pleaſe may conſult, as we have no time to refute them.

We cannot, however, diſpenſe with the mention of the opinions of D. Siguenza, adopted alſo by the famous biſhop F. P. Daniel Huet, as it appears to us to be the beſt founded. Siguenza was perſuaded, that the nations which peopled the Mexican empire belonged to the poſterity of Naphtuhim, and that their anceſtors, having left Egypt not long after the confuſion of tongues, travelled towards America. The reaſons on which he grounds this opinion are mentioned only in the *Bibliotheca Mexicana*. As we are deprived of his excellent manuſcripts, we can only cite them, as Eguiara did, in the Bibliotheca above mentioned.

Thoſe reaſons, from what appears, are firſt, the conformity of thoſe American nations with the Egyptians in the conſtruction of pyramidal edifices, and the uſe of hieroglyphics in the method of computing time, in their dreſs, and in ſome of their cuſtoms; and, laſtly, the reſemblance of the word *Teotl* of the Mexicans to the *Theuth* of the Egyptians, which occaſioned biſhop Huet to adopt the ſame ſentiment with Siguenza. If this opinion is propoſed as a conjecture, we ſhall not contradict it; but if it is offered as a truth on which we are to depend, the proofs do not appear ſufficient.

Siguenza conceived that the children of Naphtuhim ſet out from Egypt towards America not long after the confuſion of tongues; it would therefore be neceſſary to make the compariſon of the cuſtoms of the Americans with thoſe of the firſt Egyptians, not of their deſcendants who dwelt in Egypt many years after, and from whom the Americans are not believed to be deſcended. But who can imagine that the Egyptians, immediately after the diſperſion of the people, began to build pyramids, and make uſe of hieroglyphics, and that from thenceforward they ordered and arranged their years and months in the form they had afterwards? All thoſe things were certainly poſterior to that epoch, nor was it neceſſary to have ſeen the pyramids of Egypt to make the Americans think of building ſuch kind of edifices;

for

for the mountains alone were ſufficient to ſuggeſt them: whoever deſires to build an edifice to immortalize his name, will eaſily think of making it in the form of a pyramid; becauſe no other ſort of building can be raiſed to the ſame height with ſo little expence and trouble, as the higher it riſes the fewer materials in proportion are required. Beſides, the Mexican edifices were entirely different from thoſe of Egypt. The latter were truly pyramidal, the former not; they were compoſed of three, four, or five ſquare or oblong bodies, of which the higher was leſs in amplitude than the lower; thoſe of the Egyptians were in general hollow, thoſe of the Mexicans ſolid; theſe ſerved for the baſes of their ſanctuaries, thoſe for the ſepulchres of their kings. The temples of the Mexicans and other nations of Anahuac, were of a ſpecies ſo ſingular, that we do not know they were ever uſed by any other people of the world: on which account they ought to be conſidered as an original invention of the Toltecas or ſome other people more ancient than them.

In the mode of computing time, the Mexicans were much more ſimilar to the Egyptians; that is, of the latter Egyptians, not of the former, of whoſe method we know nothing. The Egyptian ſolar year was compoſed of three hundred and ſixty-five days, like that of the Mexicans: the one and the other contained three hundred and ſixty-five days in their months, and as the Egyptians added five days to their laſt month *Meſori*, ſo did the Mexicans to their month Izcalli, in which particular they agreed with the Perſians; but in other reſpects, there was a great difference between them; the Egyptian year conſiſted of twelve months and theſe of thirty days, the Mexican year conſiſted of eighteen months and theſe of twenty days (*c*). The Egyptians, like many other nations of the old continent, counted by weeks; the Mexicans by periods of five days in their civil and thirteen days in their religious year.

The Mexicans, like the Egyptians, employed hieroglyphics; but how many other nations have done the ſame to conceal the myſteries of their religions; and if the Mexicans learned hieroglyphics from the Egyptians, why had they not alſo the uſe of letters from them? Be-

(*c*) We ſpeak of the religious year of the Mexicans, for of their civil or aſtronomical year we have no account.

cauſe

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cauſe letters, it may be ſaid, were invented after their ſeparation; but how is it known that before they ſeparated they had made the invention of hieroglyphics?

The dreſs of the firſt Egyptians may have probably been the ſame as that of the other ſons and nephews of Noah; at leaſt we have no reaſon to think otherwiſe. Reſpecting the political cuſtoms of thoſe firſt men we know nothing. The moſt ancient Egyptians, of whom we have any certain marks, were thoſe who lived in the times of the patriarch Joſeph. If we mean to make a compariſon of their uſages mentioned in the ſacred books with thoſe of the Mexicans, inſtead of any ſimilarity, we ſhall find the ſtrongeſt difference between them. Laſtly, we do not pretend to demonſtrate the opinion of Siguenza to be falſe, but only to ſhew that it is not a truth upon which we can ſafely rely.

The extravagant M. de P. ſays, that the Mexicans derive their origin from the ſouthern Apalachites; but he neither does nor can offer any reaſon to make ſuch a ſuppoſition probable; and, although it were true, the difficulty would remain ſtill unreſolved with regard to the origin of the Apalachites themſelves. It is true, that author finds little difficulty, as he ſometimes gives us to underſtand that he is not unfavourable to the romantic ſyſtem of La Peyrere.

With reſpect to the opinion we have ventured to form ourſelves, we ſhall explain it in the following concluſions.

I. The Americans deſcended from different nations, or from different families, diſperſed after the confuſion of tongues. No perſon will doubt of the truth of this, who has any knowledge of the multitude and great diverſity of the American languages. In Mexico we have already found thirty-five: in South America there are ſtill more known. In the beginning of the laſt century the Portugueſe counted fifty in Maragnon. It is true, that there is a great affinity between ſome of thoſe languages, which ſhews that they are ſprung from the ſame parent, namely, the *Eudeve*, *Opata*, and *Tanahumara*, in North America, and the *Mocobi*, *Toba*, and *Abipona* in South America; but there are many others alſo, as different from each other as the Illyrian from the Hebrew. We can ſafely affirm, that there are no living or dead languages which can differ more among each other than the languages of the Mexicans, Otomies, Taraſcas, Mayas,

Mayas, and Miztecas, five languages prevailing in different provinces of Mexico. It would therefore be abſurd to ſay, that languages ſo different were different dialects of one original. How is it poſſible a nation ſhould alter its primitive language to ſuch a degree, or multiply its dialects ſo variouſly, that there ſhould not be, even after many centuries, if not ſome words common to all, at leaſt an affinity between them, or ſome traces left of their origin?

Who can ever believe what we read in the hiſtory of Acoſta? That the Aztecas, or Mexicans, having arrived after their long peregrination in the kingdom of Michuacan, were allured by the agreeableneſs of the country, and became deſirous of eſtabliſhing themſelves in it; but as the whole nation could not ſettle there, their god Huitzilopochtli conſented that ſome of them might ſtay, and ſuggeſted to the others, when thoſe who were to remain went to bathe in the lake of Pazcuaro, to ſteal their cloaths from them and purſue their journey; that thoſe who bathed finding themſelves robbed of their garments and fooled by their companions, were ſo provoked, that they not only reſolved to remain there, but to adopt a new language; and that thence aroſe the Taraſca language. The account adopted by Gomara, and other hiſtorians, is ſtill more incredible: that, of an old man called *Iztac Mixcoatl* and his wife *Itancueitl* were born ſix children, each with a different language, called *Xolhua*, *Tenoch*, *Olmecatl*, *Xicallancatl*, *Mixtecatl*, and *Otomitl*, who were the founders of as many nations, which peopled the country of Anahuac. This allegory by which the Mexicans ſignified that all thoſe nations drew their origin from one common ſtock, was made a fable of by the above mentioned authors, from ignorance of its meaning.

II. The Americans do not derive their origin from any people now exiſting in the ancient world, or at leaſt there is no grounds to affirm it. This inference is founded on the ſame argument with the preceding, ſince if the Americans deſcended of any of thoſe people, it would be poſſible to trace their origin by ſome marks in their languages in ſpite of the antiquity of their ſeparation: but any ſuch traces have not been diſcovered hitherto, although many authors have ſearched with the utmoſt attention, as appears from the work of the Dominican Garcia. We have leiſurely compared the Mexican and other American

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languages with many others which are now living, and with thoſe which are dead, but have not been able to diſcover the leaſt affinity between any of them. The reſemblance between the *Teotl* of the Mexicans and the *Theos* of the Greeks, has induced us ſometimes to compare thoſe two languages, but we have never found any agreement between them. This argument is ſtrong in reſpect to the Americans, as they ſhew great firmneſs and conſtancy in retaining their languages. The Mexicans preſerve their language among the Spaniards, and the Otomies retain their difficult dialect among Spaniards and Mexicans, after two centuries and a half of communication with both.

If the Americans deſcended from different families diſperſed after the confuſion of tongues, as we believe, and have been ſeparated ſince then from thoſe others who peopled the countries of the old continent, authors will labour in vain, to ſeek in the language or cuſtoms of the Aſiatics for the origin of the people of the new world.

SECT. III.

From what part and how the inhabitants and animals paſſed to America.

THIS is the ſecond and moſt difficult point in the problem of the population of America, on which, as on others, authors are various in opinion. Some of them attribute the population of the new world to certain Phœnician merchants, who, in traverſing the ocean, landed there by accident. Others imagine that the ſame people, whom they ſuppoſe to have paſſed from the old continent to the iſle Atlantida, from thence got eaſily to Florida, and from that great country gradually ſcattered themſelves over America. Others believe that they paſſed there from Aſia, by the Straits of Anian; and others, that they were tranſported there from the northern regions of Europe, over ſome arm of the frozen ſea.

Feijoo, a Spaniſh Benedictine, thought a few years ago to propoſe to the world a new ſyſtem; and what is this new ſyſtem? That America was united in the north to the old continent, by which both men

men and animals paſſed there. But this opinion is as ancient as Acoſta, who, one hundred and forty-four years before Feijoo, publiſhed it in his Hiſtory of America: beſides, it is not ſufficient to ſolve all the difficulties reſpecting the paſſage of animals, as we ſhall ſee hereafter. DISSERT. I.

The count de Buffon, notwithſtanding his great genius and pointed accuracy, contradicts himſelf openly in this point. He ſuppoſes the two continents united by oriental Tartary, and affirms that by it the firſt inhabitants paſſed to America, and alſo all thoſe animals which have been found common to both continents; ſuch as *buffalos*, called in Mexico *cibolos*, wolves, foxes, martins, deer, and other quadrupeds, which agree with cold climes; but that there could not be in America neithe lions, tygers, camels, elephants, nor any of thoſe eighteen ſpecies of apes which are found in the old continent; and, in ſhort, no quadruped peculiar to hot climes could be common to both continents, becauſe they were not able to reſiſt the cold of northern countries, by which they muſt paſs from one to the other world. This he repeats inceſſantly through all his natural hiſtory, and on this account he denies antelopes, goats, and rabbits to America. He thinks thoſe quadrupeds American only which live in the hot countries of the new world, among which he numbers thirteen or fourteen ſpecies of American apes, divided by him into the two claſſes of *Sapayus* and *Sagoini*; of thoſe, he adds, there were none in the old continent, as there were none of the eighteen ſpecies of the old continent in the new world. What then was the origin of thoſe and other quadrupeds really American? This doubt, which occurs frequently in the natural hiſtory of that great philoſopher, remains undecided until the laſt volume but one of the hiſtory of quadrupeds, in which he ſays (*d*), "As it cannot be doubted that all animals in general were created in "the old continent, we muſt admit them to have paſſed from it to the "new; and muſt ſuppoſe alſo, that thoſe animals, the deer, wild-"goat, and *mouffettes*, inſtead of having degenerated like others in the "new world, have on the contrary arrived at perfection there, and from "the ſuitableneſs of the clime excelled their own nature. There having "been ſo many animals found in the new world, which have no like-

(*d*) Hiſt. Nat. tom. xxiv. Diſcourſe on the Degeneration of Animals.

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"neſs to any of the old world, ſhews ſufficiently clear, that the "origin of thoſe animals which are proper to the new world ought "not to be aſcribed to ſimple degeneration. However great and pow- "erful we may ſuppoſe its effects, we cannot reaſonably be perſuaded "that theſe animals have been originally the ſame as thoſe of the old "continent; and unqueſtionably it is more conſiſtent with reaſon to "believe, that the two continents were formerly contiguous and "united, and that thoſe ſpecies which retired into the regions of the "new world, becauſe they found its climate and productions more "agreeable to their nature, were there ſhut up and ſeparated from the "others, by the irruptions of the ſea which divided Africa from "America (*e*)," &c. &c. From this diſcourſe of count de Buffon we conclude, 1. That there is no animal properly American; becauſe all of them went from the old continent, where they were created. 2. That the argument founded on the nature of the animals repugnant to cold, is of no weight to ſhew that the animals could not paſs to the old continent; becauſe thoſe animals which could not paſs by the northern countries from their nature, could paſs by that part where America and Africa were formerly united, as that author believes. 3. That by the way in which the Sapayus and Sagoini paſſed to the new world, in like manner could elephants, camels, lions, tygers, &c.

Omitting many other opinions unworthy of mention, we ſhall ſubmit our own; not with a view to eſtabliſh any new ſyſtem, but to offer materials for other abler pens, and to illuſtrate ſome points of our hiſtory.

I. The men and animals of America paſſed there from the old continent. This is confirmed by the ſacred writings. Moſes, who declares Noah the common ſtock of all men after the deluge, ſays expreſsly, that in that general inundation of the earth all its quadrupeds,

(*e*) We requeſt our readers to compare what the count de Buffon ſays concerning the ancient union of Africa and America, with that which he writes in the eighteenth volume, where he ſpeaks of the lion. "The American lion," he ſays, "cannot be deſcended from the lion of the old continent, becauſe the latter only inhabits between the tropics; and nature having, it appears, ſhut up all the paſſages by the north, it could not paſs from the ſouthern parts of Aſia and Africa into America, as theſe two continents are ſeparated by immenſe ſeas; on which account we ought to infer, that the American lion is an animal proper and peculiar to the new world."

birds,

birds, and reptiles, periſhed, except a few individuals which were ſaved in the ark, to generate their ſpecies. The repeated expreſſions which the ſacred hiſtorian uſes to ſignify its univerſality, do not permit us to doubt, that all quadrupeds, birds, and reptiles, which are in the world, deſcended from thoſe few individuals which were ſaved from the general inundation.

II. The firſt peoplers of America might paſs there in veſſels by ſea, or travel by land, or by ice. 1. They might either paſs there in veſſels deſignedly, if the arm of the ſea which ſeparated the one continent from the other was ſmall; or be accidentally carried upon it by winds. There is not a doubt that the firſt peoplers of the new world might arrive there in the ſame manner in which, many centuries after, the pilot or mariner did to whom, in the opinion of many authors, Columbus owed the firſt hints which incited him to his glorious and memorable diſcovery (*f*). 2. They might paſs there by land on the ſuppoſition of the union of the two continents. 3. They might alſo make that paſſage over the ice of ſome frozen arm of the ſea. No perſon is ignorant how vaſt and durable the frozen parts of the northern ſeas are: it would not therefore be wonderful, that a ſtrait of the ſea between the two continents ſhould have been frozen for ſome months, and that men had paſſed over it, either in ſearch of new countries or in purſuit of wild beaſts. We are, however, only mentioning what could have happened, not what poſitively did happen.

III. The anceſtors of the nations which peopled the country of Anahuac, of which alone we are treating, might paſs from the northern countries of Europe into the northern parts of America, or rather from the moſt eaſtern parts of Aſia to the moſt weſterly part of America. This concluſion is founded on the conſtant and general tradition of thoſe nations, which unanimouſly ſay that their anceſtors came into Anahuac from the countries of the north and north-weſt. This tradition is confirmed by the remains of many ancient edifices built by thoſe people in their migrations, which we have already mentioned,

(*f*) Some authors affirm, that the mariner who gave intelligence to Columbus of the new countries in the weſt, was a native of Andaluſia: ſome ſay he was of Biſcay, and others that he was a Portugueſe; others deny the fact entirely. However the caſe was, it is certain that hiſtory records many inſtances of veſſels having been driven by winds and carried many degrees out of their courſe.

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and the common belief of the people in the north. Beſides, from Torquemada and Betancourt we have a clear proof of it. In a journey made by the Spaniards, in the year 1606, from New Mexico unto the river which they call *Tizon*, ſix hundred miles from that province, towards the north-weſt, they found there ſome large edifices and met with ſome Indians who ſpoke the Mexican language, from whom they were told, that a few days journey from that river towards the north was the kingdom of Tollan, and many other peopled places, from whence came thoſe who peopled the Mexican empire; and that by the ſame peoplers theſe and other like buildings had been erected. In fact, the whole people of Anahuac have uſually affirmed, that towards the north-weſt and the north, there were the kingdoms and provinces of Tollan, Teocolhuacan, Amaquemecan, Aztlan, Tehuajo, and Copalla, names which are all Mexican, and the diſcovery of which, if the population of the Spaniards ſhould ſpread into thoſe parts, will throw great light on the ancient hiſtory of Mexico. Boturini ſays, that in the ancient paintings of the Toltecas, was repreſented the migration of their anceſtors through Aſia and the northern countries of America, until they eſtabliſhed themſelves in the country of Tollan, and even endeavours to aſcertain in his General Hiſtory the route they purſued in their travel; but as he had not opportunity to compoſe the hiſtory which he deſigned, we can ſay no more of this matter.

Thoſe countries in which the anceſtors of thoſe nations eſtabliſhed themſelves, being ſituated towards that part where the moſt weſterly coaſt of America approaches to the moſt eaſterly part of Aſia, it is probable that by that part they paſſed from the one to the other continent; either in veſſels, if the ſtrait of the ſea then divided them which is there at preſent, according to the diſcoveries of the Ruſſians, or by land, if the continents were united, as we ſhall preſently find. The traces which thoſe nations left of themſelves from time to time, lead us to that very ſtrait which is undoubtedly the ſame which was diſcovered by the navigators of the ſixteenth century, and called by them the *Straits of Anian* (*g*).

(*g*) In the charts of America publiſhed in the laſt century, the ſtrait of Anian was uſually deſcribed, though with much difference in the repreſentation of it. For ſome years paſt it has been omitted, from an opinion that the account of it was fabulous; but ſince the diſcoveries of the Ruſſians ſome geographers have begun again to give it a place.

With

With reſpect to the other nations of America, as there is no tradition among them concerning the way by which their anceſtors came to the new world, we can ſay nothing of them. It is poſſible, that they all paſſed by the ſame way in which the anceſtors of the Mexicans paſſed; and yet perhaps they may have paſſed by ſome other very different route. We conjecture, that the anceſtors of the nations which peopled South America went there by the way in which the animals proper to hot countries paſſed, and that the anceſtors of thoſe nations inhabiting all the countries which lie between Florida and the moſt northern part of America, paſſed there from the north of Europe. The difference of character which is diſcoverable in the three above mentioned claſſes of Americans, and the ſituation of the countries which they occupied, make us ſuſpect that they had different origins, and that their anceſtors came there by different routes; but ſtill this is a mere ſuſpicion and conjecture.

Some authors aſſign another part for the paſſage of the firſt peoplers, which is the iſland Atlantida; the exiſtence of which, contradicted by Acoſta, was maintained by Siguenza, by what appears from the account of Gemelli, and lately ſupported with great ſhew of erudition by the celebrated author of the American Letters. If there were not ſo many fables mixed with the account of that iſland which Plato gives in Timeus, the authority of ſo grave a philoſopher might induce us to aſſent to his opinion. We ſhall, therefore, omit this conteſt, and come to the moſt difficult point of our problem.

IV. The quadrupeds and reptiles of the new world paſſed there by land. This fact will be made moſt manifeſt, by demonſtrating the improbability and inconſiſtency of other opinions. The great doctor of the church Auguſtin, was of opinion, that the wild beaſts and deſtructive animals which are in the iſlands might have been tranſported there by the angels. But this ſolution, although it cuts off every difficulty in the paſſage of wild beaſts to the new world, would not be acceptable in the century in which we live.

The ſame doctor ſuggeſts three other ſolutions to the difficulty: the wild beaſts, he ſays, might paſs by ſwimming to the iſles; they might be tranſported there by men for the ſake of hunting; and they might alſo have been formed there by nature as they were in the beginning.

But

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But none of theſe ſolutions are ſufficient to remove the difficulties which are in the way of the paſſage of the wild beaſts to the new world; for as to the firſt, it is certain that whatever ſtrait there was between the two continents, it is quite ridiculous to think that animals which are not deſtined to go into the water or accuſtomed to ſwimming, would attempt ſuch a paſſage: it is true, that ſome might have paſſed by ſwimming, as the bears go from Corſica to France; but who would believe this of ſo many American apes, that are totally unfitted for ſwimming; or the *Perico ligero*, or ſloth, which is ſo ſlow and difficult to move? Beſides, what could induce ſo many wild animals to abandon the land and encounter the dangers of the ſea?

It is not leſs incredible, that thoſe animals were tranſported there by men in ſhips, eſpecially if we ſuppoſe their arrival on the coaſts of America to have been accidental and fortuitous. If ſuch voyage was undertaken from deſign, they might have carried ſome ſquirrels and curious apes with them for amuſement, ſome rabbits, hares, and *techichis*, that, after multiplying, they might ſerve for food, and ſome deer, martins, and even tygers, for their ſkins to clothe them; but to what purpoſe carry wolves, foxes, American lions, &c. which, inſtead of being of any uſe, might prove deſtructive to them? For the chace? But might they not have enjoyed this recreation without any injury from animals leſs ferocious? And if, laſtly, we ſuppoſe thoſe firſt peoplers ſo fooliſh as to carry ſuch pernicious animals to new countries to hunt them, we cannot ſtill think them to have been ſo mad as to take alſo ſo many ſpecies of ſerpents, for the pleaſure of killing them afterwards.

With reſpect to the third ſolution, that God had created the animals in America, as he had created them in Aſia, that would unqueſtionably cut off every difficulty, were it not contradictory to ſacred hiſtory.

There remains another ſolution of the paſſage of beaſts, which is the ſame that we mentioned in treating of men. It may be imagined that beaſts might paſs over ſome frozen ſtrait of the ſea; but can any perſon perſuade himſelf, that ſeveral ſpecies of voracious animals ſhould tranſport themſelves to thoſe regions deſtitute of every thing which could ſerve for their food; and that others, whoſe natures were repugnant to cold, ſhould dare to venture, in the rigor of winter, over regions of ice?

As it is not probable that the beaſts of the new world paſſed to it by ſwimming, or over ice, nor that they were tranſported either by men, or by angels, nor created afreſh by God, we ought to believe that the quadrupeds, as well as the reptiles which are found in America, paſſed to it by land, and of courſe that the two continents were formerly united. This is the opinion of Acoſta, Grotius, Buffon, and other great men. We are far from adopting the ſyſtem of count de Buffon in its full extent: he cannot perſuade us, however eloquent his philoſophy and great his learning, that that which is now land has once been the bed of the ſea; or, that the old continent has been ſubject to a general inundation diſtinct from that of Noah, and more laſting than it. In the ſeries of forty centuries and upwards, comprehended in the hiſtory of the ſacred writings, there is no chaſm or void by which we could account for this ſuppoſed inundation. In our third Diſſertation we ſhall ſhew there are no grounds to believe that the new continent has ſuffered any inundation different from that of Noah.

There is not a doubt, however, that our planet has been ſubject to great viciſſitudes ſince the deluge; ancient and modern hiſtories confirm the truth which Ovid has ſung in the name of Pythagoras:—

Vidi ego quod fuerat quondam ſolidiſſima tellus,
Eſſe fretum; vidi factas ex æquore terras.

At preſent they plough thoſe lands over which ſhips formerly ſailed, and now they ſail over lands which were formerly ploughed: earthquakes have ſwallowed ſome lands, and ſubterraneous fires have thrown up others: the rivers have formed new ſoil with their mud: the ſea retreating from the ſhores, has lengthened the land in ſome places; and advancing in others, has diminiſhed it: it has ſeparated ſome territories which were formerly united, and formed new ſtreights and gulfs. We have examples of all theſe revolutions in the paſt century. Sicily was united to the continent of Naples, as Eubea, now the Black Sea, to Bœotia. Diodorus, Strabo, and other ancient authors, ſay the ſame thing of Spain and Africa, and affirm that by a violent irruption of the ocean upon the land between the mountains Abyla and Calpe, that communication was broken, and the Mediterranean ſea was

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formed. Among the people of Ceylon there is a tradition, that a ſimilar irruption of the ſea ſeparated their iſland from the peninſula of India. The ſame thing is believed by thoſe of Malabar, with reſpect to the iſles of Maldivia, and by the Malayans with reſpect to Sumatra. It is certain, ſays the count de Buffon, that in Ceylon the earth has loſt thirty or forty leagues, which the ſea has taken from it; on the contrary, Tongres, a place of the Low Countries, has gained thirty leagues of land from the ſea. The northern part of Egypt owes its exiſtence to inundations of the Nile (*b*). The earth which this river has brought from the inland countries of Africa, and depoſited in its inundations, has formed a ſoil of more than twenty-five cubits of depth. In like manner, adds the above author, the province of the Yellow River in China, and that of Louiſiana, have only been formed of the mud of rivers. Pliny, Seneca, Diodorus, and Strabo, report innumerable examples of ſimilar revolutions, which we omit, that our Diſſertation may not become too prolix; as alſo many modern revolutions, which are related in the theory of the earth of the count de Buffon, and other authors. In our America, all thoſe who have obſerved with philoſophic eyes the peninſula of Yucatan, do not doubt that that country has once been the bed of the ſea; and, on the contrary, in the channel of Bahama many indications ſhew the iſland of Cuba to have been once united to the continent of Florida. In the ſtreight which ſeparates America from Aſia many iſlands are found, which probably were the mountains belonging to that tract of land which we ſuppoſe to have been ſwallowed up by earthquakes; which is made more probable by the multitude of volcanos which we know of in the peninſula of Kamtſchatka. We imagine, however, that the ſinking of that land, and the ſeparation of the two continents, has been occaſioned by thoſe great and extraordinary earthquakes mentioned in the hiſtories of the Americans, which formed an æra almoſt as

(*b*) Faro or Farion, an iſland of Egypt, which, according to what Homer mentions in his Odyſſey, was diſtant one day and one night's ſail from the northern land of Egypt, was ſo near to it in the times of the celebrated Cleopatra, that it was hardly ſeven furlongs off: for ſo much was the length of the bridge which that queen ordered to be made for the Rhodians, in order to facilitate the communication between that iſland and the continent. Herodotus, Ariſtotle, Seneca, Pliny, and other ancient authors, make mention of this remarkable augmentation of the territory of Egypt.

memorable

memorable as that of the deluge. The hiſtories of the Toltecas fix ſuch earthquakes in the year I Tecpatl; but, as we know not to what century that belonged, we can form no conjecture of the time that great calamity happened. If a great earthquake ſhould overwhelm the iſthmus of Suez, and there ſhould be at the ſame time as great a ſcarcity of hiſtorians as there were in the firſt ages after the deluge, it would be doubted in three or four hundred years after, whether Aſia had ever been united by that part to Africa, and many would firmly deny it.

V. The quadrupeds and reptiles of America paſſed by different places from the one continent to the other. Amongſt the American beaſts, there are ſome whoſe natures are averſe to cold; ſuch as apes, dantes, crocodiles, &c. There are others, whoſe diſpoſitions lead them to cold countries, as martens, rein-deer, and gluttons. The former could not go to America by the frigid zone, becauſe in that caſe they would be acting violently againſt their genius, and would not ſurvive the paſſage. The apes which are in New Spain paſſed there certainly by South America (*i*). The center of their population is the country under the equator, and between it and the fourteenth or fifteenth degree of latitude; in proportion to the diſtance from the equator their numbers decreaſe, and beyond the tropics there are none to be found, except in ſome diſtricts which from ſome particularity of ſituation are as hot as the equinoctial lands. Who, therefore, can imagine that ſuch ſpecies of animals ſhould have travelled to the new world through the rigid climate of the north? It may be ſaid, that it is not improbable that they were tranſported by men, as they were valued for their extravagant reſemblance and ridiculous imitations of men. But beſides that, the argument which this forms in regard to apes, may be adduced with reſpect to many other quadrupeds which have no value to make them be coveted, but rather many bad qualities to make them be avoided; it is not to be believed, that men would have conducted with them ſo many ſpecies of apes as there are in America; and far leſs, ſome,

(*i*) Don Ferdinand d'Alba Ixtlilxochitl, an Indian well informed in the antiquities of his nation, ſays in his Univerſal Hiſtory of New Spain, that there were no apes in the country of Anahuac; that the firſt which appeared there came from the quarter of the South, after the period of the great winds. The Tlaſcalans make a table of this event, and ſay, that the world was deſtroyed once by wind, and that the few men who ſurvived were transformed into apes.

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which inſtead of being agreeable, are on the contrary of a brutal aſpect and ferocious diſpoſition, namely, thoſe called *zambos*; and, provided men had been determined to have taken two individuals at leaſt of every ſpecies, they could never arrive either by the ſeas or the countries of the north, although their conductors had endeavoured to defend them from the cold. They muſt, therefore, have tranſported them from the hot countries of the old continent to the warm countries of the new world, over a ſea ſubject to a clime not diſſimilar to that of the native country of thoſe quadrupeds, that is by the countries of the ſouth of Aſia to the ſouth of America, over the Indian and Pacific Oceans, or from the weſtern countries of Africa to the eaſtern countries of America, over the Atlantic Ocean. If men, therefore, tranſported thoſe beaſts from the one to the other world, they did it acroſs thoſe ſeas. But was this navigation caſual or deſigned? If caſual, how and wherefore did they conduct ſo many animals with them? If it was deſigned, and with a determined purpoſe to paſs from the one to the other world, who gave them intelligence of it? Who ſhewed them the ſituation of thoſe countries? Who pointed out their courſe? How did they venture to croſs ſuch vaſt ſeas without the compaſs? In what veſſels? If they landed there happily, why does there not remain among the Mexicans ſome memory of their conſtruction?

Beſides, in the torrid zone of the new world crocodiles are common animals which require a hot or temperate clime, and live alternately on land or in ſweet water; how did ſuch animals paſs there? Not by the north, certainly; becauſe their nature is ſtrongly averſe to cold: neither were they tranſported by men, we may ſafely ſay; as little can we think by ſwimming two thouſand miles through the ſalt waters of the ocean.

There remains no other ſolution, but that of admitting an ancient union between the equinoctial countries of America and thoſe of Africa, and the continuation of the northern countries of America with thoſe of Europe or Aſia; the latter for the paſſage of beaſts of cold climes, the former for the paſſage of quadrupeds and reptiles peculiar to hot climes. For the reaſons we have already ſubmitted, we are perſuaded, that there was formerly a great tract of land which united the now moſt

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eaſtern part of Brazil to the moſt weſtern part of Africa; and that all that ſpace of land may have been ſunk by ſome violent earthquakes, leaving only ſome traces of it in the iſles of Cape de Verd, Fernando de Norona, Aſcenſion, St. Matthew, and others; and many ſand-banks diſcovered by different navigators, and in particular by de Buache, who ſounded that ſea with great care and exactneſs (*k*). Thoſe iſlands and ſand-banks may probably have been the higheſt parts of that ſunken continent. In like manner we believe that the moſt weſterly part of America was formerly united by means of a ſmaller continent to the moſt eaſterly part of Tartary, and perhaps America was united alſo by Greenland with other northern countries of Europe.

Upon the whole, from all we have ſaid, we cannot but believe that the quadrupeds and the reptiles of the new world paſſed there by land, and by different parts, to that continent. All other ſyſtems are ſubject to heavy difficulties; even this is not without ſome, but they are not altogether inſurmountable. The greateſt conſiſts in the apparent improbability of an earthquake ſo great as to ſink a ſpace of land of more than one thouſand five hundred miles, which, according to our ſuppoſition, was that which united Africa to America, and ſunk it ſo much as to the depth, obſerved in ſome of the places of that ſea. But we do not aſcribe that ſtupendous revolution to one ſingle ſhock, as there are in the bowels of the earth ſuch extenſive maſſes of combuſtible matter, the inflammation of one could eaſily communicate to others, (in the ſame mannner as Gaſſendus explains the propagation of lightning) and the violent concuſſion of the air, contained within thoſe natural mines, could at once ſhake, agitate, and overwhelm a ſpace of land of two or three thouſand miles. This is not impoſſible, nor improbable, nor is hiſtory unfurniſhed with examples of it. The earthquake which was felt in Canada, in the year 1663, overwhelmed a chain of mountains of freeſtone more than three hundred miles long, the whole of that immenſe tract remaining changed into a plain. How great then muſt the convulſion have been which was occaſioned by

(*k*) M. de Buache, in the year 1737, preſented to the Royal Academy of Sciences of Paris the hydrographical charts of that ſea, made according to his obſervation, which were examined and approved of by the Academy. The celebrated author of the *American Letters* has inſerted a draft of thoſe charts in the ſecond volume of his work.

thoſe

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thoſe extraordinary and memorable earthquakes, mentioned in the hiſtories of America, when the world was thought to have been coming to an end!

It may be objected to our ſyſtem, that if beaſts paſſed by land from the one continent to the other, it is not eaſy to divine the cauſe why ſome ſpecies paſſed there without leaving a ſingle individual in the old continent; and, on the contrary, that ſome entire ſpecies ſhould remain in the old continent, and not a ſingle individual of them paſs to America. Why, for example, did the fourteen ſpecies of apes, which are now in America, paſs there, and not the eighteen ſpecies which count Buffon enumerates in Aſia and Africa, although they are all of one clime, and were equally at liberty and freedom to paſs? How came the ſloths to paſs, which are ſo ſluggiſh, and not the antelopes which are ſo ſwift? If the beaſts proceeded from Armenia towards America, the ſpecies deſtined for America muſt neceſſarily have performed a journey of ſix thouſand miles, ſpreading from Armenia through Meſopotomia and Syria to Egypt, from thence through the center of Africa to the ſuppoſed ſpace of land which formerly united the two continents, and from that, laſtly, to Braſil; and although to other beaſts there appears no difficulty of their having made that progreſs in ten, twenty, or forty years, nevertheleſs with reſpect to the ſloths, it is not to be comprehended how they could, even in conſtant motion, execute this in leſs than ſix centuries. If we give credit to the count de Buffon, the ſloths cannot advance more than a perch in an hour or ſix Pariſian feet, wherefore, to make a progreſs of ſix thouſand miles, they would require about ſix hundred and eighty years and more, if we believe what Maffei, Herrera, and Piſon have written, who affirm, that that miſerable quadruped can hardly go the length of a ſtonethrow in fifteen days or a fortnight.

This is what may be objected to our ſyſtem, but ſome of the above mentioned arguments are more forcible againſt all the other opinions, except the one which employs the angels in the tranſportation of beaſts. If they were men who tranſported beaſts, why, inſtead of wolves and foxes, did they not carry horſes, oxen, ſheep, and goats? And why did not they leave a ſpecies of each individual in the old continent? If ſuch animals are ſuppoſed to have paſſed by ſwimming, then

then the difficulty of the ſea paſſage to land animals comes in the way. If all the animals are ſuppoſed to have paſſed, even thoſe of South America by the north, then, inſtead of making a journey of ſix thouſand miles, they muſt have made one of more than fifteen thouſand, for which length of way their ſloth would have had occaſion for more than one thouſand ſeven hundred and forty years.

We anſwer then to the above objections, 1. That as all the quadrupeds of the earth are not yet known, we cannot ſay how many are in the one or in the other continent. The count de Buffon numbers only two hundred ſpecies of quadrupeds. Bomare, who wrote a little after that author, makes them two hundred and ſixty-five; but to ſay how many more there may be, until we have examined the inland regions of Africa, of a great part of Tartary, the country of the Amazons, North Louiſiana, the countries beyond the river *Colorado*, the country of the Apaches, the Salamon iſles, New Holland, &c. which countries make a conſiderable part of our globe. It is not wonderful that the animals of theſe unknown countries are ſtill ſtrangers to us, when thoſe of countries which have been known, and inhabited for theſe two hundred and ſixty years by the Europeans, are yet unnoticed by zoologiſts. The count de Buffon, although he is the moſt informed on this ſubject, omits ſome quadrupeds of Mexico, places many out of their native country, and confounds others together, as we ſhall ſhew in our Diſſertation on animals. But with reſpect to the animals which are certainly not original in America, ſuch as camels, elephants, and horſes, ſeveral reaſons may be aſſigned for this want. Poſſibly thoſe animals did paſs to the new world, but were deſtroyed by other wild beaſts, or extirpated by ſome diſtemper. Perhaps they never did paſs there. Some, ſuch as elephants and rhinoceroſes, the multiplication of which is ſlow, ſtopped in the ſouthern parts of Aſia and Africa, becauſe they found a climate agreeable and ſuitable to their natures, and had not occaſion therefore to go further for paſtures or food. It is true, that many authors are perſuaded that the great bones dug up near the river Ohio, and other places of America, have belonged to elephants, which would argue their ancient exiſtence in that continent; but as modern zoologiſts are not agreed with reſpect to the ſpecies of quadruped to which ſuch bones may have belonged, no argument from them can

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be deduced againſt us (*l*). Laſtly, other beaſts did not paſs to the new world, perhaps becauſe men detained them. But however the matter may be, the paſſage of ſome beaſts and not of others proves nothing againſt our ſyſtem.

With reſpect to the calculation above mentioned, of what time the ſloth would require to move from America to Brazil, it raiſes no inconvenience; for if it had occaſion for more than a thouſand years, on the ſuppoſition we made of the union of the two continents continuing all that time it might arrive there at laſt. The count de Buffon declares, that authors have exaggerated the ſlowneſs of the ſloth; and Mr. Aubenton acknowledges, that it was not ſo ſlow as the turtle. Beſides, it being a harmleſs animal, it may have been tranſported by men.

(*l*) Muller ſaid, that thoſe bones belonged to certain large quadrupeds, which he called *Mammouts*. The count de Buffon, truſting too much to him, computed that thoſe quadrupeds were ſeven times larger than elephants. Some have believed that thoſe bones belonged to the ſea-horſes, ſome to other ſea-animals; and, laſtly, ſome have thought they belonged to ſome unknown quadrupeds that are now extinct: but they may, from what appears, have belonged to giants of the human as well as of any other race.

DISSERTATION II.

On the Principal Epochs of the Hiſtory of Mexico.

THE different opinions of authors concerning the chronology of the hiſtory of Mexico, oblige us to examine with attention the epochs of the principal events. If we had done this in the body of our hiſtory, it would have interrupted the narration with unſeaſonable diſputes. The variety of ſentiments among writers on this head, ariſes from their not having adjuſted the Mexican years with ours. We have laboured with great diligence to inveſtigate the truth, and we think we have in great part ſucceeded, as we ſhall endeavour to ſhew in the preſent diſſertation, which will, however, prove little intereſting to thoſe who have no taſte for, or curioſity in points of chronology.

SECT. I.

On the Epoch of the Arrival of the Toltecas, and other Nations in the Country of Anahuac.

WE do not treat now of the firſt peoplers, but only of thoſe nations who make a conſpicuous figure in our hiſtory. Authors in the firſt place diſagree about the order of the arrival of ſuch nations; as the Chechemecas for example, who, according to Acoſta, Gomara, and Siguenza, were the firſt to arrive in that country, and, according to Torquemada, the third were the fourth, if we believe Boturini. Nor are they leſs diſcordant about the arrival of every other nation.

None of them doubt that the Toltecan nation was very ancient. It appears from the hiſtories of the Chechemecas, that they did not arrive in Anahuac until after the ruin of the Toltecas, whoſe buildings they met with in their travels, and remains of whom they found on the banks of the Mexican lakes, and other places. In this point Torquemada, Betancourt, and Boturini are agreed. Acoſta and Gomara make no mention of the Toltecas, becauſe perhaps thoſe authors whom

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they conſulted omitted to ſpeak of them, as their knowledge of them was but little and obſcure.

With reſpect to the time of their arrival in Anahuac, Torquemada ſays, in book III. of his hiſtory, that it happened in the year 700 of the vulgar era; but from what he writes in book I. it appears to have happened in 648. Boturini makes them one century more ancient, as he believed that in 660 Ixtlalcuechahuac, the ſecond king of that nation, was reigning in Tula. From their pictures we know, that they left Huehuetlapallan in the year I Tecpatl; that, after having travelled one hundred and four years, they ſettled in Tollantzinco, and then in Tula; and that their monarchy commencing in the year VII Acatl laſted three hundred and eighty-four years. After comparing theſe epochs of the Toltecas with thoſe of the Chechemecas, their ſucceſſors, we are perſuaded that the departure of the former from Huehuetlapallan happened in 544, and that their monarchy began in the year 667. Whoever will trace back towards that time, the ſeries of Mexican years contraſted with Chriſtian years, ſet forth at the end of our firſt volume, will find the year 544 of the vulgar era to have been I Tecpatl, and the year 667 to have in like manner been VII Acatl. There is no reaſon to anticipate theſe epochs, nor can they be poſtponed without confounding thoſe of other later nations. That monarchy having begun then in 667, and laſted three hundred and eighty-four years, the end of it, and ruin of the Toltecas, ought to be fixed in the year 1051.

Between the ruin of the Toltecas and the arrival of the Chechemecas, Torquemada allows but nine years; this interval is too ſmall, becauſe the Chechemecas found, as the ſame author ſays, the edifices of the Toltecas in ruins; and it is improbable that they would have gone to ruin in only nine years. Beſides, we cannot fix the beginning of the Chechemecan monarchy in that century, without increaſing the number of their kings, or prolonging their lives immoderately, as Torquemada has done. Who can believe that Xolotl reigned a hundred and thirteen years, and lived two hundred? That Nopaltzin his ſon lived one hundred and ſeventy; that Techotlala, his great great grandſon ſhould reign one hundred and four; and Tezozomoc, his deſcendant, ſhould reign in Azcapozalco one hundred and ſixty, or one hundred

dred and eighty years? It is true, that a man of robuſt conſtitution, aſſiſted by ſobriety of life, and ſo mild a clime as that of Mexico, might arrive at ſo advanced an age; and in that country there are not a very few examples of men who have prolonged their life beyond the regular time preſcribed to mortals. Calmecahua, one of the Tlaſcalan captains who aſſiſted the Spaniards in the conqueſt of Mexico, lived one hundred and thirty years. Pedro Nieto, a Jeſuit, died in the year 1536 at the age of one hundred and thirty-two years. Diego Ordoñez, a Franciſcan, died in Sombrerete aged one hundred and ſeventeen (*m*), making preachings to the people until the laſt month of his life. We could make a long catalogue of thoſe who in the two centuries paſt have exceeded one hundred years of life in theſe countries. Particularly among the Indians there are not a few who reach ninety and one hundred years, preſerving to old age their hair black, their teeth firm, and their countenance freſh; but as there have been ſo very few who ſince the twenty-third century of the world have prolonged their lives to one hundred and fifty years, that they are regarded as prodigies, we cannot aſſent to the extravagant chronology of Torquemada, ſupported only perhaps on the evidence of ſome painting or hiſtory of the Tezcucans, and particularly as that author himſelf confeſſes that that nation kept no account of years. We believe, however, without heſitation, that the arrival of the Chechemecas in Anahuac happened in the twelfth century, and probably towards the year 1170.

Eight years had ſcarcely elapſed after Xolotl, the firſt Chechemecan king, was eſtabliſhed in Tenajuca, when new people arrived there, conducted, as we have already ſaid, by ſix chiefs. We do not doubt that theſe new people were the ſix tribes of the Xochimilcas, Tepanecas, Colhuas, Chalcheſe, Tlahuicas, and Tlaſcalans, ſeparated from the Mexicans in Chicomoztoc, and arrived in the vale of Mexico not all at once, but in the order and diſtance of time we have mentioned. It is certain that when the Acolhuas arrived a few years after, they found the city of Azcapozalco already founded by the Tepanecas, and Colhuacan by the Colhuas. It is known beſides, that theſe tribes came to that country after the Chechemecas, as their arrival happened

(*m*) Diego Ordonez lived in religion one hundred and four years, and in the prieſthood almoſt ninety-five. In his laſt preaching he took leave of the people of Sombrerete with thoſe words of St. Paul: "Bonum certamen certavi, curſum conſummavi, &c."

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in that interval between the arrival of the Chechemecas and that of the Acolhuas.

There is no memory of any other people who came into Anahuac about that time, except thoſe tribes conducted by the above mentioned chiefs. Acoſta makes theſe tribes almoſt three conturies more ancient, as he ſays they arrived on the banks of the Mexican lake in the year 902, after a peregrination of eighty years; but this chronology does not accord well with hiſtory, from which it appears that when Xolotl arrived at the vale of Mexico with his colony of Chechemecas, he found the banks of that lake depopulated, and the arrival of this colony could not happen before the middle of the twelfth century, according to what we have ſaid.

The year of the arrival of the Acolhuas is not known; but we do not doubt that it has been towards the end of the twelfth century, becauſe they came a few years after the arrival of thoſe ſix tribes; and beſides, it is evident from hiſtory itſelf, that Xolotl ſurvived their arrival ſome years.

The laſt nation, or tribe, which arrived at Anahuac was that of the Mexicans. Among ſo many hiſtorians conſulted by us, we have not found one of a contrary opinion except Betancourt, who makes the Otomies come after them.

Acoſta fixes the arrival of the Mexicans on the banks of the Mexican lake in the year 1208, becauſe he affirms that they arrived there three hundred and ſix years after the Xochimilcas, and other tribes of the Nahuatlacas, who he believes arrived in 902. Torquemada, according to the calculation made by Betancourt founded on his account, dates the arrival of the Mexicans in Chapoltepec in the year 1269. An anonymous Mexican Hiſtory cited by Cav. Boturini, fixes the arrival of that tribe in Tula in the year 1196, and upon that epoch it appears that ſeveral Indian hiſtorians are agreed. Beſides, this chronology agrees perfectly with all the other epochs; on which account we have adopted it as the moſt probable, and almoſt certain. On this ſuppoſition it is neceſſary to ſay, that the Mexicans arrived at Tzompanco in the year 1216, and at Chapoltepec in 1245; becauſe it is known that they ſtayed at Tepexic in Tula nine years, and in other places, before they arrived at Tzompanco, eleven years. In Tzompanco they ſojourn-

ed ſeven years, and in other places, before they arrived at Chapoltepec, twenty-two years. After having been eighteen years in Chapoltepec, they paſſed to Acolco, in 1262, where they remained fifty-two years, and from thence they were conducted ſlaves to Colhuacan in 1314.

With reſpect to the Otomies there is a great difference of opinion among authors: ſome confound them with the Chechemecas, namely Acoſta, Gomara, and the greater part of the Spaniſh authors. Torquemada, in book I. diſtinguiſhes them expreſsly, but in other places he confounds them together. Betancourt, after having copied the relation of Torquemada, in every thing relative to the Toltecas, the Chechemecas, and other nations, ſpeaking of the reign of Chimalpopoca, third king of Mexico, ſays, that in his time the Otomies arrived in Anahuac, and eſtabliſhed themſelves principally in Xaltocan. This anecdote from Betancourt is deſerving of notice; for he undoubtedly took it from the writings of Siguenza, although he does not uſually depart from Torquemada, unleſs it is to follow that learned Mexican; but he errs in chronology when he fixes the arrival of the Otomies in the year VI Tecpatl, which he believes to have been the year 1381. He is certainly deceived, for as it appears from the chronological table put at the end of our ſecond volume, the year 1381 was not VI. Tecpatl, but VI Calli; neither was Chimalpopoca reigning at that time, but Acamaptizin, as we ſhall ſhortly ſhew. If the arrival of the Otomies in the Mexican vale (not in the country of Anahuac, where they were ſettled many years before) happened in the year VI Tecpatl, and under the reign of Chimalpopoca, that muſt certainly have been in the year 1420. There being no mention of the Otomies before this epoch, and they having been found leſs civiliſed than other nations, ſcattered about in ſeveral provinces, and in places ſurrounded by other nations of different languages, inclines us to believe, that they began to live in ſociety under the dominion of the Tepanecas exactly at that time, and afterwards under that of the Mexicans and Tlaſcalans. We are perſuaded that on account of having found the land occupied by other nations, they could not, like the others, eſtabliſh themſelved all in one country, although the greater part of that nation peopled that part of land which is to the north-weſt, and north of the capital, where at firſt they lived ſcattered about like the wild beaſts.

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The cauſe of the Otomies having been confounded with the Chechemecas by many hiſtorians, may be gathered from the ſame hiſtory. At the time the ancient Chechemecas were rendered civilized by the Toltecas and Nahuatlacas, many families of that nation abandoned themſelves to a ſavage life in the country of the Otomies, chuſing the exerciſe of the chace rather than the fatigues of agriculture. They retained the name of Chechemecas, and the others who were brought to civilization began to be called *Acolhuas*, honouring themſelves with the name of a nation which was eſteemed the moſt poliſhed. Of the Otomies, thoſe who adopted a civil life retained the name of Otomies, by which they are known in hiſtory; but the others, who were ſpread in the woods, and mingled with the Chechemecas, would never give up their barbarous liberty, and were by many called Chechemecas, from the name of that celebrated nation; on which account ſome writers, treating of thoſe barbarians, who for more than a century after the conqueſt, haraſſed the Spaniards, diſtinguiſh the Mexican Chechemecas from the Chechemecas of the Otomies; for the one ſpoke the Mexican language, and the others that of the Otomies, according to the nation whence they drew their origin.

From all that we have hitherto ſaid, we may conclude with the greateſt probability poſſible in ſo obſcure a ſubject, that the order and time of the arrival of thoſe nations in the country of Anahuac was as follows:

The Toltecas, in the year 648.

The Chechemecas, about the year 1170.

The firſt Nahuatlacas, about 1178.

The Acolhuas, toward the end of the twelfth century.

The Mexicans arrived at Tula in the year 1196, at Tzompanco in the year 1216, and at Chapoltepec in the year 1245.

The Otomies entered the vale of Mexico, and began to form into ſocieties in the year 1220.

We know well that the Tepanecas boaſted of their city of Azcapozalco being ſo old, that according to Torquemada they counted one thouſand five hundred and ſixty-one years from the foundation of it to the beginning of the laſt century: ſo that they imagined it to have been founded immediately after the death of our Saviour; but the

the error of this opinion appears manifeſt, from the hiſtories of other nations, which make the Tepanecas little more ancient in Anahuac than the Mexicans, and alſo from the ſeries itſelf of the chiefs of Azcapozalco, whoſe portraits were preſerved unto our time in an ancient edifice of that city. They did not count more than ten princes from the foundation of their city, unto the memorable deſtruction of their ſtate, occaſioned by the combined arms of the Mexicans and Acolhuas, which happened, as we ſhall find, in the year 1425: on which account it would be neceſſary to allow to each of their ſovereigns one hundred and forty years of reign to fill up that period.

The Totonacas, on their part, reported themſelves more ancient than the Chechemecas; for the boaſt of antiquity is a weakneſs common to all nations. They relate, that having been at firſt, for ſome time, eſtabliſhed on the banks of the Tezcucan lake; from thence they went to people thoſe mountains, which took from them the name of Totonacapan; that there they were governed by ten lords, each of whom governed the nation preciſely eighty years, until the Chechemecas having arrived in Anahuac, in the time of the ſecond lord of that nation, named Xatoncan, at length ſubjected them to their dominion; and that laſtly they were the ſubjects of the kings of Mexico. Torquemada, who relates this account of the Totonacas, in the third book of his Indian Monarchy, adds, that this is certain and confirmed by authentic hiſtories worthy of faith; but whatever he may ſay, it is certain that the time of the arrival of that nation in Anahuac, neither is nor can be known, and that the ſtory of the ten lords, who governed the nation each preciſely eighty years, is only fit to amuſe children.

Still leſs is it known when the Olmecas and Xicallancas arrived. Boturini ſays, that he could find neither picture nor monument concerning theſe nations, although he believes them more ancient than the Toltecas; but ſtill it is unqueſtionable that they were not the moſt ancient.

We do not here make mention of any other nations, becauſe their antiquity is abſolutely unknown; but we do not doubt, conſidering what we have already explained and ſet forth, that the Chiapaneſe were amongſt the moſt ancient, and perhaps the firſt of all thoſe who peopled the country of Anahuac.

SECT.

SECT. II.

Concerning the Correſpondence of the Mexican Years with ours, and the Epoch of the Foundation of Mexico.

ALL the Mexican as well as Spaniſh writers, who have made mention of the Mexican chronology, are agreed reſpecting the method which thoſe nations had of computing their centuries and their years, explained by us in book VI. of our hiſtory, and in the latter part of the end of vol. II. Whenever, therefore, we find the correſpondence of any one Mexican year with any one Chriſtian year, the correſpondence of all the reſt will eaſily be known. If, for example, we know that the year 1780 was the II Tecpatl, as it really was, we are certain that the year 1781 was the III Calli; the year 1782, was IV Tochtli, &c. All the difficulty conſiſts in finding a Mexican year the correſpondence of which with a Chriſtian year is abſolutely certain and indubitable; but we find this difficulty ſurmounted, by being aſſured not leſs from the ancient pictures of the Indians than by the teſtimony of Acoſta, Torquemada, Siguenza, Betancourt, and Boturini, that the year 1519, in which the Spaniards entered into Mexico, was I Acatl, and of conſequence that the year 1518 was XIII Tochtli, the year 1517 XII Calli, &c. ſo that there is no room for doubt of the exactneſs of our table, put at the end of volume II. reſpecting the correſpondence of Mexican with Chriſtian years. Thoſe authors who diſagree with it, have erred in their calculation, and contradicted themſelves. Betancourt, in order to make us comprehend the manner which the Mexicans had of computing years, preſents us with a table of Mexican years, contraſted with Chriſtian years, from the year 1663 unto 1688, but this table is erroneous from beginning to end; for the author ſuppoſes the year 1663 to have been the year I Tochtli, which is demonſtrated to be falſe by the continuation of our table to that year. He affirms that 1519 was a ſecular year; by the admiſſion of this error, his chronology cannot but be falſe throughout. If the year 1519 was I Acatl, as he ſuppoſes, with other writers, we ſhall find, by going backwards in our table, that 1507 was not a ſecular year, but 1506 was. In order to confirm his

his chronology, he adduces the teſtimony of his friend and fellow-countryman Siguenza, who, he ſays, found that the year 1684 had been IX Acatl. If this was the caſe, his calculation would certainly be right; but although we do not doubt his veracity in the citation of Siguenza, we have reaſon to believe that this learned Mexican corrected his chronology; nor could he do otherwiſe, when he knew that the year 1519 had been I Acatl, a certain foundation and beginning on which all the Mexican chronology ought to reſt, and from which it is clearly deducible that the year 1684 had not been IX Acatl, but X Tecpatl. Torquemada, in his third book, treating of the Totonacas, ſays of a noble of that nation, that he was born in the year II Acatl, and that the year before 1519, in which the Spaniards arrived in that country, was, among the Mexicans, the year I Acatl. When Torquemada wrote this he was either dreaming, or abſent in mind; for he knew well that the year among the Mexicans which comes after I Acatl, is not II Acatl, but II Tecpatl, and ſuch was the year 1520, of which he ſpeaks.

Suppoſing then that the year 1519 was I Acatl, and that the correſpondence of the Mexican with the Chriſtian years is known, it is not very difficult to trace back the epoch of the foundation of Mexico. All hiſtorians who have conſulted the paintings of the Mexicans, or who have been informed by them by words, agree in ſaying, that that celebrated city was founded by the Azetcas, in the 14th century; but they differ a little as to the year. The interpreter of Mendoza's collection fixes the foundation of it in the year 1324. Gemelli, following Siguenza, makes it in 1325. Siguenza, cited by Betancourt and an anonymous Mexican, cited by Boturini, in 1327. Torquemada, according to the calculation made by Betancourt, from his account, in 1341; and Arrigo Martinez, in 1357. The Mexicans make the foundation in the year II Calli, as appears from the firſt painting of the collection of Mendoza and others, cited by Siguenza. It being certain, therefore, that that city was founded in the 14th century, and in the year II Calli, that cannot have been in 1324, nor in the year 1327, or 1341, or 1357, becauſe none of thoſe years was II Calli. If we go back from the year 1519 to the 14th century, we ſhall find in it two years II Calli: that is 1325, and 1377. But the foundation could not have happened in this laſt year; for then it would be ne-

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ceſſary to ſhorten very much the reign of the Mexican monarchs, in contradiction to the chronology of the ancient paintings. Nothing remains to be offered therefore but that that celebrated capital was founded in 1325 of the vulgar era: and this was moſt certainly the opinion of Siguenza; for Gemelli, who had no other inſtruction on this ſubject but that which was given him by that learned Mexican, places the foundation of this city in 1325, which he ſays was the year II Calli. If at firſt he was of a different opinion, he changed it afterwards on perceiving that it would not have agreed with that fixed principle, namely, that the year I Acatl was certainly the year 1519.

SECT. III.

On the Chronology of the Mexican Kings.

IT is difficult to illuſtrate entirely the chronology of the Mexican kings, on account of the diſagreement between authors. We will avail ourſelves of ſome certain points, to clear up thoſe which are uncertain. In order to give our readers ſome idea of the diverſity of opinions, it will be ſufficient to preſent the following table, where we mark the year in which, according to Acoſta, the Interpreter of Mendoza's collection, and Siguenza each of the kings began to reign.

Acoſta.		The Interpreter.		Siguenza.	
Acamapitzin	1384	- - -	1375	3 May -	1361
Huitzilihuitl	1424	- - -	1396	19 April -	1403
Chimalpopoca	1427	- - -	1417	24 February	1414
Itzcoatl -	1437	- - -	1427	- - -	1427
Montezuma I.	1449	- - -	1440	13 Auguſt -	1440
Axajacatl -	1481	- - - -	1469	21 November	1468
Tizoc -	1477	- - -	1482	30 October	1481
Ahuitzotl -	1492	- - - -	1486	13 April -	1486
Montezuma II.	1503	- - -	1502	15 September	1502

Acoſta, and after him Arrigo Martinez, and Herrera, not only diſagree with other authors in chronology, but alſo in the order of the kings, placing Tizoc on the throne before Axajacatl; whereas the contrary is evident, not leſs from the teſtimony of the Mexicans than that of other Spaniſh

Spaniſh authors. Gomara perplexes the reigns of the lords of Tula with thoſe of the kings of Colhuacan and the Mexican kings. Torquemada points out the years of both, and his chronology diſagrees with that of other authors. Solis makes Montezuma II. the eleventh of the Mexican kings; but we know not how he ſupported ſo ſtrange a paradox. De Paw, in order to ſhew his extravagance of genius even in this does not ennumerate more than eight kings of Mexico, but it is certain and indubitable that the Mexicans had the nine kings above mentioned, and after them Cuitlahuatzin and Quauhtemotzin. Some authors do not reckon the two laſt among their kings, becauſe they reigned for ſo ſhort a time; but having been lawfully elected and peaceably accepted by the nation, they have as much right to be counted among the kings of Mexico as any of their anceſtors. Acoſta ſays, he does not make mention of them becauſe they had nothing but the name of king, as in their time the whole of the kingdom almoſt was ſubject to the Spaniards; but this is abſolutely falſe, becauſe when Cuitlahuatzin was elected, the Spaniards had only the province of the Totonacas under them, and they even were rather allies than ſubjects. When Quauhtemotzin was elected, they had added to that province five other ſtates, and ſome ſmall places in that neighbourhood; but all thoſe ſtates, compared with the reſt of the Mexican empire, were leſs to it than Bologna is to the whole papal territory.

To inveſtigate the chronology of theſe eleven kings, it is neceſſary to adopt another method, beginning with the laſt, and continuing in a retrogade courſe to the commencement of the monarchy.

QUAUHTEMOTZIN. This king finiſhed his reign on the thirteenth of Auguſt, 1521, having been made priſoner by the Spaniards juſt as Mexico was taken. The day of his election is not known, but from the accounts of Cortes it is to be inferred, that he was elected in October or November of the preceding year; wherefore he could not have reigned more than nine or ten months.

CUITLAHUATZIN. This king, ſucceſſor of his brother Montezuma, aſcended the throne on the beginning of July, 1520, as appears by the account given by Cortes. Some Spaniſh authors ſay that he did not reign above forty days; others ſay, that he reigned ſixty; but from that

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which Cortes heard ſaid by a Mexican officer in the war of Quauhquechollan, it is to be concluded, that that king was alive in October. We do not therefore doubt that his reign was at leaſt three months.

MONTEZUMA II. It is known that he reigned ſeventeen years and more than nine months, and that he began to reign in September, 1502, and died in the latter end of June, 1520. The reaſon why ſome authors have fixed the beginning of his reign in 1503 was, becauſe they knew that he had reigned ſeventeen years, and made no account of the nine months after them.

AHUITZOTL. Acoſta allows this king eleven years of reign. Martinez, twelve; Siguenza, ſixteen; and Torquemada, eighteen. I believe we can trace back the years of his reign, and the time of his exaltation, from the epoch of the dedication of the greater temple. This happened, without doubt, in 1486, as ſeveral authors agree. On the other hand it appears, that king Tizoc having hardly began this building, Ahuitzotl continued and finiſhed it, which he could not do in the ſame year in which he began it, nor in two or three years, it having been ſo vaſt an edifice as we know it was. Neither could he, in ſo ſhort a time, have made the war which he did in countries ſo diſtant from each other, and procure that ſurpriſing number of victims which were ſacrificed on that great feſtival. We believe, therefore, that the commencement of his reign cannot be fixed after 1482, and neither can it be anticipated without confounding the epochs of his predeceſſors, as we ſhall preſently ſee. Having begun therefore to reign in 1482, and finiſhed in 1502, we ought to allow him nineteen years ſome months, or about twenty years of reign.

TIZOC. No perſon doubts that the reign of this monarch was extremely ſhort, and no author gives him more than four years and a half of life upon the throne. We could reſolve the time of his reign, and that alſo of his predeceſſor, from that of Nezahualpilli, king of Acolhuacan; for that king having been ſo celebrated, and had ſo many hiſtorians at his court, we have certain accounts of his reign. Nezahualpilli died in 1516, after having reigned in Acolhuacan forty-five years and ſome months; the commencement of his reign therefore muſt be fixed in 1470. It is known alſo, that the eighth year of the reign of Nezahualpilli was the firſt of Tizoc, ſo that this laſt muſt

have begun his reign in 1477, and reigned four years and a half, as several hiſtorians ſay. Torquemada ſays, that he reigned leſs than three years; but this author contradicts himſelf openly, not only in this but in many other parts of his chronology, for as he adopts the above mentioned calculation of the reign of Tizoc, he ought to have fixed his death in 1480, and conſequently to have given Ahuitzotl not eighteen but twenty-two years of reign.

Axajacatl. It is known that this king began to reign ſix years before Nezahualpilli, that is, in 1464, and that he finiſhed, as we have ſaid, in 1477, when his ſucceſſor Tizoc aſcended the throne. From that it is deducible that he reigned thirteen years, as Siguenza and other hiſtorians affirm. Acoſta does not give him more than eleven years, nor the interpreter of Mendoza's collection more than twelve. It is moſt probable that the thirteen years were not completed.

Montezuma I. All affirm, that this famous king completed twenty-eight years on the throne. Some give him a year more, becauſe they reckon the months which he reigned more than the twenty-eight years, another year, which has not been reckoned by others. He began therefore to reign in 1436, and finiſhed in 1464. In his time the *Toxihumolpia*, or ſecular year, was celebrated, not in the ſixteenth year of his reign, as Torquemada ſays, but in the eighteenth, or 1454.

Itzcoatl. Almoſt all hiſtorians give thirteen years of reign to this great king. Acoſta and Martinez only give him twelve. The reaſon of this difference is the ſame as that above mentioned, that is, Itzcoatl not having completed the thirteen years on the throne, Acoſta and Martinez paid no attention to the odd months over the twelve years, whereas the others made a complete year of them. He began to reign in 1323; he could not begin either ſooner or later, for he aſcended the throne a year after Maxtlaton uſurped the throne of Acolhuacan. Maxtlaton reigned three years, and with him the reign of the Tepanecas finiſhed. The following year, that is, three years after Itzcoatl had began to reign, Nezahualcojotl was eſtabliſhed on the throne of Acolhuacan, which had been uſurped by the Tepanecas. It is known beſides, that Nezahualcojotl reigned forty-three years and ſome months; he having finiſhed therefore in 1470, it appears that the commence-

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ment of his reign ought to be fixed in 1426, the ruin of the Tepanecas in 1425, the beginning of the reign of Itzcoatl in 1423, and that of the tyranny of Maxtlaton in 1422.

CHIMALPOPOCA. This unhappy king was confounded by Acoſta, Martinez, and Herrera, with his nephew Acolnahuacatl, ſon of Huitzilihuitl; from whence theſe authors allow Chimalpopoca only ten years of reign, and make him die by the hands of the Tepanecas; but the contrary appears from the paintings and relations of the Indians, cited by Torquemada, and partly ſeen by ourſelves. Siguenza, by inattention, falls into a contradiction; for he ſays that Chimalpopoca was the younger brother of Huitzilihuitl: of this king he affirms, that he began to reign at eighteen years of age, and that he reigned leſs than eleven, ſo that he muſt have died before he was twenty-nine years of age; and Chimalpopoca, who immediately ſucceeded him, muſt have been at leaſt twenty-eight when he began to reign; notwithſtanding Siguenza makes him aſcend the throne at forty years and upwards. In the collection of Mendoza this king is not given more than ten years of reign. Torquemada and Siguenza give him thirteen, which account is certainly the moſt probable, conſidering the ſeries of his actions and events: but Betancourt following Torquemada, makes many notable anacroniſms on this ſubject. He fixes the election of Chimalpopoca in the time of Techotlalla, king of Acolhuacan; let us ſuppoſe that it was in the laſt year of this king: Techotlalla was ſucceeded by Ixtlilxochitl, who reigned ſeven years. Ixtlilxochitl by Tezozomoc, who tyranniſed over that empire nine years, and to him Maxtlaton ſucceeded, in whoſe time Chimalpopoca died. According to thoſe ſuppoſitions adopted by Torquemada and Betancourt, we muſt give Chimalpopoca at leaſt ſixteen years of reign, reſulting from the ſeven of Ixtlilxochitl and the nine of Tizozomoc; which is contrary to their own chronology and that of other hiſtorians. If we chuſe to combine the chronology of the kings of Mexico with that of the kings of Tlatelolco, agreeable to the calculation of the above mentioned authors, there will hardly remain nineteen years to be divided between the two kings Chimalpopoca and Itzcoatl, as we ſhall afterwards find. Granting therefore thirteen years of reign to Chimalpopoca, according to the opinion of moſt hiſtorians, we ought to fix the beginning of it in

in 1410. Maxtlaton ſucceeded to Tizozomoc, his father, a year before the death of Chimalpopoca, that is, in 1422. Tizozomoc kept the crown of Acolhuacan nine years; having died in 1422, his tyranny began therefore in 1413. With reſpect to Ixtlilxochitl, the lawful king of Acolhuacan, we know that he reigned ſeven years until 1413, when his life, together with his crown, was taken from him by the tyrant Tizozomoc; he began therefore to reign in 1406.

HUITZILIHUITL. Reſpecting the number of years which this monarch reigned hiſtorians are extremely different in opinion. Siguenza ſays, ten years and ten months. Acoſta and Martinez give him thirteen; the Interpreter, twenty-one. Toquemada atteſts, that among the Mexican hiſtorians whom he conſulted, ſome give him twenty-two years and others twenty-ſix; but we have no doubt that the true number of years is that mentioned by the Interpreter; becauſe we know, from the hiſtorical paintings of the Mexicans, that the thirteenth year of this king was a ſecular year, which, according to our chronological table, muſt have been the year 1402; he began therefore to reign in 1389. Having died in 1410, as appears from what we have ſaid concerning the reign of Chimalpopoca, we ought to allow Huitzilihuitl twenty-one years of reign.

ACAMAPITZIN. Suppoſing the chronology of the preceding kings to be juſt, and the epoch of the foundation of Mexico to be eſtabliſhed, we have little to ſay with regard to the reign of this king. Torquemada affirms, that the paintings and manuſcript hiſtories fix the election of Acamapitzin in the twenty-eighth year after the foundation of Mexico. He was elected therefore in 1352, or in the beginning of 1353, and his reign muſt have laſted thirty-ſeven years, or ſomething leſs. The interregnum which happened after the death of this king was of four months, as Siguenza ſays; whereas all the others were but of a few days.

SECT. IV.

Concerning the Epochs of the Events of the Conqueſt.

IT is not very difficult to trace the epochs of the events of the conqueſt, becauſe we find them in general mentioned by the conqueror Cortes,

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Cortes, in his letters to Charles V. but many anacroniſms being committed by the Spaniſh hiſtorians, either becauſe they did not conſult thoſe letters, or becauſe they were indifferent about knowing on what days the moveable feſtivals happened in thoſe years of which Cortes ſometimes made mention, it is neceſſary to fix ſome points of chronology, omitting others of ſmaller importance, to avoid proving tedious to our readers.

The arrival of Cortes's armament on the coaſt of Chalchicuecan happened, as every one knows, on Holy Thurſday, 1519. This was on the 21ſt of April, for Eaſter was that year on the 24th.

The entry of the Spaniards into the city of Tlaſcala did not happen, as Herrera and Gomera ſay, on the 23d of September, but on the 18th, as Bernal Diaz, Betancourt, and Solis write. This is eaſily demonſtrated by making a calculation according to the account given by Cortes of the days which the Spaniards ſtaid in Tlaſcala and Cholula, and thoſe which they employed in their journey to Mexico. Bernal Diaz ſays, that before they entered Tlaſcala they were twenty-four days in the territories of that republic, and afterwards twenty in that city; as is alſo confirmed by the letters of Cortes. They entered Cholula on the 14th of October, and into Mexico on the 8th of November. Six days after Montezuma was made priſoner, as Cortes himſelf affirms. This general remained in the capital until the beginning of May following, at which time he went to Chempoalla, to oppoſe Narvaez. He aſſaulted and gained a victory over his enemy on the Sunday of Pentecoſt, which that year (1520) happened on the 27th of May. The inſurrection of the Mexicans, cauſed by the violent proceedings of Alvarado, happened on the great feſtival of the month Toxcatl, which began that year on the 13th of May. Cortes returned to the capital after his victory, on the 24th of June, as every one atteſts. In the accounts of the events which occurred in the laſt days of June, and the firſt days of July, we find ſome confuſion and anacroniſms among hiſtorians. We have followed Cortes in his letters, which contain the moſt authentic account of the conqueſt.

The death of Montezuma appears to have happened on the 30th of June, for he died, according to Cortes, three days after he received the wound from a ſtone. This happened while thoſe two machines of

of war were conſtructing, of which we have made mention in our hiſtory: theſe were conſtructed on the night of the 26th of June and the day following, as is to be gathered from the account of this conquerer. We cannot fix the death of Montezuma therefore later nor ſooner than the 30th, without perplexing the ſeries of events.

The firſt of July we make the *noche triſte*, that is, the night when the Spaniards came off defeated, for Cortes gives ſeven days to their journey from Mexico to Tlaſcala, and affirms that they entered there on the 8th of July. Diaz and Betancourt ſay, that the Spaniards left Mexico on the 10th, and entered on the 16th into the lands of that republic; but in this particular the greateſt faith is due to Cortes. The events which happened from the 24th of June to the firſt of July will appear many, conſidering the ſhortneſs of the time: but it is not wonderful that in circumſtances of ſuch difficulty and danger actions ſhould multiply, as the ſaving of lives called forth the greateſt efforts.

The war made by the Spaniards in Quauhquechollan happened in the month of October, by what appears from the account of Cortes. This epoch becomes of importance to us, in order to know the time which Cuitlahuatzin reigned, for a Mexican captain, of whom Cortes gained information of the ſtate of the court, gave him intelligence of the diligence uſed by that king in preparations againſt the Spaniards. Thoſe who do not allow Cuitlahuatzin to have reigned more than forty days, reject that information as a falſehood; but as they alledge no reaſon to convince us of its falſity, we ought to believe it.

Concerning the day on which the ſiege of Mexico began, and the time of its duration, authors in general are miſtaken. They ſay for the firſt part that the ſiege laſted ninety-three days; but they have not made the calculation exactly, for Cortes made the review of his troops in the great ſquare of Tezcuco, and aſſigned the poſts which the three diviſions were to occupy on the Monday of Pentecoſt, in the year 1521. But although we ſhould ſuppoſe, contrary to the truth of hiſtory, that on the ſame day of the review the ſiege was begun, there would not be ninety-three, but only eighty-five days; for that Monday happened on the 20th of May, and it is univerſally known that the ſiege terminated with the taking of the capital on the 13th of Auguſt. If they reckon the hoſtilities committed on the cities of the lake to

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be part of the ſiege, they ought to fix the beginning of the ſiege on the firſt day of January, and count not ninety-three days, but ſeven months to it. Cortes, who in this point merits more faith than any other hiſtorian, ſays expreſsly, that the ſiege commenced on the 30th of May, and laſted ſeventy-five days. It is true, that the letter itſelf of Cortes might occaſion an error, for there it is given to be underſtood, that on the 14th of May the diviſions of Alvarado and Olid were in Tacuba, from whence the ſiege began; but this is a manifeſt error in the cyphers, for it is certain that thoſe two officers did not go to Tacuba till after the review of the troops; and we know from Cortes, and other hiſtorians, that this happened on Monday of Pentecoſt, the 20th of May.

Torquemada ſays, in book IV. cap. 46. that the Spaniards entered into Mexico, for the firſt time, on the 8th of November; but in chap. 14. of the ſame book he affirms, that this entry happened on the 22d of July; that they remained there one hundred and fifty days, ninety-five days in friendſhip with the Mexicans, and forty at war with them, which was occaſioned by the ſlaughter made there by Alvarado, on the feſtival of the month Toxcatl, correſponding, as he believes, to our April, &c. The ſeries of anachroniſms, errors, and contradictions, contained in the chapter above cited of this author, is ſufficient to give us an idea of his prepoſterous chronology.

DISSER-

DISSERTATION III.

On the Land of Mexico.

WHOEVER reads the horrid deſcription which ſome Europeans give of America, or hears the injurious ſlander with which they ſpeak of its ſoil, its climate, its plants, its animals, and inhabitants, will eaſily be perſuaded that malice and unnatural rancour have armed their pens and their tongues, or that the new world is truly a curſed land, and deſtined by heaven for the puniſhment of malefactors. If we reſt faith in count de Buffon, America is an entirely new country, ſcarcely ariſen out of the waters which overwhelmed it (*n*), a continual marſh in its plains, a land uncultivated and covered with woods, even after having been peopled by Europeans more induſtrious than Americans, or incumbered with mountains that are inacceſſible, and leave but a ſmall territory for cultivation and the habitations of men; an unhappy region, lying under a ſordid ſky, where all the animals that have been tranſported from the old continent are degenerated, and thoſe native to its clime are ſmall, deformed, weak, and deſtitute of arms for their defence. If we credit Mr. de Paw (who in a great meaſure copies the ſentiments of count de Buffon, and where he does not copy, multiplies, and exaggerates errors) *America has been in general, and is at preſent a very barren country*, in which all the plants of Europe have degenerated, except thoſe which are aquatic and ſucculent. Its ſtinking ſoil bears a greater number of poiſonous plants than all the other parts of the world. Its lands, either overloaded with mountains, or covered with woods, preſent nothing to the eye but a vaſt and barren deſert; its climate is extremely unfavourable to the greater part of quadrupeds, and moſt of all pernicious to, men who are degenerated, debilitated, and vitiated in a ſurpriſing manner in all the parts of their organization (*m*).

(*n*) Hiſt. Natur. tom. vi. (*m*) Recherches Philoſophiques, parte i.

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The hiſtoriographer Herrera, although in many reſpects judicious and moderate, when he makes a compariſon of the climate and ſoil of Europe with America, ſhews himſelf eminently ignorant even of the firſt elements of geography, and utters ſuch abſurdities as would not be tolerated in a child. "*Our hemiſphere*, he ſays, *is better than the new one with reſpect to clime. Our pole is more embelliſhed with ſtars, becauſe it has the north to* $3\frac{1}{2}$ *degrees, with many reſplendant ſtars.* By which he ſuppoſes, firſt, that the ſouthern hemiſphere is new, though ſo many centuries are paſt ſince it has been known in Aſia and Africa. Secondly, that all America belongs to the ſouthern hemiſphere, and that North America is not connected with the ſame pole and ſtars of the Europeans. *We have*, he adds, *another pre-eminence, which is, that the ſun is ſeven days longer towards the tropic of Cancer than towards that of Capricorn*; as if the exceſs of the ſun's ſtay in the northern hemiſphere was not the ſame in the new as in the old continent. It appears that our good hiſtoriographer was perſuaded, that the greater love which that luminary bears to beautiful Europe was the cauſe of his longer ſtay in the northern hemiſphere. A thought truly gallant, and fit for a French poem, and from whence it comes, proceeds our chronicler, that the Arctic is colder than the Antarctic part, becauſe it enjoys leſs of the ſun. But how can there be leſs of the ſun enjoyed in the Arctic part, when this luminary is ſeven days longer in the northern hemiſphere? *Our land extends from weſt to eaſt, and is therefore more accommodating to human life than the other, which growing narrow from weſt to eaſt, enlarges too much from one to the other pole; for the land which lengthens itſelf from weſt to eaſt is at a more equal diſtance from the cold of the north, and the heat of the ſouth.* But if the north is the region of cold, and the ſouth that of heat, as our chronicler ſuppoſes, the equinoctial countries, according to his principles, would certainly be the beſt calculated for human life, from being thoſe which are equidiſtant from north and ſouth. In the other hemiſphere our author concludes, there were no dogs, aſſes, ſheep, or goats, and no lemons, oranges, figs, nor quinces, &c.

Theſe, and other ſuch abſurd notions of ſeveral authors, are the effects of a blind and immoderate partiality to their own country, which makes them aſcribe to it certain imaginary pre-eminences over all others in

in the world. It would not be difficult to oppoſe to their invectives the great praiſes which many very celebrated Europeans, better informed than them, have beſtowed on thoſe countries; but beſides that, it would be foreign to our purpoſe, it would be diſguſtful to our readers: we ſhall therefore content ourſelves with examining in this Diſſertation that which has been written againſt the land of America in general, or againſt that of Mexico in particular.

SECT. I.

On the pretended Inundation of America.

ALMOST all that M. Buffon and M. de Paw have written againſt the land of America, reſpecting its plants, its animals, and its inhabitants, is founded on the ſuppoſition of a general inundation, different from that which happened in the time of Noah, and much more recent, on account of which that vaſt country remained a long time under water. From this recent inundation ariſes, ſays M. Buffon, the malignity of the climate of America, the ſterility of its ſoil, the imperfection of its animals, and the coldneſs of the Americans. Nature had not had time to put her deſigns in execution, nor to take all her extenſion. The lakes and the marſhes left by that inundation, according to the affirmation of M. de Paw, occaſion the exceſſive humidity of the air which is the cauſe of its inſalubrity, of the extraordinary multiplication of inſects, of the irregularity and ſmallneſs of the quadrupeds, of the ſterility of the ſoil, of the barrenneſs of the women, of the abundance of milk in the breaſts of the men, of the ſtupidity of the Americans, and a thouſand other extraordinary phænomena which he has obſerved much more diſtinctly from his cloſet in Berlin, than we who have paſſed ſo many years in America. Theſe two authors, though they are agreed with reſpect to an inundation, differ with reſpect to the time of it; for M. de Paw believes it to have been much more ancient than M. Buffon does.

This ſuppoſition, however, is ill founded, and the inundation pretended to have happened to the new world is a chimera. M. de

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Paw endeavours to ſupport it on the teſtimony of Acoſta, on the almoſt infinite number of lakes and marſhes, on the veins of heavy metals, which are found almoſt on the ſurface of the earth, on the marine bodies which are found heaped together lying in the moſt low inland places, on the deſtruction of the great quadrupeds, and, laſtly, on the unanimous tradition of the Mexicans, Peruvians, and all the ſavages from the land of Magellan to the river St. Lawrence, who all teſtify of their anceſtors on the mountains during the time the valleys were laid under water.

It is true that Acoſta, in book I. chap. 25 of his hiſtory, doubts whether that which the Americans ſay of the deluge ought to be underſtood of that of Noah, or of ſome other particular one which happened in their land, as thoſe of Deucalion and Ogyges in Greece; and it appears alſo that he inclines to adhere to this opinion, which he ſays has been adopted by ſome judicious men: but, notwithſtanding, in book V. chap. 19, ſpeaking of the firſt conqueſt of the Incas, he gives us to underſtand that he firmly believed, that it ought to be underſtood of the deluge of Noah. "The pretext, (he ſays) under which they conquered and rendered themſelves maſters of the land was that of feigning that after the *univerſal deluge* (of which all thoſe Indians had knowledge) they had new peopled the world, ſeven of them iſſuing from the cave of Pacaritambo, and that all other men therefore ought to render them homage as their progenitors." Acoſta, therefore, knew that that tradition of the Americans reſpected the univerſal deluge, and that the fables with which it was blended had been invented by the Incas to eſtabliſh the right of their empire. What would that author have ſaid, if he had had thoſe proofs in favour of the tradition which we have? The Mexicans, as their own hiſtorians affirm, make no mention of the deluge, without commemorating alſo the confuſion of tongues and the diſperſion of the people, and thoſe three things were repreſented by them in a ſingle painting, as appears from that picture which Siguenza had from D. F. d'Alba Ixtlilxochitl, and he from his noble anceſtors, a copy of which has been given in our hiſtory. The ſame tradition has been found among the Chiapaneſe, the Tlaſcalans, the people of Michuacan, of Cuba, and the Indians of the continent, with the circumſtance of a few men, with ſome animals having

having been ſaved in a veſſel from the deluge, and to have ſet at liberty firſt a bird, which did not return again to the veſſel, becauſe it remained eating carrion, and afterwards another, which returned with a green branch in its mouth: this renders it evident, that they did not ſpeak of any other deluge than that which drowned all the earth in the time of the patriarch Noah. All the circumſtances which have diſguiſed or changed this moſt ancient and univerſal tradition among nations, have either been allegories, ſuch as thoſe of the ſeven caves of the Mexicans, to ſignify the ſeven different nations which peopled the country of Anahuac, or the fictions of ignorance or ambition. None of thoſe nations believed that men were ſaved upon the mountains, but in an ark or veſſel, or, if poſſible, any one thought otherwiſe, it was certainly becauſe the tradition of the deluge, after ſo many centuries, had been changed. It is therefore abſolutely falſe that there was an unanimous tradition of an inundation peculiar to America, among all thoſe people who dwelt between the land of Magellan and the river St. Lawrence.

The lakes and the marſhes which appear to Mr. Buffon and Mr. de Paw inconteſtible marks and traces of this pretended inundation, are unqueſtionably the effects of the great rivers, the innumerable fountains, and the very plentiful rains of America. If thoſe lakes and marſhes had been made by that inundation, and not by the cauſes we have aſſigned, they would, after ſo many ages, have been conſumed and dried up by the continual evaporation which the heat of the ſun produces, particularly under the torrid zone; or at leaſt they would have been conſiderably diminiſhed; but no diminution is obſervable, except in thoſe lakes, from which human induſtry has diverted the rivers and torrents which diſcharged themſelves into them, as in thoſe of the vale of Mexico. We have ſeen and obſerved the five principal lakes of New Spain, which are thoſe of Tezcuco, Chalco, Cuiſco, Pazcuaro, and Chapalla, and are confident that they have not been formed, nor are preſerved, but by plentiful rain-waters, rivers, and fountains. All the world is acquainted, that no rains are more copious and violent, nor any rivers ſo great, as thoſe of America. Why then invent inundations while we have cauſes at hand more natural and certain? If the lakes were proofs of an inundation, we ought rather to believe it to

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to have happened in the old than in the new continent, becauſe all the lakes of America, including even thoſe of Canada, which are the largeſt, are not comparable to the Black, White, Baltic, and Caſpian ſeas, which though vulgarly called ſeas, are, however, according to Buffon himſelf, true lakes, formed by rivers which pour into them. If to thoſe we add the lakes of Lemano, Onega, Pleſkow, and many others, extremely large, of Ruſſia, Tartary, and other countries (*p*), we will ſoon diſcover how much they, who have ſo exaggerated the lakes of America, had forgotten the nature of their own continent. The lake of Chapalla, which, in the geographical maps, is honoured with the magnificent name of Mare Chapallicum, or ſea of Chapalla, which we have alſo ſeen and coaſted round three times, is hardly a hundred miles in circumference. But if the rivers Don, Wolga, Boryſthenes, Danube, Oder, and others of the ancient continent, though leſs by far than the Maragnon, the river of Plata, that of Maddalena, St. Lawrence, Oroonoko, Miſſiſſippi, and others of the new world, are nevertheleſs extremely ſufficient, according to what Buffon ſays, to form thoſe lakes which are ſo great, that they have always been eſteemed ſeas, what wonder is it that the monſtrous rivers of America make ſmaller lakes and marſhes? Mr. de Paw ſays, that thoſe lakes appear receptacles of water, which have not yet been able to iſſue from thoſe places formerly overflowed by a violent agitation given to all the terraqueous globe. The numerous volcanos of the *Andes*, or American Alps, and of the hills of Mexico, and the earthquakes which are inceſſantly felt in one part or other of thoſe Alps, let us ſee that that land is not yet at repoſe even in our day. But if that violent agitation was general over the terraqueous globe, how came the lands of Peru and Mexico to be inundated, which are ſo highly elevated above the level of the ſea, as Buffon and de Paw both confeſs, and not the lands of Europe, which are ſo very much lower? Whoever has obſerved the ſtupendous elevation of the inland countries of America, will not eaſily perſuade himſelf that the water could riſe ſo as to cover them without inundating Europe. Beſides, we may alſo ſay,

(*q*) Bomare enumerates thirty-eight lakes in the cantons of Switzerland, and ſays, that into that of Harlem veſſels of great ſize enter. The lake of Aral in Tartary has, according to the ſame author, a hundred leagues of length and fifty of breadth.

that

that Veſuvius, Etna, Hecla, and the numerous volcanos of the Moluccas, the Philippine iſlands, and Japan, and the frequent earthquakes of thoſe iſlands, and of China, Perſia, Syria, Turkey, &c. let us alſo ſee that even the old world is not yet at repoſe in our day (*r*).

The veins of metals, adds de Paw, which are found in ſome places on the ſurface of the earth, appear to indicate, that the ſoil was once overflowed, and that the torrents carried away part of it. But would it not be better to ſay, that ſome violent eruptions of ſubterraneous fires, which appear manifeſt in the many volcanos of the Cordilleras, deſtroying the ſurface of ſome ſoils, left the veins of metals almoſt naked?

The finding of marine bodies heaped together in ſome inland places of America, if it ſhould prove the pretended inundation would prove ſtill more ſtrongly a greater inundation of the old continent; for whereas there are few places in America in which theſe maſſes of ſea-ſhells, and other petrified marine bodies, are found; Europe, on the contrary, is almoſt full of petrifications of ſuch bodies, which demonſtrates with certainty that it was formerly overflowed by the ſea (*s*). Every perſon knows the wonders and the calculations which ſeveral French natural philoſophers have made of that immenſe quantity of ſhells which are ſeen in Tourain, and nobody is ignorant either that ſuch kind of petrified marine bodies are found alſo in the Alps. Why then ought we to conclude, from ſome marine bodies having been found in ſome places of America, that that country ſuffered an inundation, and not ſtill more confidently conclude, that Europe has ſuffered an inundation from ſuch bodies having been found in ſtill greater abundance in many places of it? If the tranſportation of thoſe bodies to inland places of Europe is to be aſcribed to the waters of the univerſal deluge,

(*r*) M de Paw himſelf, after having made mention of Veſuvius, Etna, Hecla, and the volcanos of Liparis, ſpeaks thus: "Among ſt the great volcanos are reckoned the *Paranucan*, in the iſland of Java; the *Canapis*, in the iſland of Banda; the *Balaluan*, in the iſland of Sumatra. The iſland of Ternate has a flaming mountain, the irruptions of which are not inferior to thoſe of Etna. Of all the iſlands, ſmall and large, which compoſe the empire of Japan, there is not one which has not a volcano that is not more or leſs conſiderable; and alſo the Philippine iſles, the Azores, the Cape de Verd iſlands, &c." Letter III. *Sur les Viciſſitudes du notre Globe.*

(*s*) Burguet, in his *Treatiſe on Petrefications*, and Torribia, in his *Introduction to the Natural Hiſtory of Spain*, gives us a very long account of the places of Europe and Aſia, where petrified marine bodies are found.

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why ought they not to be aſcribed to the ſame cauſe in America (*t*)? On the contrary, if the waters of the univerſal deluge were not thoſe which carried the above mentioned marine bodies into the inland places of Europe, but thoſe of a poſterior inundation: if Europe is in general, according to what Buffon ſays (*u*), a new country: if it is not long ſince it was covered with woods and marſhes, why do we not ſee in Europe, and why were there not ſeen two thouſand years ago, thoſe ſtupendous effects of the inundation which thoſe authors ſee in America? Why have the animals of Europe degenerated like thoſe of America? Why are not the Europeans cold in conſtitution like the Americans? Why are or have not the women of both the one and the other part of the world been equally barren? Why, if Europe was overflowed like America, and more ſo, and for a much longer time than it, as is clearly deducible from the arguments of Buffon, has its ſoil remained fertile, and that of America barren? Why are the ſkies of Europe ſo mild, thoſe of America ſo inclement? Why to Europe ſhould all the bleſſings have been deſtined, to America all the evils? Whoever would be better informed reſpecting thoſe difficulties, may read Buffon on the inundation of Europe.

The laſt argument of M. de Paw is taken from the extinction or deſtruction of the great quadrupeds in America, which he ſays are the firſt to periſh in water. This author believes that anciently there were elephants, camels, ſea-horſes, and other large quadrupeds in America, but that they all periſhed in this ſuppoſed inundation. But what perſon will not wonder that elephants and camels, who are ſo ſwift, ſhould

(*t*) One of the higheſt mountains of America is the *Dezcabezado*, ſituated among the alps of Chili, upwards of five hundred miles from the ſea. Its perpendicular height above the level of the ſea is, according to Molina, a learned and diligent hiſtorian of that kingdom, more than three miles. On the top of this very lofty mountain is found a great quantity of petrified marine bodies, which certainly could not have been carried to that ſtupendous height by the waters of any partial inundation, different from the deluge which happened in the time of Noah. Neither can it be ſaid that that ſummit might formerly have been the bed of the ſea, and gradually have been raiſed by ſubterraneous fires, bearing along with it thoſe marine bodies; becauſe although this caſe is not improbable in ſome places, which we ſee but a little elevated above the level of the ſea, and we even think it may frequently have happened, notwithſtanding, in a height ſo extraordinary as this, it appears entirely incredible: ſo that thoſe marine bodies, found on that ſummit, ought to be conſidered as unqueſtionable proofs and indubitable traces of the univerſal deluge.

(*u*) Tom. Theorie de la Terre.

periſh,

periſh, and that the ſloth, which is ſo ſlow, and unable to move, ſhould eſcape? that they could not, as well as men, betake themſelves to the mountains, either by ſwimming, at which they are moſt dexterous, or by availing themſelves of the ſwiftneſs of their feet, which is ſo great, that in one day, according to the account of Buffon, they go one hundred and fifty miles; and yet the ſloths could find leiſure to aſcend to the tops of the mountains, which, according to the account of the ſame author, can hardly move a perch in an hour? Although we ſhould admit that ſuch quadrupeds have been formerly in America, we are not obliged to believe that their deſtruction has been occaſioned by the ſuppoſed inundation, becauſe it might be aſcribed to other cauſes very different. M. de Paw himſelf affirms (*x*), that if elephants were tranſported to America, as the Portugueſe have attempted, they would meet with the ſame fortune with camels; that they would not propagate, although they were left in the woods to their own inſtinct? becauſe the change of aliment and clime is infinitely more ſenſibly felt by elephants than all other quadrupeds of the largeſt kind. He likewiſe declares in another place, that the cauſes which operate to the deſtruction of thoſe animals, that is, the quadrupeds of the new world, are difficulties of a high degree, and at the ſame time one of the moſt intereſting ſubjects of the natural hiſtory of the terraqueous globe. Why then does he decide ſo poſitively, that the ſuppoſed inundation was the cauſe of their extirpation?

Buffon endeavours to perſuade us of the recent inundation of America by ſeveral arguments, to which we will anſwer in a few words. *If this continent is as ancient as the other*, he ſays, ſpeaking of America, *why have ſo few men been found there?* The men who have been found there cannot be called few, but in reſpect to the very extenſive country which they have inhabited. Thoſe who lived in ſocieties, as the Mexicans, the natives of Michuacan, the Acolhuas, and others who occupied all that very extenſive tract of the country, which lies between nine and twenty-three degrees of latitude, and two hundred and ſeventy-one and two hundred and ninety-four of longitude, were bodies of people as numerous as thoſe of Europe, which we ſhall ſhew

(*x*) Recherches Philoſophiques, parte i.

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in another diſſertation (*y*). Thoſe who lived more diſperſed, formed ſmaller nations or tribes, becauſe their ſmaller multiplication has been always a neceſſary effect of ſavage life in all countries in the world. "If ſavages are ſhepherds, ſays Monteſquieu, they require a "great country to be able to ſubſiſt in a certain number. If they are "hunters, as the ſavages of America were, they exiſt in ſtill ſmaller "numbers, and in order to maintain themſelves, form a ſtill leſs popu-"lous nation."

Why returns Mr. Buffon to aſk, were they almoſt all ſavage and diſperſed? It is not ſo. How can it be ſaid they were all ſavage and diſperſed; whilſt we know that the Mexicans, the Peruvians, and all the people ſubject to them, lived in ſocieties; which, as Mr. Buffon himſelf confeſſes, were extremely numerous, and cannot be called new. The other nations continued ſavages, from a violent attachment to liberty or ſome other cauſe of which we are ignorant. In Aſia, although it is a moſt ancient country, there are ſtill many nations that are ſavage and diſperſed. Why, he ſays, have thoſe who were united in ſocieties, hardly counted two or three hundred years ſince they aſſembled? This is another error. The Mexicans hardly counted two hundred years from the foundation of their capital; the Tlaſcalans ſomething more from the eſtabliſhment of their republic, but thoſe nations, and the others ſubjected to them, lived in ſociety from time immemorial, as well as the Toltecas, Acolhuas, and Michuacaneſe. Neither Buffon, de Paw, nor Dr. Robertſon, can diſtinguiſh the eſtabliſhment of thoſe nations in Anahuac, from the ſettlements which they had many centuries before in the northern regions of the new world.

"Why, he again aſks, were thoſe nations who lived in ſociety igno-"rant of the art of tranſmitting to poſterity the memory of events by "means of durable ſigns, conſidering that they had found the manner

(*y*) Theſe arguments of the count de Buffon againſt the antiquity of America, are found in the ſixth volume of his Natural Hiſtory; but a little before, in the ſame volume, he ſays thus: "There have been diſcovered in Mexico and Peru, civilized men, and cultivated people, ſubject to laws, and governed by kings; they poſſeſſed induſtry, arts, and a ſpecies of religion; they lived in cities in which order and government were maintained under the authority of a ſovereign. Theſe people, are certainly very numerous, and cannot be ſaid to be new," &c.

"of

" of communicating together at a diſtance by means of knots on cords?" What then were the pictures and characters of the Mexicans, and the other poliſhed nations of Anahuac, if not durable ſigns, deſtined to perpetuate the memory of events? See what Acoſta has ſaid on this ſubject, in the vith book of chap. 7. of his hiſtory, and what we ſay in our diſſertation on the culture of the Mexicans.

Why, he continues, had they not domeſticated animals, nor employed any other than the Llama (z) and Paco, which were not domeſtic, faithful, and docile, like ours? Becauſe there were no others which could be domeſticated. Does Mr. Buffon think that they ſhould have domeſticated tygers, *Pume*, wolves, and other ſuch wild beaſts? M. de Paw reproaches the Americans for their little induſtry, in not having employed the rein-deer as the Laplanders have; but thoſe animals were not to be found but in countries extremely diſtant from Mexico; and the ſavages in whoſe lands thoſe animals were found, would not make uſe of them, becauſe they had no occaſion for them, or it did not come into their minds to domeſticate them. Beſides, the propoſition of Mr. Buffon taken in ſo general a ſenſe, is certainly falſe; as he himſelf ſays that the *alco*, or *techiche*, a quadruped ſimilar to a little dog, which is common to both Americas, was domeſticated by the Indians. In the ſame manner the Mexicans domeſticated rabbits, ducks, turkeys, and other animals.

" Laſtly, their arts, concludes Mr. Buffon, were as rude as their " ſociety, their talents inferior, their ideas not yet developed, their or- " gans rough, and their language barbarous:" the errors contained in thoſe words we ſhall effectually refute in the following diſſertations.

We muſt, therefore, upon the whole, deny that pretended inundation, as one of thoſe philoſophical chimeras invented by the unquiet geniuſes of our century: ſince among the Americans there has been no memory of any other inundation than that univerſal deluge of which the Scriptures make mention. We would, on the contrary, ſay, that if it was true that the deluge of Noah did not overflow the whole earth,

(z) Llama, not Lama was, according to what Acoſta ſays, the generic name of the four ſpecies of quadrupeds of that kind; but at preſent it is uſed only to ſignify the one which the Spaniards called *Carnus*, that is, the ram of Peru. The other three ſpecies are the *Paco*, the *Guanaco* or *Huannaco*, and the *Vicugna*. The name Llama is pronounced *Lyama*.

no

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no country might be ſooner ſuppoſed to have been exempted from that calamity than Mexico; for beſides its great elevation above the level of the ſea, there is no inland country where petrified marine bodies are more rare.

SECT. II.

On the Climate of Mexico.

IF we were to employ ourſelves to refute all the abſurd notions which M. de Paw has written againſt the climate of America, a large volume, inſtead of a diſſertation, would be neceſſary. Let it ſuffice to ſay, he has collected all that has been ſaid by ſeveral authors, right or wrong, againſt different particular countries of the New World, in order to preſent his readers with an aſſemblage of fictions that is monſtrous and horrid, without conſidering, that if we were to follow his ſteps, and undertook to make a ſimilar repreſentation of the different countries of which the old continent is compoſed, (which would not be difficult) we would make a deſcription ſtill more hideous than his; but as it would be foreign to our purpoſe we will confine ourſelves to treat of the climate of Mexico.

This country, as it is extremely extenſive, and divided into ſo many provinces, different in their ſituation, is neceſſarily ſubjected to a variety of climates. Some of its lands, ſuch as the maritime, are hot, and in general moiſt and unhealthy; others are like all inland places, temperate, dry, and healthy. The latter are extremely high, the former very low. In ſome the ſouth wind, in others the eaſt, and in others the north wind prevails. The greateſt cold of any of the inhabited places, does not equal that of France or even Caſtile; nor can the greateſt heat be compared to that of Africa, or the dog-days in many countries of Europe. The difference betwen winter and ſummer is ſo little in any part, that the moſt delicate perſons wear the ſame cloaths in Auguſt and January. This and a good deal more which we have already ſaid, reſpecting the mildneſs and ſweetneſs of that climate is ſo notorious, that there is no need of arguments to ſupport it.

M. de

M. de Paw in order to demonſtrate the malignity of the American climate, adduces firſt the ſmallneſs and irregularity of the animals of America. Secondly, the ſize and enormous multiplication of the inſects, and other little animals. Thirdly, the diſeaſes of the Americans, and particularly the venereal diſorder. Fourthly, the defects of their natural conſtitution. Fifthly, the exceſs of cold in the countries of America, in compariſon of thoſe of the old continent, ſituated at an equal diſtance from the equator.

But this ſuppoſed ſmallneſs and leſs ferocity of the American animals, of which we ſhall treat hereafter, inſtead of the malignity, demonſtrate the mildneſs and bounty of the clime, if we give credit to Buffon, at whoſe fountain Sig. de Paw has drank, and of whoſe teſtimony he has availed himſelf againſt Don Pernetty. Buffon who in many places of his Natural Hiſtory produces the ſmallneſs of the American animals as a certain argument of the malignity of the climate of America; in treating afterwards of ſavage animals, in tom. II. ſpeaks thus: "As all things, even the moſt free creatures, are ſubject to natural laws, and animals as well as men are ſubjected to the influence of climate and ſoil, it appears that the ſame cauſes which have civilized and poliſhed the human ſpecies in our climates, may have likewiſe produced ſimilar effects upon other ſpecies. The wolf, which is perhaps the fierceſt of all the quadrupeds of the temperate zone, is however incomparably leſs terrible than the tyger, the lion, and the panther of the torrid zone; and the white bear and hyena of the frigid zone. In America, where the air and the earth are more mild than thoſe of Africa, the tyger, the lion, and the panther, are not terrible but in the name. They have degenerated, if fierceneſs joined to cruelty, made their nature; or, to ſpeak more properly, they have only ſuffered the influence of the climate: under a milder ſky their nature alſo has become more mild. From climes which are immoderate in their temperature are obtained drugs, perfumes, poiſons, and all thoſe plants whoſe qualities are ſtrong. The temperate earth on the contrary, produces only things which are temperate; the mildeſt herbs, the moſt wholeſome pulſe, the ſweeteſt fruits, the moſt quiet animals, and the moſt humane men are the natives of this happy clime. As the earth makes the

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plants, the earth and plants make animals; the earth, the plants, and the animals make man. The phyſical qualities of man, and the animals which feed on other animals, depend, though more remotely, on the ſame cauſes, which influence their diſpoſitions and cuſtoms. This is the greateſt proof and demonſtration, that in temperate climes every thing becomes temperate, and that in intemperate climes every thing is exceſſive; and that ſize and form which appear fixed and determinate qualities, depend notwithſtanding, like the relative qualities, on the influence of climate. The ſize of our quadrupeds cannot be compared with that of an elephant, the rhinoceros, or ſea-horſe. The largeſt of our birds are but ſmall if compared with the oſtrich, the condore, and *caſoare*." So far Mr. Buffon, whoſe text we have copied, becauſe it is of importance to our purpoſe, and entirely contrary to what M. de Paw writes againſt the climate of America, and Buffon himſelf in many other places.

If the large and fierce animals are natives of intemperate climes, and ſmall and tranquil animals of temperate climes, as Mr. Buffon has here eſtabliſhed; if mildneſs of climate influences the diſpoſition and cuſtoms of animals, Mr. de Paw does not well deduce the malignity of the climate of America from the ſmaller ſize and leſs fierceneſs of its animals; he ought rather to have deduced the gentleneſs and ſweetneſs of its climate from this antecedent. If, on the contrary, the ſmaller ſize and leſs fierceneſs of the American animals, with reſpect to thoſe of the old continent, are a proof of their degeneracy, ariſing the malignity of the clime, as Mr. de Paw would have it, we ought in like manner to argue the malignity of the climate of Europe from the ſmaller ſize and leſs fierceneſs of its animals, compared with thoſe of Africa. If a philoſopher of the country of Guinea ſhould undertake a work in imitation of M. de Paw, with this title, *Recherches Philoſophiques ſur les Europeens*, he might avail himſelf of the ſame argument which M. de Paw uſes to demonſtrate the malignity of the climate of Europe, and the advantages of that of Africa. The climate of Europe, he would ſay, is very unfavourable to the production of quadrupeds, which are found incomparably ſmaller, and more cowardly than ours. What are the horſe and the ox, the largeſt of its animals, compared with our elephants, our rhinoceroſes, our

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ſea-horſes, and our camels? What are its lizards, either in ſize or intrepidity, compared with our crocodiles? Its wolves, its bears, the moſt dreadful of its wild beaſts, when beſide our lions and tygers? Its eagles, its vultures, and cranes, if compared with our oſtriches, appear only like hens. In order to avoid prolixity, we omit other ſuch obſervations which might be made againſt Europe, ſtill adhering to the materials and words of M. de Paw. What Buffon and de Paw would anſwer to that African philoſopher, we will now anſwer to thoſe philoſophers of Europe; ſince their arguments either do not prove, that the climate of America is bad, or ſay that the climate of Europe is bad, or at leaſt that the African is better than the European climate.

From the ſcarcity and ſmallneſs of quadrupeds M. de Paw paſſes to the enormous ſize, and prodigious multiplication of the inſects, and other noxious little animals. "The ſurface of the earth, he ſays, in-"fected by putrefaction, was over-run with lizards, ſerpents, reptiles, "and inſects monſtrous for ſize, and the activity of their poiſon, which "they drew from the copious juices of this uncultivated ſoil, that was "corrupted and abandoned to itſelf, where the nutritive juice became "ſharp, like the milk in the breaſt of animals which do not exerciſe the "virtue of propagation. Caterpillars, crabs, butterflies, beetles, ſpi-"ders, frogs, and toads, were for the moſt part of an enormous cor-"pulence in their ſpecies, and multiplied beyond what can be imagined. "Panama is infeſted with ſerpents, Carthagena with clouds of enor-"mous bats, Portobello with toads, Surinam with *kakerlacas* or *cuca-"racbas*, Guadaloupe, and the other colonies of the iſlands, with bee-"tles, Quito with niguas or chegoes, and Lima with lice and bugs. "The ancient kings of Mexico, and the emperors of Peru, found no "other means of ridding their ſubjects of thoſe inſects, which fed upon "them, than the impoſition of an annual tribute, of a certain quantity "of lice. Ferdinand Cortes found bags full of them in the palace of "Montezuma." But this argument, full throughout of falſity and exaggerations, proves nothing againſt the climate of America in general, much leſs againſt that of Mexico. There being ſome lands in America, in which, on account of their heat, humidity, or want of inhabitants, large inſects are found, and exceſſively multiplied, will

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prove at moſt that in ſome places the ſurface of the earth is infected, as he ſays, with putrefaction; but not that the ſoil of Mexico, or that of all America is ſtinking, uncultivated, vitiated, and abandoned to itſelf, as is weakly aſſerted by M. de Paw. If ſuch a deduction were juſt, he might alſo ſay, that the ſoil of the old continent is barren, and ſtinks; as in many countries of it there are prodigious multitudes of monſtrous inſects, noxious reptiles, and vile animals, as in the Philippine Iſles, in many of thoſe of the Indian archipelago, in ſeveral countries of the ſouth of Aſia, in many of Africa, and even in ſome of Europe. The Philippine Iſles are infeſted with enormous ants, and monſtrous butterflies; Japan with ſcorpions; South of Aſia and Africa, with ſerpents; Egypt, with aſps; Guinea and Ethiopia, with armies of ants; Holland with field-rats; Ukrania, with toads, as M. de Paw, himſelf affirms (*i*). In Italy, the Campagna di Roma (although peopled for ſo many ages), with vipers, Calabria with tarantulas, the ſhores of the Adriatic ſea with clouds of gnats; and even in France, the population of which is ſo great and ſo ancient, whoſe lands are ſo well cultivated, and whoſe climate is ſo celebrated by the French, there appeared, a few years ago, according to Mr. Buffon, a new ſpecies of field mice, larger than the common kind, called by him *Surmulots*, which have multiplied exceedingly, to the great damage of the fields. Mr. Bazin, in his Compendium of the Hiſtory of Inſects, numbers ſeventy-ſeven ſpecies of bugs, which are all found in Paris and its neighbourhood. That large capital, as Mr. Bomare ſays, ſwarms with thoſe diſguſtful inſects. It is true that there are places in America where the multitude of inſects, and filthy vermin, make life irkſome; but we do not know that they have arrived to ſuch exceſs of multiplication as to depopulate any place, at leaſt there cannot be ſo many examples produced of this cauſe of depopulation in the new as in the old continent, which are atteſted by Theophraſtus, Varro, Pliny (*k*), and other authors. The frogs depopulated one place in Gaul, and the locuſts another in Africa. One of the Cyclades, was depopulated by mice; Amiclas, near to Taracina,

(*i*) Defenſe des Recherches Philoſophiques, ſur les Americains, chap. 13.
(*k*) Pliny Hiſt. Natur. lib. viii. cap. 19.

by

by ſerpents; another place, near to Ethiopia, by ſcorpions and poiſonous ants; and another by ſcolopendras; and not ſo diſtant from our own times, the Mauritius was going to have been abandoned on account of the extraordinary multiplication of rats, as we can remember to have read in a French author.

With reſpect to the ſize of the inſects, reptiles, and ſuch animals, M. de Paw makes uſe of the teſtimony of Mr. Dumont, who, in his Memoirs on Louiſiana, ſays, that the frogs are ſo large there that they weigh thirty-ſeven French pounds, and their horrid croaking imitates the bellowing of cows. But who can truſt to that author, particularly after knowing what Mr. de Paw ſays, (in his anſwer to Don Pernetty, cap. 17) that all thoſe who have written about Louiſiana from Henepin, Le Clerc, and Cav. Tonti, to Dumont, have contradicted each other ſometimes on one and ſometimes on another ſubject. We wonder however, that M. de Paw ſhould have had the boldneſs to write that theſe monſters do not exiſt in the reſt of the world. We know extremely well that there are neither in the old nor new continent frogs of thirty-ſeven pounds in weight; but there are in Aſia and Africa ſerpents, butterflies, ants, and other animals of ſuch monſtrous ſize, that they exceed all thoſe which have been diſcovered in the new world. In what place of America has a ſerpent of fifty Roman cubits in length been ſeen, ſuch as that which was ſhewn by Auguſtus to the Roman people at the public ſpectacles, as hiſtorians affirm (*l*), or ſo groſs as that which was killed in the Vatican in the time of the emperor Claudius, and atteſted by Pliny, an author almoſt cotemporary, in the belly of which an entire child was found. But, above all, where has there been ſeen, even in the moſt ſolitary woods of America, a ſerpent which can in any manner be compared with that moſt enormous and prodigious one of one hundred and twenty feet in length, ſeen in Africa at the time of the firſt Punic war, and killed with war machines by the army of Attilius Regulus, the ſkin and jaw-bones of which were preſerved in a temple of Rome, until the war of Numantia, according to the teſtimonies of Livy, Pliny, and other Roman hiſtorians? We know very well that ſome American hiſtorian ſays,

(*l*) Suetonius in Octaviano Cæſare.

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that a certain gigantic ſpecies of ſerpents is to be found in the woods, which attract men with their breath, and ſwallow them up; but we know alſo that ſeveral hiſtorians, both ancient and modern, report the ſame thing of the ſerpents of Aſia, and even ſomething more. Megaſthenes, cited by Pliny, ſaid, that there were ſerpents found in Aſia, ſo large, that they ſwallowed entire ſtags and bulls (*m*). Metrodorus, cited by the ſame author, affirms, that in Aſia there were ſerpents which, by their breath, attracted birds, however high they were, or quick their flight. Among the moderns, Gemelli, in vol. V. of his Tour of the World, when he treats of the animals of the Philippine iſles, ſpeaks thus: "There are ſerpents in theſe iſlands of immoderate "ſize; there is one called *Ibitin*, very long, which ſuſpending itſelf "by the tail from the trunk of a tree, waits till ſtags, bears, and alſo "men paſs by, in order to attract them with its breath, and devour "them at once entirely:" from whence it is evident, that this very ancient fable has been common to both continents (*n*).

Mr. de Paw would perhaps ſay, that theſe monſtrous animals were formerly ſeen in the old continent when its clime was not yet perfected. But when that which the ancients wrote is compared with that which we know of Aſia and Africa at preſent, who is there that will not perceive that the climate of thoſe countries is at preſent, for the moſt part, what it was two thouſand years ago; that there is the ſame heat, the ſame dryneſs or humidity, the ſame kind of plants, animals, and men, &c. Beſides, even in our days, various ſorts of monſtrous animals have been ſeen in thoſe regions which infinitely ſurpaſs thoſe analagous to them in the new world. In what country of America could M. de Paw find ants to equal thoſe of the Philippine iſlands, called *Sulum*, reſpecting which Hernandez (*o*) affirms, that they are ſix fingers broad in length,

(*m*) Megaſthenes ſcribit, in India ſerpentes in tantam magnitudinem adoleſcere, ut ſolidos hauriant cervos tauroſque. Metrodorus circa Rhyndacum amnem in ponto ut ſupervolantes quamvis alte perniciterque, alites hauſtu raptas abſorbeant. . Nota eſt in Punicis bellis ad flumen Bagradam an Regulo imper. baleſtis tormentiſque ut oppidum aliquod expugnata ſerpens CXX pedum longitudinis. Pellis ejus maxillæque uſque ad bellum Numantinum duravere Romæ in templo. Faciunt his fidem in Italia appellatæ boæ in tantem amplitudinem exeuntes ut Divo Claudio, principe occiſæ in Vaticano ſolidus in alvo ſpectatus ſit infans. Plin. Hiſt. Nat. lib. viii. cap. 14.

(*n*) See Bomare on the *Minia* of Africa, and the *Reinberah* of Ceylon.

(*o*) Hern. Hiſt. Inſector. N. Hiſp. cap. 30.

and

and one in breadth? Who has ever ſeen in America butterflies ſo large as thoſe of Bourbon, Ternate, the Philippine iſles, and all the Indian Archipelago? The largeſt bat of America (native to hot ſhady countries) which is that called by Buffon *vampiro*, is, according to him of the ſize of a pigeon. La *Rougette*, one of the ſpecies of Aſia, is as large as a raven; and the *Rouſſette*, another ſpecies of Aſia, is as big as a large hen (*p*). Its wings, when extended, meaſure from tip to tip three Pariſian feet, and according to Gemelli, who meaſured it in the Philippine iſles (*q*), ſix palms. Mr. Buffon acknowledges the exceſs in ſize of the Aſiatic bat over the American ſpecies, but denies it as to number. Gemelli ſays, that thoſe of the iſland of Luzon were ſo numerous that they darkened the air, and that the noiſe which they made with their teeth, in eating the fruits of the woods, was heard at the diſtance of two miles (*r*). M. de Paw ſays, in talking of ſerpents (*s*), "it cannot be affirmed that the new world has ſhewn any "ſerpents larger than thoſe which Mr. Adanſon ſaw in the deſerts of "Africa." The greateſt ſerpent found in Mexico, after a diligent ſearch made by Hernandez, was eighteen feet long; but this is not to be compared with that the Moluccas, which Bomare ſays, is thirty-three feet in length (*t*); nor with the *Anacandaja* of Ceylon, which the ſame author ſays is more than thirty-three feet long (*u*); nor with others of Aſia and Africa, mentioned by the ſame author. Laſtly, the argument drawn from the multitude and ſize of the American inſects is fully as weighty as the argument drawn from the ſmallneſs and ſcarcity of quadrupeds, and both detect the ſame ignorance, or rather the ſame voluntary and ſtudied forgetfulneſs of the things of the old continent.

With reſpect to what Mr. de Paw has ſaid of the tribute of lice in Mexico, in that, as well as in many other things, he diſcovers his ridiculous faith. It is true that Cortes found bags of lice in the maga-

(*p*) Buffon, Hiſt. Nat. tom. xix.

(*q*) Gemelli, tom. v.

(*r*) What Gemelli ſays reſpecting the ſurpriſing noiſe of the bats of the iſland of Luzon is confirmed by ſeveral perſons worthy of credit, who have been ſome years in that iſland.

(*s*) Defenſe des Recherch. Philoſoph. chap. 22.

(*t*) Bomare Diction. Univ. d'Hiſtoire Natur. V. *Couleuvre*.

(*u*) Id. V. *Anacandaja*.

zines

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zines of the palace of king Axajacatl. It is alſo true, that Montezuma impoſed ſuch a tribute, not on all his ſubjects however, but only on thoſe who were beggars, not on account of the extraordinary multitude of thoſe inſects, as Mr. de Paw affirms, but becauſe Montezuma, who could not ſuffer idleneſs in his ſubjects, reſolved that that miſerable ſet of people, who could not labour, ſhould at leaſt be occupied in louſing themſelves (x). This was the true reaſon of ſuch an extravagant tribute, as Torquemada, Betancourt, and other hiſtorians relate, and nobody ever before thought of, that which Mr. de Paw affirms merely becauſe it ſuited his prepoſterous ſyſtem. Thoſe diſguſting inſects poſſibly abound as much in the hair and cloaths of American beggars, as of any poor and uncleanly low people in the world; but there is not a doubt that if any ſovereign of Europe was to exact ſuch atribute from the poor in his dominions, not only bags but great veſſels might be filled with them.

Laſtly, to reſerve the examination of the proofs of the bad climate of America, founded on the diſeaſes and defects of the phyſical conſtitution of the Americans to another Diſſertation, in which we will demonſtrate the errors and puerile prejudices of Mr. de Paw, let us attend to what he ſays on the exceſs of cold in the countries of the new world with reſpect to thoſe of the old, which are ſituate at an equal diſtance from the equator. "Comparing," he ſays, "the ex-"periments made with thermometers in Peru, by Meſſ. Condamine and "d'Ulloa with thoſe of the indefatigable Mr. Adanſon in Senegal, it is "eaſily underſtood, that the air is leſs hot in the new than in the old "world. Upon calculating, with the greateſt poſſible exactneſs, the "difference of temperature, I believe it will be found equal to twelve "degrees of latitude; that is, it is as hot in Africa at thirty degrees "from the equator as at eighteen degrees from the ſame line in Ame-"rica. The liquor did not mount to ſo great a height in Peru in the "torrid zone as it mounted in France at the greateſt heat of the ſummer. "Quebec, although it is in the ſame latitude almoſt with Paris, has an "incomparably more ſevere and cold climate than it. The difference

(x) It is certain that Montezuma was extremely attentive to cleanlineſs, as well as an enemy to idleneſs; it is therefore extremely probable that from both theſe motives he was induced to impoſe that extraordinary tribute.

"between

" between Hudſon's Bay and the Thames, ſituate both in the ſame " latitude, is equally ſenſible."

Although we ſhould grant all this to Mr. de Paw, it would not aſſiſt him to demonſtrate the malignity of the American clime. Why would he deduce the badneſs of clime from the exceſs of cold in the lands of America, and not rather deduce the badneſs of climate of the old continent from the exceſs of heat in countries equidiſtant from the equator? Mr. de Paw can form no argument in this point againſt America, which the Americans cannot powerfully retort againſt Europe, or againſt Africa. But all the obſervations made by him are not ſufficient to eſtabliſh, as a general principle, that the countries of the new world are colder than thoſe of the old continent ſituated in the ſame latitude; and ſtill leſs to make it be believed that there is as much heat in the old continent at thirty degrees of latitude as in the new world at eighteen degrees. Mr. de Paw ſays *(y)*, that the cold beyond the eightieth degree in the old continent ought to become in November ſo deſtructive to men that no mortal could live there; therefore no men ſhould be able to live in America beyond the ſeventy-ſeventh degree. How then does he affirm, that in the country of the Eſquimeaux there are inhabitants found beyond the ſeventy-fifth degree of latitude? And if the feeble Americans can ſubſiſt in that latitude, we may believe that the hardieſt Europeans would be able to bear the cold of the eightieth degree. Farther, if this principle were true, it would be as cold in Jeruſalem, ſituated in little leſs than thirty-two degrees, as in Vera Cruz, which is ſituated in little leſs than twenty degrees; which idea none but Mr. de Paw is capable of entertaining. In like manner other abſurd conſequences might be deduced, particularly if we were to adopt the calculation of Dr. Michell, who, according to what Dr. Robertſon ſays, concluded, after thirty-three years obſervation, that the difference between the climate of the old and that of the new world is from fourteen to fifteen degrees, that is, it is as hot in the countries of the old continent at twenty-nine or thirty degrees as in the countries of the new continent, which are at fifteen degrees. It is certain that as there are many

(y) Recherches Philoſophiques, part iii. ſect. i. p. mihi 104.

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countries in America more cold than others of the old continent equidiſtant from the equator, there are alſo others more hot. Agra, the capital of Mogul, and the port of Loretto in California, are nearly in the ſame latitude, and ſtill the heat of that Aſiatic city is not comparable to that of the American port. Hue, the capital of Cochinchina and Açapulco, are almoſt equidiſtant from the equator, and yet the air of Hue is cool in compariſon of that of Acapulco. That other propoſition of Mr. de Paw is equally falſe and improbable, namely, that in the center of the torrid zone the liquor of the thermometer does not riſe to ſo great a height as it does in Paris in the greateſt heat of ſummer. If that was true, the difference between the American and European climates would not be only twelve degrees, as Mr. de P. would make it, but forty-nine, that is as much as the difference of latitude between the center of the torrid zone and Paris. It is true, that according to the obſervations made in Quito and compared with thoſe made in Paris, the heat of that equinoctial city never equals that of Paris in the ſummer; but it is equally certain, that, according to the obſervations made by the ſame academicians with the ſame thermometers, in the city of Carthagena, which is not the center of the torrid zone, but ten degrees from it, that the uſual heat of this city is equal to the greateſt heat of Paris, agreeable to the teſtimony of Ulloa, one of the obſervers (z).

There are many reaſons, beſides vicinity to or diſtance from the equator, which make a country hot or cold. The elevation of the ſoil, the neighbourhood of ſome lofty mountain covered with ſnow, abundance of rains, &c. contribute much to the coolneſs of the atmoſphere, ; and, on the contrary, low ground, ſcarcity of water, drowths, &c. muſt increaſe the heat. *Cividad Real*, the capital of the dioceſe of Chiapa, becauſe it is ſituated on a high ground, is cool; and the city of Chiapa, of the Indians, at a little diſtance from it, is extremely hot, becauſe it is ſituated very low. Chachicomula, a large village, ſituated at the foot of the very lofty mountain Ozizaba, is

(z) In the year 1735, at Carthagena, the liquor of the thermometer of Reaumur kept at 102 ½, without any variation, except that ſometimes it fell to 102, or roſe to 1026. At Paris, the ſame year, it never roſe higher than 1025½, in the greateſt heats of July and Auguſt. Ulloa *Relation del Viage a la America Meridional*, part i. tom 1.

cool,

cool, but Vera Cruz, placed in the ſame latitude, is very hot; and what is more, the air of Cividad Real is cool in the latitude of 16½, and that of Loreto, in California, in lat. 25½, is very hot.

The obſervations made by M. de Paw convince us that the climate of America is not ſo various as that of Europe; that the inhabitants of the new world are not like thoſe of the greater part of Europe, obliged to endure the alternate extremes of exceſſive cold, and intolerable heat. The more uniform a climate, the more eaſily are men familiarized to it, and eſcape thoſe pernicious effects which follow a viciſſitude of ſeaſons. In Quito the thermometer does not riſe ſo high as it does in Paris in the ſummer; but neither does it fall ſo low as it does in the temperate climes of Europe in winter. What can be more deſirable in a climate than a temperature of air which is equally diſtant from either extreme, ſuch as that of Quito, and the greater part of Mexico? What climate more ſweet and kind to life than that in which the delights of the country are enjoyed all the year, and the earth is continually adorned with herbs and flowers; where the fields are covered with corn, and the trees loaded with fruit; the herds and the flocks ſpare man his fatigues, and have no need of his proviſion to maintain them, or his roof to reſiſt the inclemency of the weather; neither ſnow nor froſt compel him to keep near a fire, nor do burning heats in ſummer check his increaſe; but conſtantly experiencing the bounty of nature towards him, he enjoys equally in all ſeaſons the ſocial converſe of his fellow-creatures, or the innocent recreations of the country. This is the idea entertained by man of a perfect climate; and the poets, therefore, when they ſtrove to extol the happineſs of certain countries, uſed to ſay, that a perpetual ſpring reigned in them; as Virgil ſaid of his Italy, (*a*) and Horace of the Fortunate Iſles (*b*), to which he invited his countrymen. Thus the ancients repreſented the Elyſian fields; and alſo in the Holy Writings, in order to convey ſome idea of the felicity of heavenly Jeruſalem, it is ſaid, that there, there is no heat nor cold.

(*a*) Hic ver aſſiduum atque albinis menſibus æſtas;
Bis gravida pecudes, bis pomis utilis arbos. Virg. Georg. ii.

(*b*) Ver ubi longum, tepidaſque præbet
Jupiter brumas. Horat. lib. ii. ode 4.

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Acoſta, whoſe hiſtory is called by M. de Paw an *excellent work*, and who was acquainted with the climes of both continents, and at the ſame time was not partial to America, nor had any intereſt in extolling it, treating of the American clime, he ſpeaks thus (*c*): "When I per-"ceived the mildneſs of the air, and ſweetneſs of the climate of many "countries of America, where it is not known what thing winter is "that contracts, or ſummer which relaxes with heat; where a mat is "ſufficient for defence from every inclemency of the weather; where "it is ſcarcely neceſſary to alter cloathing through the whole year; "conſidering, I ſay, all this, I have many times thought, and I even "think at this moment, that if men would diſengage themſelves from "the ſnares which avarice lays for them, and abandon uſeleſs and vexa-"tious pretenſions, they might lead in America a life of tranquillity "and pleaſure; for that which the poets ſing of the Elyſian fields, or "the famous Tempe, and that which Plato told, or feigned, of his "iſland Atlantida, are both to be found in thoſe lands, &c." Other hiſtorians ſpeak the ſame thing as Acoſta of America, and particularly of Mexico and its ſurrounding provinces, the inland countries of which, from the iſthmus of Panama unto the 40th degree of latitude (for thoſe beyond that degree of latitude have not yet been diſcovered), enjoy a mild air, and a climate favourable to life, excepting a few places, which, either by their being low, are moiſt and hot, or by being very high, are rather ſevere in climate. But how many in the old world are not ſevere and noxious?

SECT. III.

On the Qualities of the Land of Mexico.

IT is certain, ſays Mr. de Paw, that America in general has been, and is at preſent, a very barren country; but it is rather more certain that this is in general a groſs error; and if M. de Paw wiſhes to aſſure himſelf of it, he may obtain information from many Germans, lately

(*c*) Stor. Nat. e Mor. lib. ii. cap. 14.

come

come from America, where ſome of them have been for many years, and are at preſent in Auſtria, in Bohemia, in the Palatinate of the Rhine, and even in Pruſſia; or he may re-peruſe that excellent work of Acoſta, and he will find there, in book ii. chap. 14. that if there is any land in the world to which the name of Paradiſe may be applied, it is that of America. This is the expreſſion of a learned, judicious, and impartial European, born in Spain, one of the beſt countries in Europe; and ſpeaking, in book iii of the countries of the Mexican empire, he ſays, that New Spain is the beſt country of all thoſe which the ſun ſurrounds. Certainly Acoſta would not ſpeak thus of America in general, and of New Spain in particular, under which name the continent of Spaniſh North America is comprehended, if America were in general a barren country. Many other Europeans ſpeak not leſs favourably of America, and particularly of Mexico, whoſe teſtimony we muſt omit, to avoid ſeeming prolix to our readers (*a*). From the ſame motive we ſhall omit alſo what Mr. de Paw has written againſt other countries of the new world, as it would be impoſſible to examine the complaints made by him againſt each of them, without filling a large volume; we ſhall therefore confine ourſelves to what belongs to Mexico.

Meſſieurs Buffon and de Paw are perſuaded that all the territory of America is compoſed of inacceſſible mountains, impenetrable woods and waſtes, watry plains and marſhes. Thoſe philoſophers have read in the deſcriptions of America, that the famous Andes, or American Alps, formed two large chains of lofty mountains, covered in part with ſnow; that the vaſt deſart of the Amazons conſiſts of thick woods; that Guayaquil, and ſome other places, are moiſt and marſhy; and ſo much they have thought ſufficient to warrant them to ſay, that America is nothing but mountains, woods and marſhes. Mr. de

(*a*) Thomas Gages, the oracle of the Engliſh and French, with reſpect to America, ſpeaking of Mexico, ſays as follows. "Il ne manque rien a Mexique de tout ce qui peut rendre une ville heureuſe; et ſi ces ecrivains qui ont employé leurs plumes a louer les provinces de Grenade en l'Eſpagne et de Lombardie et de Toſcanie en Italie dont ils font des paradis teneſtres, auroient vu ce nouveau monde et la ville de Mexique, ils ſe dediroient bientot de tout ce qu'ils ont dit en faveur de ces lieux la." Parte i. chap. 22. Thus does an author who could ſcarcely ſpeak favourably of any thing, repreſent Mexico.

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Paw read in the hiſtory of Gumilla that which the author ſays about the method which the Indians of Oroonoko had of preparing the terrible poiſon of their arrows; and in the hiſtory of Herrera, or other authors, that the Canibals, and other barbarous nations, made uſe of poiſoned arrows; and this was enough for him to ſay, that the new continent produces a greater number of poiſonous herbs than all the reſt of the world. He read that neither corn nor the fruits of Europe grow in very hot countries; and that was ſufficient for him to ſay, that peaches and apricots have only borne fruit in the iſland of Juan Fernandez (*e*), and that corn and barley have not thriven but in a few countries of the North. Such is the logic adopted by Mr. de Paw through all his work.

But of all that he ſays againſt America, nothing holds true with reſpect to Mexico. There are certainly very lofty mountains in Mexico, eternally covered with ſnow: there are large woods, and alſo ſome marſhy places in it; but the fertile and cultivated ſoil forms beyond compariſon the far greater part of it, as is well known to all thoſe who have viſited that country. In all that immenſe ſpace of land, where wheat, barley, maize, and other kind of grain and pulſe with which that country abounds, are ſown at preſent; they formerly ſowed maize, pepper, beans, cacao, chia, cotton, and ſuch like plants, which ſerved for the ſuſtenance, clothing, and luxuries of thoſe people, who having been ſo numerous as we have already mentioned, and ſhall elſewhere demonſtrate, could not have been able to have provided for their neceſſities, if the country had been nothing but mountain, wood, and marſh. Mr. de Buffon, who in his firſt vol. ſays, that America is nothing but a continued marſh, and in vol. v. affirms, that the inacceſſible mountains of America ſcarcely leave any ſmall ſpaces for agriculture, and the habitation of men, in the ſame vol. v. confeſſes

(*e*) In order to ſhew how extremely diſtant Mr. de Paw is from the truth, we muſt here obſerve, that on the miſerable iſland of Juan Fernandez, where he ſays that peaches ripen well, they on the contrary are ſmall, and very indifferent, according to the information we have had from Abbé D. G. Garcia, who was there ſeven months, and particularly while the ſeaſon of fruit laſted. On the other hand, in almoſt all the temperate and cold countries of Spaniſh America, where he imagines peaches do not grow, they thrive ſurpriſingly; and in many places, particularly of Chili, and in ſome of New Spain, they ripen better than in Europe.

that

that the people of Mexico and Peru were very numerous. But if thoſe people who occupied a very large part of America were very numerous, and lived as he ſays in ſocieties, and under the controul of laws, America is certainly not a continued marſh: if thoſe people ſupported themſelves, as is certain they did, on corn and fruits which they cultivated, the ſpaces are not ſmall which the mountains leave for agriculture, and the habitation of men.

The multitude, variety and excellence of the plants of Mexico, leave us in no doubt of the very ſingular fertility of its lands. The paſture grounds, ſays Acoſta, of New Spain are excellent, and breed, accordingly an innumerable quantity of horſes, cows, ſheep, and other animals. It is alſo as abundant in fruit as in any kind of grain. In ſhort, there is no grain, pulſe, kitchen-herbs, or fruit, which does not thrive in that ſoil. The wheat, which Mr. de Paw ſcarcely allows to ſome countries of the North, does not grow in general in the hot lands of New Spain, as it it does not in the greater part of Africa, and many other parts of the old continent; but in the cool and temperate lands of that kingdom it thrives well, and is more abundant than it is in Europe.

It is ſufficient to ſay, that the quantity gathered in the dioceſe of Angelopoli is ſo great, that with what remained, after all its numerous inhabitants were provided, they ſupplied the Antilles, and the fleet of ſhips which formerly came to Havanna, under the name of *Armata de Barlovento*. In Europe there is but one ſeed-time, and one harveſt. In New Spain there are ſeveral. "In thoſe "lands," ſays the European author Torquemada, who was there many years, and travelled through the whole kingdom, "where they "cultivate wheat, in every ſeaſon of the year may be ſeen one crop "reaping, another ripening, another ſtill green, and another ſowing," which plainly demonſtrates the wonderful fertility of the ſoil. The ſame author makes mention of ſeveral lands which yielded ſeventy, eighty, or an hundred for one; and as great a multiplication of wheat has been ſeen in ſome fields of thoſe countries by us *(f)*; which,

(f) We have been in a country of America, where the land yielded commonly fifty for one, and ſometimes an hundred for one. In Cinaloa, although it is a cold country, the land, we have been credibly informed, yields two hundred for one. Our learned friend, the

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which, ſpeaking in general, is certainly greater than that of Europe, and with leſs cultivation, as is well known to European ſuperintendants of agriculture who have been in that part of America. What we ſay of wheat we can alſo ſay of barley, although this is not ſown but in proportion to the conſumption there is made of it, in the ſupport of horſes, mules, and hogs. We might ſay ſtill more of maize, which is the grain peculiarly native to America.

Mr. de Paw pretends that all the plants of Europe have degenerated in America, except aquatic and juicy plants; and to prove this abſurd notion, he ſays that peaches and apricots have borne fruit in the iſland of Juan Fernandez only. Although we ſhould grant that thoſe fruits grow in no country of America, it would not avail him to prove what he intends to prove, but even this particular is as falſe as his general propoſition. Acoſta, treating of thoſe fruits in particular, ſays, "Peaches, quinces, and apricots grow well in America, but beſt in New Spain (*g*)." In all New Spain, except the hot countries, thoſe fruits, and all others tranſplanted from Europe, have thriven and grow in abundance (*h*). "Laſtly," ſays Acoſta, ſpeaking of America in general, "Almoſt every thing good which is "produced in Spain grows there, ſometimes better, and ſometimes "not; wheat, barley, ſallads, kitchen-herbs, pulſe, &c." (*i*) If he had ſpoke only of New Spain, he would have omitted that *almoſt*.

"There is alſo another advantage," ſays Acoſta, "which is, that "the things of Europe are better in America than thoſe of America "are in Europe." But this may appear but a ſmall advantage to Mr. de Paw. It alone would be ſufficient however to demonſtrate that, if there is any preference, it is to be given to America. In New Spain, many European authors atteſt, and all who have been

the Abbé Molina in his Hiſtory of Chili, ſays, that the land of that kingdom uſually yields an hundred and fifty for one. The plenty of grain is ſo great, that it is ſold at five paoli the *fonega*, and every year about thirty veſſels loaded with it come to Peru.

(*g*) Acoſta, lib. iv. cap. 31. Peaches are ſo plentiful in New Spain, that they are ſold by twenties; and for the ſmalleſt currency there, two, three, or four twenties are given. In the kingdom of Chili, they count twelve different ſpecies of peaches, ſome of which are ſo large as to weigh a pound Spaniſh, or ſixteen ounces. Molina Stor del Chili.

(*h*) Pears are alſo ſold in twenties at Mexico; and there are upwards of fifty ſpecies of them.

(*i*) Acoſta, lib. iv. cap. 31.

there

there know, that wheat, barley, and every grain of Europe; peas, beans, and every other pulſe; lettuces, cabbages, turnips, aſparagus, and other ſallads and roots, and every ſort of kitchen herbs; peaches, apples, pears, quinces, and other fruits; carnations, roſes, violets, jeſſamines, ſweet-baſil, mint, marjoram, balm gentle, and other flowers and odorous plants brought from Europe all proſper there: but in Europe the plants of America do not, nor cannot in general come to perfection. Wheat grows in the lands of Europe, but much ſmaller, and not ſo good as that of America. Of the many delicious fruits of the new world, ſome, ſuch as the muſa and ananas, have thriven in the gardens of the princes of Europe, by means of hot-houſes, and great care and attention, but not ſo well flavoured, or in ſuch abundance, as in their native climes. Others ſtill more valuable than theſe, ſuch as the chirimoya, the mamey, and chicozapote have not yet, as far as we know, been made to grow, notwithſtanding the ſtudied efforts of European induſtry for that purpoſe. The cauſe of this great difference between America and Europe is that which Acoſta mentions: that in America there is a greater variety of climate than in Europe; from whence it is more eaſy to give each plant a temperature proper for it. As it is not an argument of the ſterility of Europe, that the plants proper to America do not thrive in it, neither is it an argument of the ſterility of ſome countries of America, that ſome plants of Europe do not thrive in them; becauſe *non omnia fert omnia tellus. Hic ſegetes ibi proveniunt felicius uvæ.* On the contrary, the hot countries in which wheat and European fruits do not ripen, are yet the moſt pleaſant and fruitful.

We do not doubt that if a compariſon is made of America with the old continent, they will be found equal in their productions: for Aſia and Africa have lands and climes ſuited to all the plants of America, which, on account of the differences of their nature, could not ſucceed in Europe. But what advantage is it to Europeans that Aſia has abundance while it is at ſo great a diſtance? On the contrary, the Mexicans being ſurrounded by countries of every ſort of climate, enjoy all their different fruits. The market of Mexico, like that of many other cities of America, is the emporium of all the gifts of nature. There we find apples, peaches, apricots, pears, grapes, cher-

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ries, *camotes*, *xicames*, and other numerous fruits, roots, and ſavory herbs, which cool and temperate climes yield; ananas, muſas, cocoas, anonas, chirimoyas, mameys, chicozapotes, zapotes, and many others which hot countries produce; melons cucumbers, oranges, pomegranates, and others which cold or hot countries equally produce. At all ſeaſons of the year their market is abundantly provided with variety of excellent fruits, even at thoſe times when the Europeans muſt content themſelves with their cheſnuts, or at moſt with apples and grapes, which their induſtry has preſerved. Through all the year, even in the ſeverity of winter, veſſels enter their market by one of the innumerable canals of the city, loaded with ſuch variety of fruits, flowers, and herbs, that it ſeems as if all the ſeaſons of the year offered their productions at once; the moſt valuable plants of Europe, as well as all the native productions of Mexico being collected there; which all Europeans who have viſited that part can teſtify.

Nor is that land leſs abundant in plants of medicinal nature. To be ſatisfied of this truth, it will be ſufficient to look into the work of the celebrated naturaliſt Hernandez; in which nine hundred plants, that are for the moſt part produced in the neighbourhood of Mexico, are deſcribed and deſigned, whoſe virtues have been aſcertained by experience; beſides three hundred others, the uſes of which are not mentioned; and without doubt there are innumerable others yet undiſcovered. Mr. de Paw, on the contrary, ſays that America produces a greater number of poiſonous plants than all the reſt of the world. But what does he know of the plants which are bred in the inland countries of Africa and Aſia, to enable him to make a compariſon? The ſoil of America is ſo fertile, that it is not to be wondered at if there is abundance of every ſort in it. But to mention the truth, we do not know that one twentieth part of thoſe poiſonous plants which are produced in the old continent have been diſcovered in New Spain.

With reſpect to gums, reſins, oils, and other juices which the trees yield either ſpontaneouſly or with the aid of human induſtry, New Spain, ſays Acoſta, excels: there are whole woods of acacia, which yields the true Arabian gum; but from its plenty it is not ſufficiently

ſufficiently valued. There is beſides balſam, incenſe, copal of many ſpecies, liquid amber, tecamaca, oil of fir, and many other juices valuable for their fragrant odours, and medicinal virtues.

Even thoſe very woods with which the land of America is covered, as Buffon and de Paw affirm, demonſtrate its fertility. There have been, and there are ſtill, in theſe moſt extenſive regions, great woods; but there are not ſo many as that a journey of five or ſix hundred miles may not be made without meeting one of them? And what kind of woods are they? for the moſt part conſiſting of fruit-bearing trees, ſuch as the muſa, mamey, apple, orange, and lemon, in the woods of Coatzacualco, Miſteca, and Michuacan; or of trees valuable for their wood or their gums, ſuch as thoſe which ſeparate the vale of Mexico from the dioceſe of Angelopoli, and thoſe of Chiapa, of the Zapotecas, &c.; beſides pines, oaks, aſhes, hazels, firs, and a great many others, common to both continents. The trees peculiar to that land are in ſtill greater number, and of more value. There are whole woods of cedar, as we have already mentioned. The conqueror Cortes was accuſed by his rivals before Charles V. of having uſed for the palace which he made be built in Mexico, ſeven thouſand beams of cedar; and he excuſed himſelf by ſaying that it was a common wood in that country. It is in fact ſo very common, that they make the ſtakes for the foundation of houſes in the marſhy places of the capital, of this wood. There are alſo woods of ebony, that ſo juſtly celebrated tree, in Chiapa, Yucatan, and Cozumel; of braſil wood in hot countries, and the odorous wood of aloes in Miſteca. The *Tapincoren*, the *Granadillo* or red ebony, the *Camote*, and others which we have mentioned in our hiſtory, afford better timber than is to be had in Europe. Laſtly, to avoid a tedious enumeration, we refer the reader to Acoſta, Hernandez, Ximenes, and other European authors who have been in New Spain, although all they ſay is not ſufficient to convey a competent idea of the fertility of that land. Acoſta affirms, that "as well in reſpect to "number as to variety of trees produced by nature, there is a greater "abundance in America than in Aſia, Africa, and Europe."(*k*)

(*k*) Acoſta, lib. iv. cap. 30.

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The nature and quality of a ſoil is beſt diſcovered by the plants which it ſpontaneouſly produces without the aſſiſtance of art. Let us compare, then, the productions of Europe with thoſe, not of America, but only of New Spain. "The reaſon of there being ſo many "ſavages in America," ſays Monteſquieu(*l*), "is that the land there "produces of itſelf many fruits on which they can feed." I believe that thoſe advantages would not be obtained in Europe if the land were left to itſelf without culture; it would produce nothing but woods of oaks and other uſeleſs trees. "Examining," ſays M. de Paw, "the hiſtory and origin of our plants, our kitchen-herbs, our fruit-"trees, and alſo our grains, we find they are all foreign, and have "been tranſplanted from other climes to our own. We can eaſily "imagine the miſery of the ancient Gauls, and even that of the "Germans, in whoſe land no fruit-trees were produced in the time of "Tacitus. If Germany was to reſtore the foreign vegetables which "are not originals of its ſoil or climate, almoſt none would remain, "nor would it preſerve among its ſeeds which ſerve for nouriſhment "any but the wild poppy and the wild *Vena*(*m*)." What Mr. de Paw openly confeſſes reſpecting Germany and Gaul, might alſo be ſaid of the other countries of Europe, and alſo of Greece and Italy, which ſupplied the others. If Italy was obliged to reſtore all thoſe fruits which do not belong originally to its ſoil, what would remain but acorns? Theſe terms, *(malum Perſicum, malum Medicum, Aſſyrium, Punicum, Cidonium, nux Pontica, &c.)* ſerve to keep us in remembrance that thoſe fruits came from Aſia and from Africa. "It is known," ſays Mr. Buſching (*n*), "that the beſt and moſt beautiful fruits paſſed "from Italy into thoſe countries which produce them at preſent. "Italy received them from Greece, from Aſia, and from Africa. "Apples came to her from Egypt, and Greece; apricots from "Epirus; the pear from Alexandria, Numidia, and Greece; "the lemon and orange from Medea, Aſſyria, and Perſia; the fig "from Aſia; the pomegranate from Carthage; the cheſnut from "Catania in Magneſia, a province of Macedonia; almonds from "Aſia to Greece, and thence to Italy; the walnut from Perſia; "olives

(*l*) Monteſquieu L'Eſprit des Loix, lib. xviii. chap. 9. (*m*) Recherch Philiſoph. part i. (*n*) Buſching Geograph. tom. i.

" filberts from Ponto; olives from Cyprus; plums from Armenia; " the peach from Perſia; quinces from Cidonia in Candia to Greece, " and thence to Italy."

Pliny ſays, that men at firſt fed upon nothing but acorns (*o*). This, though falſe with reſpect to men in general, appears to be true with reſpect to the firſt peoplers of Italy, at leaſt ſuch was the opinion of the ancients, as their writings ſhew. Pliny adds, that even in his time many people, from the want of grain, were eſteemed rich in proportion to the quantity of acorns which they had, of the flour of which they made bread, as they do at preſent in Norway of the bark of the pine, and in other northern countries of bones of fiſhes; which is no ſmall indication of their miſery. Bomare declares that all the beauties of European gardens are foreign (*p*), and that the moſt beautiful flowers they have come from the Eaſt (*q*). Mr. de Paw makes a more general confeſſion of the ancient miſery of the Europeans, where he affirms that the uſeful plants which they have at preſent paſſed from the ſouth of Aſia into Egypt, from Egypt to Greece, from Greece into Italy, from Italy into Gaul, and from thence into Germany (*r*); ſo that the ſoil of Europe, with reſpect to native and original productions, is one of the pooreſt and moſt barren in the world. On the contrary, how fruitful and abundant the American ſoil is, and eſpecially that of Mexico, in native plants proper for nouriſhment and cloathing, and the other neceſſaries of life, may be learned from reading the European authors who have written of the natural hiſtory of that new world.

This is the anſwer to that ridiculous compariſon which Herrera makes in his firſt Decad mentioned in the beginning of this diſſertation. " In America," " he ſays, " there were not, as in Europe, " either lemons, oranges, pomegranates, figs, quinces, melons, " grapes, olives, ſugar, rice, or wheat." The Americans will then ſay, firſt, that Europe had none of thoſe fruits until they were tranſplanted there from Aſia and Africa; ſecondly, that at preſent theſe fruits grow in America as well as in Europe, and in general better of

(*o*) Plin. Hiſt. Nat. lib. ii. 2. cap. 56. (*p*) Bomare Diction. Univ. d'Hiſtoric Nat. V. Plante. (*q*) Id V. Fleur. (*r*) Recherch. Philoſoph. part i.

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their kind and in greater plenty, particularly oranges, lemons, melons, and ſugar canes; thirdly, that if America had not wheat, Europe had not maize, which is not leſs uſeful or wholeſome; if America had not pomegranates, lemons, &c. it has them now: but Europe never had, has, nor can have, chirimoyas, Ahuacates, muſas, chicozapotes, &c.

Finally, Mr. de Buffon, and Mr. de Paw, and other European philoſophers and hiſtorians, who inveigh ſo much againſt America for its barrenneſs, its woods, its marſhes, and deſerts, will pleaſe to remember, that the miſerable countries of Lapland, Norway, Iceland, Nova Zembla, Spitzbergen, and the vaſt horrid deſerts of Siberia, Tartary, Arabia, Africa, and others are countries of the old continent, and make at leaſt the fourth part of its extent. Yet what countries are thoſe? Let us attend to the eloquent deſcription which Buffon gives of the deſerts of Arabia: "a country, he ſays, without "verdure, and without water; a ſun always burning, an atmoſphere "always dry, ſandy plains, mountains ſtill more parched, over which "the eye roams in vain to fix upon a ſingle living object; a land, if we "may ſay ſo, pale and excoriated with the winds, which preſents no-"thing to the ſight but bones, ſcattered ſtones, and rocks in pyramids "or in ruins; a deſert entirely bare, in which the adventurous travel-"ler never bates under the ſhade, where there is nothing that can be "made companiable to him, or preſerve his remembrance of living "nature: a ſolitude greatly more frightful than that of the woods; for "the trees are at leaſt animated ſubſtances, which afford ſome con-"ſolation to man, but here he finds himſelf alone, detached, more "naked and more bewildered, in places that are waſte and without "boundary; all the ſoil which he views appears to him like his ſe-"pulchre; the light of the day, more melancholy than the ſhades of "night, does not return but to make him ſee his nakedneſs and impo-"tence, and ſet before him his horrible ſituation, lengthening to his "ſight the limits of the void, and enlarging around him the abyſs of "immenſity which ſeparate him from the habitable world; a ſpace ſo "immeaſurable, that in vain he would attempt to paſs it; for hun-"ger, thirſt, and burning heat, ſhorten the moments which remain to "him between deſperation and death (s)."

(s) Buffon Hiſt. Nat. tom. xxii.

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DISSERTATION IV.

Of the Animals of Mexico.

ONE of the arguments moſt inſiſted on by Buffon and de Paw, to illuſtrate the unhappy nature of the American ſoil, and the malignity of its clime, is the pretended degeneracy of animals, both of thoſe which are native to that land, and thoſe which have been tranſported there from the ancient continent. In the preſent Diſſertation we ſhall examine their proofs, and detect ſome of their errors and contradictions.

SECT. I.

Of the Animals proper to Mexico.

ALL the animals which are found in the new, have paſſed there from the old world, as we have eſtabliſhed in the firſt Diſſertation; and it is confeſſed alſo by Mr. Buffon himſelf, in the twenty-ninth volume of his Natural Hiſtory; and it ought likewiſe to be credited, if we rely on the authority of the ſacred writings in this point. We call thoſe animals proper to Mexico which were found there by the Spaniards; not becauſe they draw their origin from that land, as we are given to underſtand by Mr. de Paw in all his work, and by Mr. Buffon in the firſt twenty-eight volumes of his Hiſtory; but only to diſtinguiſh thoſe animals which, from time immemorial, were bred in thoſe countries, from thoſe others which were afterwards tranſported there from Europe: we ſhall therefore call the latter *European*, the former *American*.

The firſt ground of diſparagement to America, with the count de Buffon, is the ſmall number of its quadrupeds, compared with thoſe of the old continent. He reckons two hundred ſpecies of quadrupeds hitherto diſcovered over all the globe, of which one hundred and thirty belong to the old continent, and only ſeventy to the new world. And

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And if we take from this number the ſpecies which are common to both continents, we ſhall hardly find, he ſays, forty ſpecies of quadrupeds properly American. From theſe premiſes he infers that in America there has been a great ſcarcity of matter (*a*).

But why would he take from the ſeventy ſpecies of quadrupeds America has, thoſe thirty which are common to both continents, as they, from their very ancient habitation in thoſe countries, are as much American as the others? Beſides, if thoſe animals, which he calls properly American, had been created originally in America, with greater ſhew of probability he might have affirmed the ſuppoſed ſcarcity of matter in that part of the world. But all beaſts having been Aſiatic in their origin, as he himſelf confeſſes, we do not ſee his grounds for drawing ſuch a concluſion. "Every animal," ſays Buffon, "when abandoned to its own inſtinct, ſeeks a zone and a region adapted to its nature (*b*)." Hence the cauſe of the ſmall number of ſpecies of quadrupeds in America; becauſe, upon ſuppoſition that animals after the deluge, when abandoned to their own inſtinct, ſought a zone and a region ſuitable to their natures, and found it in the countries of the old continent, they had no occaſion to make ſo long a journey as to America: if the animals, inſtead of being ſaved on the mountains of Armenia, had been collected on the American Alps, by the ſame way of reaſoning the number of ſpecies of quadrupeds in the old continent would have been leſs, and the American philoſopher would have been liable to cenſure, who, from ſuch an incident, would have endeavoured to infer the prodigious ſcarcity of matter, and barren niggard ſky of that which we call the old continent.

But although all thoſe quadrupeds were actually original in America, we ought not from thence to infer the ſuppoſed ſcarcity of matter, becauſe a country cannot be ſaid to have a ſcarcity of matter which has the number of ſpecies of its quadrupeds proportioned to its extent. The extent of America is the third part of the whole earth, therefore it cannot be ſaid that there is a ſcarcity of matter there, when it has a third part of all the ſpecies of quadrupeds. The ſpecies of quadrupeds, according to Buffon, are two hundred, of which America has

(*a*) Hiſt. Nat. tom. xxiii. (*b*) Ibid. tom. xxix.

ſeventy,

ſeventy, which is ſomething more than a third; it cannot therefore be ſaid that there is a ſcarcity of matter there.

Hitherto we have reaſoned on the ſuppoſition that what Mr. Buffon has ſaid was true with reſpect to the number of ſpecies of quadrupeds; but who is certain of this, as the real diſtinguiſhing character of ſpecies has not yet been diſcovered? Mr. Buffon, as well as ſeveral other naturaliſts who have written after him, believe, that the ſole indubitable proof of the ſpecific difference of two animals, ſimilar to each other in many circumſtances and properties is, that of the male not being able to cover the female, and of producing by means of generation another individual that is fruitful and ſimilar to themſelves. But this proof of diverſity of ſpecies, beſides that it fails in ſome animals, is, with reſpect to others, very difficult to be determined. To ſhew the incertainty of it, let us put an aſs and a mare together, and a maſtiff and a greyhound together, two breeds of dogs extremely different. From this laſt couple is bred a dog, which partakes of maſtiff and greyhound; from the firſt is produced a mule, which partakes alſo of the aſs and the mare. I wiſh to know why the aſs and the mare are two different ſpecies of quadrupeds, and the maſtiff and the greyhound are only varieties of one ſpecies. Becauſe this laſt couple, ſays Buffon, generates a fruitful individual, the other not. But how? Mr. Buffon, in the twenty-ninth volume of his Hiſtory, freely affirms, that the mules not being able to conceive is not becauſe they are abſolutely impotent, but only on account of the exceſſive heat and extraordinary convulſions which they ſuffer in coition. Mr. Bomare (*c*), after having cited the teſtimony of Ariſtotle, who reports, in his Hiſtory of Animals, that in his time the mules of Syria ſpringing from horſes and aſſes, produced young mules ſimilar to themſelves, adds, "This fact, related by a philoſopher ſo worthy of faith, proves that mules are animals ſpecifically fruitful in themſelves, and in their poſterity." Similar caſes, ſhewing the fruitfulneſs of mules, are to be found atteſted by many authors, ancient as well as modern, worthy of credit; and ſome caſes

(*c*) Diction. d' Hiſtoire Nat. V. Mulet.

have

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have happened of this kind in our own time in Mexico (*d*). There is no other diſſimilarity therefore between thoſe two pair of quadrupeds, except that the births of the bitches generated by that couple of dogs are more frequent than thoſe of the mules.

Beſides, who has informed Mr. Buffon, that the *Gibbon* and *Magoto*, the *Mammon* and Pappion (four ſorts of apes), do not copulate together, and produce a fruitful individual? The author has not made any experiment of it, nor cited any other naturaliſt who had; and notwithſtanding he decides that all the above mentioned quadrupeds are ſo many different ſpecies. The diſtinction of the ſpecies of quadrupeds adopted by him is therefore very doubtful and uncertain, and we cannot know whether certain quadrupeds, which he reckons different ſpecies, are not one ſingle ſpecies; and on the contrary, if others which he believes to be one ſpecies, may not be ſpecifically different.

But leaving this aſide, it would be ſufficient to cauſe a great diffidence of the diviſion which Mr. Buffon has made of quadrupeds, to perceive the contradictions which appear in this and the other parts of his hiſtory, though in other reſpects it is extremely valuable. In the diſcourſe which he gives in the twenty-ninth volume, on the Degeneracy of Animals, he affirms, that if we are to enumerate the quadrupeds proper to the new continent, we ſhall find fifty different ſpecies; and in the enumeration which he makes of the quadrupeds of both continents, he ſays, that thoſe of America hardly make forty ſpecies. In the above enumeration he reckons the tame goat, the ſhamois goat, and wild goat, three different ſpecies; and in vol. xxiv. treating of thoſe animals, he ſays, that thoſe three quadrupeds, and the other ſix or ſeven ſpecies of goats which are diſtinguiſhed by different names, are all of one and the ſame ſpecies. So that we ought to abate the eight or nine ſpecies from the one hundred and thirty which he numbers in the old continent. In the above mentioned enumeration he counts the dog, the mouſe, and marmotte; and adds, that no one of

(*d*) Amongſt others worthy of mention are the repeated births of a mule got by an aſs and a mare, on the farm called *Foreſt of Zurita*, near to the city of Lagos, thr property of D. F. G. Rubalcaba. This mule conceived by an aſs, and brought forth a mule in 1762, and another in 1763.

thoſe

thoſe quadrupeds was in America; but treating afterwards of the animals common to both continents, he ſays, that the marmots and mice are common to each continent, although it is difficult to decide if ſuch American quadrupeds are of the ſame ſpecies with thoſe of the old continent; and in vol. xvi. he affirms, that mice were carried to America in European veſſels. With reſpect to dogs, which, in the above enumeration, he denies to America, he grants them to it in vol. xxx. for he affirms that the *Xoloitzcuintli*, the *Itzcuintepotzotli*, and *Techichi*, were three different breeds of the ſame ſpecies of dogs with thoſe of the old continent. This ſketch is ſufficient to ſhew that Mr. Buffon, notwithſtanding his great genius and great diligence, ſometimes forgets what he has written.

Amongſt the one hundred and thirty ſpecies of quadrupeds of the old continent, he enumerates ſeven ſpecies of bats common in France and other countries of Europe, five of which, that were hitherto unknown and confounded with others, were lately diſcovered and diſtinguiſhed by Mr. Daubenton, as he affirms in vol. xvi of his Hiſtory. If then in learned France, where ſo many centuries have been paſſed in the ſtudy of natural hiſtory, five ſpecies of bats were hitherto unknown, what wonder is it that in the vaſt regions of America, where no ſuch able naturaliſts have gone yet, and where but lately that ſtudy has been in eſteem, ſhould remain many ſpecies of quadrupeds ſtill unknown? We do not doubt that if there had been ſome Buffons and Daubentons in the new world, they would have been able to have counted a few more quadrupeds than he numbers from Paris, where he cannot be informed reſpecting American animals, as he is about thoſe which are European. We feel extreme regret that a philoſopher ſo celebrated, ſo ingenious, ſo learned, and ſo eloquent, who has endeavoured to write of all the quadrupeds of the world, diſtinguiſhes their ſpecies, families, and breeds, deſcribes their character, diſpoſition, and manners, numbers their teeth, and even meaſures their tails, ſhould at the ſame time ſhew himſelf ignorant of the moſt common animals of Mexico. What quadruped is more common or more known in Mexico than the *coyote?* All the hiſtorians of that kingdom make mention of it, and Hernandez gives an exact and minute deſcription of it in his Hiſtory; which is moſt frequently cited by Buffon; yet this author makes not the leaſt

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mention of it under that or any other name (*e*). Who does not know that the rabbit was a quadruped exceſſively common in the provinces of the Mexican empire, under the name of *Tochtli?* That the figure of it was one of the four characters of the Mexican years, and that the hair of its belly was woven into waiſtcoats for the uſe of the nobles in winter? Notwithſtanding Mr. Buffon will make the rabbit one of thoſe quadrupeds which were tranſported from Europe to America; but, among all the European hiſtorians of Mexico, we have not found one who thinks ſo; on the contrary, all ſuppoſe, that it has from time immemorial inhabited thoſe countries, and we do not doubt that the Mexicans, as often as they read this ſingular anecdote, muſt ſmile at the count de Buffon.

Hernandez enumerates, in his Hiſtory of Quadrupeds, four Mexican animals of the claſs of dogs, mentioned by us in book I. of this hiſtory: the firſt, the *Xoloitzcuintli*, or hairy dog; the ſecond, the *Itzcuintepozotli*, or hunch-back dog; the third, the *Techichi*, or eatable little dog; and the fourth, the *Tepeitzcuintli*, or little mountain dog. Theſe four very different ſpecies of dogs have been reduced by the count de Buffon to one ſingle ſpecies. He ſays, that Hernandez was deceived in what he wrote of the *Xoloitzcuintli*, for no other author makes mention of it, and therefore it ought to be believed that that quadruped was tranſported there from Europe, ſince Hernandez himſelf affirms, that he ſaw it firſt in Spain, and that it had no name in Mexico, as *Xoloitzcuintli* is the proper name of the wolf, given by Hernandez to that other quadruped; that all thoſe dogs were known in Mexico by the generic name of *Alco*. Here, in a few words, we have a maſs of errors. The name *Alco*, or *Allco*, neither is Mexican, nor ever was uſed in Mexico, but in South America. That of *Xoloitzcuintli* is not the name of the wolf, nor do we know that it was ever called ſo by any one at Mexico. The Mexicans call the

(*e*) The animals of the old continent, which moſt reſemble the Cojote, are the *Chacal*, the *Adive*, and the *Iſatis*; but it is different from them. The *Chacal* is of the ſize of a fox, the Cojote is twice as large. The *Chacals* go always in herds of thirty or forty together; the Cojotes, in general, alone. The Adive is ſtill ſmaller and weaker than the *Chacal*. The Iſatis is peculiar to the frigid zone, and ſhuns the woods; but the Cojote loves the woods, and inhabits warm and temperate countries.

wolf

wolf *Cuetlachtli*, and in ſome places where they do not ſpeak Mexican properly, they call it *Tecuani*, which is a generic name for wild beaſts. It is evident beſides, from the very text of Hernandez, which we here ſubjoin *(f)*, that neither the Xoloitzcuintli was tranſported from Europe to Mexico, nor was ſuch a name given to it by Hernandez, but that it was the name by which the Mexicans themſelves uſed to call it. Hernandez had ſeen that quadruped in Spain, becauſe it had been tranſported there from Mexico, as he mentions himſelf, where he had alſo ſeen in the gardens of Philip II. ſeveral Mexican plants. But why has no author made mention of the Xoloitzcuintli? becauſe neither before nor ſince his time has any one undertaken to write a hiſtory of Mexican quadrupeds; and the hiſtorians of that kingdom have been contented to mention ſome of the commoneſt animals. Moreover every wiſe and impartial perſon ſhould neceſſarily give more credit to Hernandez in the Natural Hiſtory of Mexico, as he employed himſelf in it ſo many years by order of king Philip II. and as he obſerved with his own eyes the animals of Mexico, of which he wrote and informed himſelf from the ſpeech of the Mexicans themſelves, whoſe language he learned, than to the count de Buffon, who, although more ingenious and more eloquent, had no other lights concerning Mexican animals than thoſe which he procured from the works of Hernandez, or from the relations of ſome other author, not ſo deſerving of credit as that learned and ſkilful naturaliſt.

The count de Buffon would make the *Tepeitzcuintli* of Hernandez, the glutton, a quadruped which is common in the northern countries of both continents; but whoever will compare the deſcription which the count de Buffon makes of the glutton with that which Hernandez gives of the *Tepeitzcuintli*, will immediately diſcern the moſt ſtriking difference between thoſe two quadrupeds (*g*). The glutton is, according to the count de Buffon, a native of the cold countries of the North, the tepeitzcuintli, of the torrid zone; the glutton is, according to count

(f) Præter canes notos noſtro orbi qui omnes pene ab Hiſpanis tranſlati ab Indis in his plagis hodie educantur, tua alia offendas genera, quorum primum antequam huc me conferem, vidi in Patria, cæteros vero neque conſpexeram neque adhuc eo delatos puto. Primus Xoloitzcuintli vocatus alios corporis vincit magnitudine, &c. Hern. Hiſt. Quadrup. N. Hiſp. cap. 20.

(*g*) Buffon, Hiſt. Nat. tom. xxvii. Hernandez, Hiſt. Quadrup. N Hiſp. cap. xxi.

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de Buffon twice as large as the badger. The tepeitzcuintli is, as Hernandez ſays, *parvi canis magnitudine* The glutton is ſo named on account of its incredible and dreadful voracity, which even impels it to dig up dead carcaſſes to eat them; Hernandez ſays nothing of any ſuch quality in the tepeitzcuintli, and he certainly would not have omitted what conſtitutes its chief character: on the contrary, he affirms that the tepeitzcuintli becomes domeſtic, and feeds upon the yolks of eggs and bread ſoaked in hot water; but a beaſt ſo carnivorous as the glutton could never ſupport itſelf on ſuch diet. In ſhort, to omit other arguments of their diverſity, the ſkin of the glutton is, as count de Buffon ſays, as valuable as that of the zibelline (*b*); but we do not know that the ſkin of the tepeitzcuintli was ever eſteemed or made uſe of.

The xoloitzcuintli therefore being different from the wolf and the tepeitzcuintli from the glutton, and thoſe four American quadrupeds of the claſs of dogs, being very different from each other in ſize, in diſpoſition, and many other remarkable circumſtances, notwithſtanding that they couple together, and can procreate a third individual, which is fruitful, we ought to conclude that they are four different ſpecies; and therefore theſe three ſpecies, which count de Buffon has unjuſtly taken from America, ought to be reſtored to it.

We ſhould never finiſh if we were to mention all the miſtakes of this author reſpecting American quadrupeds: but merely to ſhew that the number of ſeventy ſpecies aſcribed by him to America is not juſt, but different, and even contrary to what he has written in the courſe of his Hiſtory, we ſhall ſubjoin to this diſſertation a liſt of American quadrupeds taken from that hiſtory, to which we ſhall add the quadrupeds which he confounds with others which are different, and thoſe which he has entirely omitted; from which it will appear how far he has been from the truth, in ſaying that in America there has been a prodigious ſcarcity of matter. For in order to determine ſuch a ſcarcity, it is not enough to know that the ſpecies are few in number, but it would be neceſſary alſo to demonſtrate that the individuals of

(*b*) Bomare ſays, that the ſkin of the glutton is more valued by the people of Kamtſchatka than the zibelline; and that in Sweden it is much in demand, and very dear.

ſuch

ſuch ſpecies are alſo few in number; for if the individuals of the ſeventy ſpecies of American quadrupeds are more numerous than thoſe of the one hundred and thirty ſpecies of the old continent, although the nature of them were leſs various, ſtill it would not prove a greater ſcarcity of matter. It would be neceſſary, beſides, to demonſtrate, that the ſpecies of reptiles and birds are fewer, and alſo the individuals leſs numerous, as both of theſe ſerve to ſhew the abundance or ſcarcity of matter; but no one is ſo ignorant of the country of America, as to need to be informed of the incredible variety and ſurpriſing number of American birds. We ſhould wiſh to know why nature, which has been ſo nigardly of quadrupeds to America, as count de Buffon and Mr. de Paw report, has been ſo prodigal of birds?

Theſe authors, not contented with diminiſhing the ſpecies of American quadrupeds, attempt alſo to leſſen their ſtature: "All the animals "of America," ſays count de Buffon (*i*), "both thoſe which have "been tranſported by man, ſuch as horſes, aſſes, bulls, ſheep, goats, "hogs, dogs, &c. and thoſe which paſſed there by themſelves, ſuch "as wolves, foxes, deer, and alcos, are conſiderably ſmaller in ſize than they are in Europe:" and this, he adds, is the caſe *without any exception*. This aſtoniſhing effect he aſcribes to the niggard ſky of America, to the combination of the elements, and other natural cauſes. "There was not," ſays Mr. de Paw, "one large animal "under the torrid zone of the old continent. The largeſt quadruped "amongſt the natives of that country which exiſts at preſent in the new "world between the tropics, is the tapir, which is about the ſize of a calf (*k*)." "The moſt corpulent beaſt of the new continent," ſays count de Buffon, "is the tapir, which is about the ſize of a "ſmall mule; and next to it the cabiai, which is about the ſize of "a middling hog."

We have already demonſtrated, in the preceding Diſſertation, that although we ſhould grant to thoſe philoſophers the ſuppoſed ſmallneſs of American quadrupeds, nothing could from thence be concluded againſt the land or climate of America: as according to the principles eſtabliſhed by Mr. de Buffon already quoted by us, the larger

(*i*) Hiſt. Nat. tom xviii. (*k*) Recherch. Philoſoph. part iii. ſect. 2.

kind

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kind of animals are peculiar to intemperate climes, and the ſmaller kind to climes which are mild and temperate; and if the advantages of climate are to be deduced from the ſize of quadrupeds, we would unqueſtionably ſay, that the climate of Africa and the ſouth of Aſia is much better than that of Europe. But if in America, when it was firſt diſcovered by the Europeans, there were no elephants, rhinoceroſſes, ſea-horſes, camels, &c. they were however once there, if we give credit to de Paw, Sloane, Du Pratz, Lignay, and ſeveral other authors, who affirm the ancient exiſtence of theſe great quadrupeds in America, founded on the diſcovery of bones, and entire ſkeletons of immenſe ſize, which were dug up in different places of the new world; likewiſe, if we believe what count de Buffon has written in the eighteenth volume of his Hiſtory, there was formerly an animal ſeven times larger than the elephant, called by Mr. Muller the *Mammout* (*l*); but in Europe there never was, nor can there be, any quadruped of ſuch a ſize. There were no horſes, aſſes, or bulls (*m*) in America until they were tranſported there from Europe; but neither were theſe in Europe until they were tranſported there, or brought from Aſia. All animals drew their origin from Aſia, and thence ſpread through other countries; the neighbourhood of Europe, and the commerce of the Aſiatics with the Europeans, facilitated the paſſage of theſe animals into Europe; and with theſe alſo were introduced there ſome cuſtoms and inventions uſeful to life, of which the Americans were deprived, on account of their diſtance from thoſe countries, and the want of commerce.

When count de Buffon affirmed, that the largeſt quadruped of the new world was the tapir, and the next the cabiai, he had entirely loſt memory of the morſe, ſea-calves, bufflers, rein-deer, alcos, bears, and

(*l*) According to the account given by Muller of this quadruped, it ſhould be one hundred and thirty-three feet in length, and one hundred and five in height. The count de Buffon ſpeaks thus of it in volume xvi. "The monſtrous *mammout*, whoſe enormous bones "we have frequently conſidered, and which we have conceived to be at leaſt ſix times larger than "thoſe of the biggeſt elephant, exiſts no more." In volume xxii. he ſays, that he is aſſured that thoſe immenſe bones have belonged to elephants ſeven or eight times larger than the one whoſe ſkeleton he had examined in the royal muſeum of Paris: but in his new work entitled *Epoches de la Nature*, he again affirms the former exiſtence of that enormous quadruped in America.

(*m*) When we ſay there were no bulls in America, we allude only to the common ſpecies employed in agriculture; for there were *biſontes*; which the count de Buffon ſometimes thinks to be the common ſpecies; at other times he is doubtful of it.

the

others. He himſelf confeſſes (*n*) that the ſea-calf ſeen by lord Anſon and Rogers in America, and by them called the ſea-lion, was incomparably larger than all the ſea-calves of the old world. Who would compare the cabiai, which is not larger than a middling hog, with the bufflers and alcos? The bufflers are equal in general to the common bulls of Europe, and often exceed them in ſize. Let us attend to the deſcription which Bomare makes of one of theſe quadrupeds tranſported from Louiſiana to France, and meaſured exactly by that naturaliſt at Paris, in the year 1769 (*o*). There was an immenſe multitude of theſe large quadrupeds in the temperate zone of North America. The alcos of New Mexico are of the ſize of a horſe. There was a gentleman in the city of Zacatecas, who made uſe of them for his chariot inſtead of horſes, according to the teſtimony of Betancourt; and ſometimes they have been ſent as preſents to the king of Spain.

The univerſal poſition of the count de Buffon, that all the quadrupeds common to both continents are ſmaller in America *without any exception*, has been proved falſe by ſeveral European authors who have ſeen theſe animals; and even by count de Buffon himſelf, in other places of his Hiſtory. Dr. Hernandez ſays of the *mextli*, or American lion, that it is larger than the lion of the ſame ſpecies of the old continent. Of the tyger he affirms the ſame (*p*). Neither the count de Buffon, nor Mr. de Paw have a juſt idea of this wild animal. We ſaw one a few hours after it was killed by nine ſhots: but it was much larger in ſize than we are made to believe by Mr. Buffon. Thoſe authors, ſince they do not truſt the accounts of Spaniards, ought at leaſt to give credit to Mr. Condamine, the learned and impartial French author, who ſays that the tygers ſeen by him in the hot countries of the new world did not appear to him to differ

(*n*) Hiſt. Nat. tom. xxvii.

(*o*) Diction. d'Hiſt. Nat. V. Biſon. Bomare calls that American animal on account of its great ſize the coloſſal quadruped; he ſays that its length from its ſnout to the beginning of its tail meaſured by its flanks was nine feet and two inches: its height from the ſummit of its back to its hoof, five feet and four inches; its thickneſs meaſured over the hunch of its back ten feet in circumference. He adds that he underſtood from the owner of that animal, that the females were ſtill larger.

(*p*) Vulgaris eſt huic orbi tygris, ſed noſtrate major. Hiſt. Quad. N. Hiſp. cap. x.

from

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from the African tygers, neither in the beauty of their colours, nor in their ſize. Of the Mexican wolf Hernandez ſays, that in figure, colour, and diſpoſition, as well as in ſize it reſembles the European wolf, except that it has a larger head (*q*). The ſame thing he affirms of the common deer, and Oviedo alſo of both the common and other deer. The count de Buffon, notwithſtanding the univerſality of the poſition which he has laid down *without any exception*, concerning the ſmaller ſize of American quadrupeds, treating, in volume xxix. of the degeneracy of animals, he ſays, that deer are among the quadrupeds common to both continents thoſe alone which are more large and ſtrong in the new than they are in the old world; and ſpeaking, in volume xvii. of the *lodra* of Canada, he confeſſes that they are larger than thoſe of Europe; and the ſame thing he ſays of the American beaver: although he allowed no exception to his principle, he ſtill admits thoſe of the deer, lodra, beavers, and ſea-calves. If to theſe we add the tygers, the lions without hair, and the ſtag, according to the teſtimony of Hernandez and Oviedo, we ſhall find at leaſt eight ſpecies of quadrupeds common to both continents which are larger of their kind in the new than they are in the old world. To thoſe above mentioned we ought alſo to add thoſe quadrupeds which are equally large in both continents; as the latter as well as the former demonſtrate the falſity of ſuch a general principle. Hernandez affirms, that the Mexican wolf is of the ſame ſize with the European. Count de Buffon ſays, that there is no difference between them, except that the Mexican wolf has a finer ſkin, and five toes in its fore feet, and four in its hind feet. With reſpect to bears, there are at preſent many perſons in Europe who have ſeen the bears of Mexico and thoſe of the Alps. We do not believe that among all of theſe witneſſes there will be found one who has acknowledged that the European bears are the larger of the two. For ourſelves at leaſt we can declare, that all thoſe we have ſeen in Mexico appeared to be larger than thoſe which we have ſeen in Italy (*r*).

(*q*) Forma, colore, moribus, ac mole corporis Lupo Noſtrati ſimilis eſt *Cuetlachili*, atque adeo ejus, ut mihi videtur, ſpecici, ſed ampliore capiti. Ibid. cap. xxiii.

(*r*) The count de Buffon diſtinguiſhes the ſpecies of black from that of brown bears, and affirms, that the black bears are not at all ferocious; but the Mexican bears, which are all black, are extremely fierce, as is notorious in Mexico, of which alſo we can bear teſtimony.

It is therefore no juſt aſſertion that all the animals of the new world are without exception ſmaller than thoſe of the old. The count de Buffon ſpoke at random when he affirmed in another place that the animals were all *much* ſmaller, and that nature had in the new world made uſe of a different ſcale of dimenſions (*u*). It is eaſy alſo to demonſtrate the miſtake of Mr. de Paw, when he ſays that all the quadrupeds of America are a ſixth leſs than their correſpondents in the old continent. The Tuza of Mexico is analogous to the European mole, but is larger according to what count de Buffon ſays. That Mexican quadruped called by count de Buffon *coquallin*, and by us *tlalmotoztli*, is analogous to the European ſquirrel, and yet according to the ſame author is of twice its ſize. The cojote, analagous to the chacal, is of twice its ſize. The llama, or ram of Peru, analogous to the European ram, is beyond compariſon larger, &c. But thoſe philoſophers are ſo eager to depreciate and undervalue its animals, that they even find ſubject for cenſure in their tails, in their feet, and in their teeth. "Not only," ſays count de Buffon, "has their "been a ſcarcity of matter in the new continent, but likewiſe the "forms of its animals are imperfect, and appear to have been neg- "lected. The animals of South America, which are thoſe that "properly belong to the new continent, are almoſt all deprived of "tuſks, horns, and tails: their ſhape is extravagant, their limbs diſ- "proportionate, and ill ſet; and ſome of them, like the ant-killers "and ſloths, are of ſo miſerable a nature, that they have hardly abi- "lity to move, and to eat." "The animals native to the new "world," ſays Mr. de Paw, "are in general of an ungraceful form; "ſome of them ſo aukwardly made, that thoſe who firſt made deſigns "of them could hardly expreſs their characters. It has been obſerved "that the greater part of them want the tail, and have a particular "irregularity in their feet. This is remarkable in the tapir, the ant- "killer, the llama of Margraf, in the ſloth, and the *cabiay*. The oſ- "triches, which in our continent have not more than two toes, "united by a membrane, all have four in America, and thoſe ſepa- "rated."

(*u*) Hiſt. Nat. tom xxviii.

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Such a mode of reaſoning is rather a cenſure of the conduct of providence than of the clime of America, and not unlike the ſceptical opinions attributed to king Don Alphonſo the Wiſe, reſpecting the diſpoſition of the heavenly bodies. If the firſt individuals of thoſe animals came not ſo from the hand of the Creator, but the clime of America has been the cauſe of their ſuppoſed irregularity, whenever thoſe animals ſhould be tranſported to Europe their forms would grow perfect, and their diſpoſition aud inſtinct alſo; at leaſt after ten or twelve generations thoſe miſerable animals which the malignant clime of America has deprived of their tails, their horns, and their tuſks, would recover them under a more benignant clime. No, thoſe philoſophers would ſay, becauſe it is not ſo eaſy to recover from nature what is loſt, as to loſe what ſhe has given; ſo that although thoſe poor animals would not in the old continent recover their tails, their tuſks, or their horns, ſtill it muſt be allowed that the climate of America has been the cauſe of their loſing them. Be it ſo. At preſent, however, we ſhall not treat of irregularities which conſiſt in any deficiency but of thoſe where there is an exceſs of matter. We allude at preſent to the oſtriches, which, according to Mr. de Paw (*x*), have from a vice of nature, two extraordinary toes in each of their feet; but that we may not quit the quadrupeds, we ſhall mention the Unau, a ſpecies of American ſloth, which amongſt other of its irregularities, has got forty-ſix ribs. "The number of forty-ſix ribs in "an animal of ſo ſmall a body," ſays Mr. de Buffon, "is a kind of "error or exceſs of nature; for no animal even among the largeſt, "or among thoſe which have the longeſt body in proportion to their "thickneſs, has ſo many. The elephant has not more than forty, the "horſe thirty-ſix, the badger thirty, the dog twenty-ſix, and man "twenty-four." If the firſt Unau which ever was, had the ſame number of ribs given it by the Creator which its poſterity have at preſent, the reaſoning held by Mr. de Buffon is a cenſure of Providence; and when he ſays that that exceſſive number of ribs has been an error of nature, he means an error of Providence, who is efficient

(*x*) Mr. de Paw is deceived with regard to the number of toes of the oſtrich of America, for it has no more than three; although in the hinder part of its feet it has a round and callous ſwelling which ſerves in place of a talon, and by the vulgar is thought to be a toe.

nature.

nature. We are certain ſuch an idea is far from the elevated mind of the count de Buffon; but the ſpirit of philoſophy, which runs through all his works, leads him ſometimes into rather exceptionable expreſſions (*a*). If, on the contrary, thoſe philoſophers believe, that the Unau had originally a number of ribs proportioned to the ſize of its body, and that the malignant clime of America did increaſe them gradually afterwards, we oughtto believe, that if that ſpecies of quadruped was tranſported to the old continent, and was bred under a more favouring ſky, it would at laſt be reſtored to its primitive perfection. Let the experiment be made; let two or three males of this ungraceful ſpecies, and as many females, be tranſported there, and if, after twenty or more generations, it is found that their number of ribs begins to diminiſh, then we ſhall acknowledge that the land of America is the moſt unhappy, and its climate the moſt baneful in all the world. If it happens otherwiſe, we will ſay, as we ſhall henceforward ſay, that the logic of theſe gentlemen is more contemptible than that quadruped, and that their reaſonings are mere paralogiſms. In other reſpects it is truly to be wondered at in a country where there has been ſuch a ſcarcity of matter, that nature ſhould have made a tranſgreſſion by an exceſs of it in the ribs of ſloths, and in the toes of oſtriches.

But to ſhew that thoſe philoſophers, while exerting themſelves to fix the character of malignity on the climate of the new world, had totally loſt recollection of the miſeries of their own continent; let us aſk them what is the moſt miſerable animal in America, they will immediately anſwer, the ſloth; becauſe this animal is the moſt imperfect in its oganization, the moſt incapable of motion, the moſt unprovided with arms for its defence, and above all, that it appears to have leſs ſenſations than any other quadruped; an animal, truly wretched, condemned by nature to inactivity, liſtleſſneſs, famine, and melancholy, by which it continually excites the compaſſion and horror of

(*a*) The count de Buffon, deſirous of aſſigning a reaſon why man reſiſts the influence of climate better than the animals, ſays, in volume xvii. "Man is altogether the work of "heaven, the animals in many reſpects are but productions of the earth." This propoſition appears a little too bold; but we meet with many ſtill ſtronger in his Epoches de la Nature.

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other ſpecies. But this claſs of quadrupeds, ſo famous for their miſery, is common to both continents. Count de Buffon will not believe it, becauſe it does not ſuit his ſyſtem, and ſays, that if any ſloth is found in Aſia, it muſt have been tranſported there from America; but whatever he may ſay, it is certain, from the aſſertions of Klein, Linnæus, Briſſon, the publiſher of the Cabinet of Seba, and above them all Voſmaer, a learned and diligent naturaliſt of Holland (*a*), that the Unau, one of the ſpecies of ſloths, is an Aſiatic animal. The Unau of Bengal, which has been ſeen, bred, and exactly deſcribed by this naturaliſt, cannot have been tranſported from America; for no commerce between South America and Aſia has ever ſubſiſted. Beſides, the Unau of Bengal differs from that of America: the former has five, the latter only two toes to its feet. If the count de Buffon is perſuaded that the climate of Aſia could increaſe the number of toes of the American quadruped, we would then ſay to thoſe quadrupeds that the climate of the old continent would be capable of reſtoring the tails, horns, and tuſks, of which the pernicious climate of America has deprived them. Whoever will read the eloquent deſcription given of the American ſloth by the count de Buffon, and compare it with that given by Mr. Voſmaer of the ſloth *pentadactylus* of Bengal, will ſoon perceive that this Aſiatic quadruped is as miſerable as thoſe of America.

But let us philoſophically examine what thoſe authors ſay reſpecting the ſuppoſed irregularity of thoſe quadrupeds. Real irregularity in animals is ſome diſproportion of their limbs, or ſingularity in the form, or in the diſpoſitions of ſome individuals with reſpect to the generality of their ſpecies, not that which is obſerved in a new ſpecies compared with one which is known. It would be extremely abſurd to conſider the *techichi* an irregular animal, becauſe it does not bark. This is an American quadruped, which, from its reſemblance to European dogs, was called dog by the Spaniards: not becauſe it was of the ſame ſpecies: and from thence roſe the fable propagated by not a few authors, that in America dogs were mute. Wolves are extreme-

(*a*) *De Bradypo tridactylo Memoranda.* A work printed at Amſterdam.

ly

ly ſimilar to dogs, but they do not bark. If the firſt Spaniards who went to Mexico had not ſeen wolves in Europe, when they ſaw thoſe of Mexico they would have reported, that there were large dogs there which could not be tamed, and that they did not bark but howled. And this would have furniſhed count de Buffon and Mr. de Paw with a new argument to prove the degeneracy and irregularity of American animals.

The argument of Mr. de Paw concering American oſtriches has no more weight. The *Touyou* is an American bird ſpecifically different from the oſtrich; but becauſe it is large, and very ſimilar to that African bird, it has been vulgarly called oſtrich. This is ſufficient to make Mr. de Paw affirm that there is irregularity in thoſe American birds; but if we ſhould allow that the Touyou is truly an oſtrich he could not make out his poſition. He would make us believe the American oſtrich irregular, becauſe inſtead of having only two toes united by a membrane like the African, it has four ſeparate toes. But an American might ſay that the African oſtrich is rather irregular, becauſe inſtead of having four ſeparate toes, it has only two, and thoſe united by means of a membrane. "No," Mr. de Paw would reply in rage, "it is not ſo: the irregularity is certainly "in your oſtriches, becauſe they do not conform with thoſe of the "old world which are the original ſpecies; nor with the repreſentation "which the moſt famous naturaliſts of Europe have left us of ſuch "birds." "Our world," the American would return, "which you "call new, becauſe three centuries ago it was not diſcovered by you, "is as ancient as yours, and our animals are cotemporary with yours. "They are under no neceſſity of conforming with your animals, nei-"their are we to blame that the ſpecies of our animals have been un-"known to your naturaliſts, or confounded by a ſuperficial know-"ledge of them. Therefore either your oſtriches are irregular be-"cauſe they do not conform with ours; or at leaſt ours ought not "to be called irregular becauſe they do not conform with yours. "Until you demonſtrate to us by inconteſtible proofs, that the firſt "oſtriches came from the hand of the Creator with only two toes

(*) In Peru the oſtrich is known by the name of Suri.

"united

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" united by a membrane, you will never perſuade us of the irregu-
" larity of our Touyou." This mode of argument, which is without doubt unanſwerable, is ſufficient to defeat the ſyſtems adopted by thoſe philoſophers, ariſing from ſlight and indigeſted ideas, and ſtrong prepoſſeſſions in favour of the old continent.

Thoſe philoſophers are not more happy in their diſcourſes on the tails of quadrupeds than in their obſervations on the feet of oſtriches. They ſay directly, and without any regard to truth, that the greater part of the quadrupeds of the new continent are totally deſtitude of tails; which, like all the other effects obſerved by them in thoſe unfortunate countries, they aſcribe to the miſery of the American ſky, to the infancy of nature in that part of the world, to the fatality of the climate, and other combinations of the elements. Thus thoſe celebrated philoſophers of this enlightened century reaſon. But there being, according to count de Buffon, ſeventy ſpecies of American quadrupeds, it would be neceſſary that at leaſt forty of them were without tails in order to verify what Mr. de Paw has ſaid, that the majority of them were deprived of this member; and many more would be requiſite to prove true, that almoſt all the quadrupeds were unfurniſhed with tails as count de Buffon affirms. However, animals of this deſcription in America, as we ſhall preſently find, are only ſix in number, therefore the propoſition is a monſtrous hyperbole, not to ſay an idle falſehood.

It appears that in the time of Pliny no other animals were known to be without tails but man and the ape. If ſince that time there had been no other animal unfurniſhed with ſuch member diſcovered in the old continent, count de Buffon and M. de Paw would have been right in taxing the American quadrupeds with it; but from the Hiſtory of count de Buffon it is evident, the ſpecies without tails are more numerous in the old continent than in America. Here follows a liſt of both, extracted from the Hiſtory of count de Buffon.

Quadrupeds without tails in the old continent.

1. The *Pongo*, or Orang Outang, or Satyr or Man of the Woods.
2. The *Pithecus*, or Proper Ape.

3. The

3. The *Gibbon*, another ſpecies of ape.
4. The *Cynocephalus*, or Magoto.
5. The Turkiſh dog.
6. The *Tanrec* of Madagaſcar.
7. The *Loris* of Ceylon.
8. The Indian Pig.
9. The *Rouſſette*
10. The *Rougette* } Two ſpecies of great bats of Aſia.
11. The golden mole of Siberia,

To which the three following ſhould be added:

12. The five-toed ſloth of Bengal, deſcribed by Voſmaer.
13. The *Klipda*, or baſtard marmot, of the Cape of Good Hope, deſcribed by Voſmaer.
14. The *Capiverd*, or *Capivard* of the Cape of Good Hope, deſcribed by Bomare.

In AMERICA.

1. The Unau ſpecies of ſloth.
2. The *Cabeay*, or amphibious hog.
3. The *Aperea* of Braſil.
4. The Indian pig.
5. The *Saino*, *Pecar*, or *Cojametl*.
6. The *Tapeto*.

Therefore in the old continent there are at leaſt fourteen ſpecies of quadrupeds (*d*) unfurniſhed with tails, and in America only ſix, of which we might except the two laſt, as they are uncertain (*e*). In all the thirty volumes of the Hiſtory of Quadrupeds of count de Buffon,

(*d*) To the fourteen ſpecies above mentioned we might add the Unau *Dydactylus* of Ceylon, mentioned by ſeveral authors, and the Porte-muſc, deſcribed by Mr. Aubenton and Bomare; but we omit the firſt, becauſe we are not certain that it is different from the Loris of Buffon; we paſs the ſecond alſo, becauſe it may have ſome little tail, although the diligent M. d' Aubenton did not find it.

(*e*) The Pecar is deſcribed by Oviedo, Hernandez, and Acoſta, under the names *Saino* and *Cojametl*; but they ſay nothing of its want of a tail. We have been informed by accurate and diſtinct perſons, who have ſeen many Pecars, that they had a tail, although it was ſmall. With reſpect to the Tapeto, the count de Buffon believes it to be the *Citli* of Hernandez. But all Mexicans know that the *Citli* of Hernandez is the hare of Mexico, and we are certain it has a tail like the common hare of Europe.

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we have found no other American animal without a tail except thoſe above mentioned: and notwithſtanding he ventured to affirm that in the new world almoſt all the animals were deprived of tails; it appears from hence that ſuch univerſal propoſitions are as eaſily offered as they are difficult of proof.

If the clime of America is ſo pernicious to the tails of animals, how comes it that while four ſpecies of apes of the old continent are deprived of ſuch a member, namely, the *Pongo*, the *Pithecus*, the *Gibbon*, and the *Cynocephalus*, all the ſpecies of apes of the new world have them, and ſome, ſuch as the *Saki*, have tails ſo long that they are twice the length of their bodies; why do ſquirrels, *Coquallines*, ant-killers, and other ſuch quadrupeds, abound in America, which are furniſhed with ſuch enormous tails in proportion to their bodies? Why has the marmot of Canada, although it is of the ſame ſpecies with that of the Alps, a larger tail, as count de Buffon himſelf confeſſes? Why have the deer of America, although ſmaller than thoſe of the old continent, a longer tail, as the ſame author affirms *(f)*? If the climate of America was ever poſſeſſed of ſome principle deſtructive to tails of animals, thoſe which Columbus tranſported there from Europe, and the Canary Iſles, in 1493, would have by this time loſt all tail, particularly hogs, which carried ſuch ſhort tails there, or at leaſt they would have been remarkably ſhortened after two hundred and eighty-eight years; but among all the Europeans who have ſeen the ſheep, horſes, oxen, &c. bred in America, and thoſe which were bred at the ſame time in Europe, there has not been one writer who could find any difference between the tails of the one and the other.

This ſame argument is equally valid againſt what count de Buffon ſays upon the want of horns, and tuſks in the greater part of American quadrupeds, as the oxen, the ſheep, and goats, preſerve without change their horns, the dogs and hogs their teeth, and the cats their nails, as all thoſe who have ſeen and compared them with thoſe of Europe can teſtify. If the clime of America was ſo deſtructive to the teeth and horns of animals, a number of them would have been loſt, at leaſt by the poſterity of thoſe quadrupeds of Europe, which were tranſported

(*f*) Hiſt. Nat. tom. xviii.

there

there almoſt three centuries ago, and much more the generations of wolves, bears, and other ſimilar quadrupeds, which paſſed there from Aſia, perhaps in the firſt century after the deluge. If, on the contrary, the temperate zone of Europe is more propitious to the teeth of animals than the torrid zone of the new world, why did nature give to the latter, and not to the former, the tapir and crocodile, which in number, ſize, and ſharpneſs of their teeth, exceed all the quadrupeds and reptiles of Europe?

Laſtly, If there are ſome animals in America without horns, without teeth (*g*), and without tails, it is not owing to the climate or niggard ſky of America, or any imaginary combination of the elements, but becauſe the Creator, whoſe works and whoſe counſels we ſhould humbly revere, choſe it ſo, that ſuch variety might ſerve to embelliſh the univerſe, and make his wiſdom and his power more conſpicuous. What gives beauty to ſome animals would render others deformed. It is perfection in a horſe to have a large tail, in the ſtag to have a ſmall one, and in the Pongo to have none at all.

With reſpect to what our philoſophers ſay of the uglineſs of the animals of America, it is true, that among ſo many, there are ſome whoſe forms do not correſpond with the ideas which we entertain of the beauty of beaſts; but who has aſſured us, that our ideas are juſt, and not imperfect, and occaſioned by the narrowneſs of our minds? And how many animals could we not find in the old continent ſtill worſe formed than any beaſt of America? What quadruped is there in America which can be compared, in the deformity and diſproportion, of its limbs with the elephant, called by the count de Buffon a *monſter of nature* (*h*)? Its vaſt maſs of fleſh, higher than it is long, its

(*g*) Among all the quadrupeds of the new world, the ant-killers alone are deſtitute of teeth, like the *Pangolino* and *Tatagino* of the Eaſt Indies, which quadrupeds are covered with ſcales inſtead of hair. All thoſe quadrupeds which feed on nothing but ants have no occaſion for teeth; but they are furniſhed by the Creator with a long tongue, with which they can dexterouſly lick up the ants and ſwallow them.

(*h*) En conſiderant cet animal, (ſays Pomare of the elephant) relativement à l'idée, que nous avons de la juſteſſe des proportions, il ſemble mal-proportionné à cauſe de ſon corps gros et court, des ſes jambes roides et mal-formées, des ſes pieds ronds et tortus, de ſa tête groſſe, de ſes petits yeux et des ſes grandes oreilles; on pourroit dire auſſi que l'animal le plus parfait eſt encore plus mal taille et plus mal fait. Sa trompe, ſes defenſes, ſes pieds le rendent auſſi extraordinaire que la grandeur de ſa taille.

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diſguſtful ſkin without hair and furrowed with wrinkles; its enormous trunk inſtead of a noſe; its long teeth placed without its moſt hideous mouth, and turned upwards, contrary to what is obſerved in other animals, in order to increaſe the deformity of its face; its vaſt polygonous ears; its thick, crooked, and proportionably ſmall legs; its unformed feet, with toes ſcarcely diſtinguiſhed; and laſtly, its diminutive eyes and ridiculouſly ſmall tail to a body ſo immenſe, are all circumſtances which render the elephant a moſt irregular quadruped. We challenge our philoſophers to find in the new world an animal more diſproportioned, or whoſe form is more ungraceful. Similar reflections ariſe from viewing the camel, the *Macaco*, of which count de Buffon ſays that it is *hideouſly deformed*, and more ſo than all other animals of the old continent; we dare not, however, blame the clime to which they belong, nor cenſure the Supreme Artificer who formed them.

What our philoſophers ſay with reſpect to the ſmaller ferocity of American wild beaſts, inſtead of aſſiſting them to prove the malignity of that clime, ſerves only to demonſtrate its mildneſs and bounty. "In America," ſays count de Buffon, "where the air and the land are "more mild than thoſe of Africa, the tyger, the lion, and the pan-"ther are terrible only in name . . . They have degenerated, if fierce-"neſs joined to cruelty made their nature; or, to ſpeak more pro-"perly, they have only ſuffered the influence of the climate." What more can be deſired in favour of the climate of America? Why, therefore, does he ever adduce the ſmaller ferocity of American animals as an argument of their degeneracy occaſioned by the malignity of that clime? If the climate of the old continent ſhould be eſteemed better than that of the new world, becauſe under the former the wild beaſts are found more terrible, for the ſame reaſon the climate of Africa ought to be eſteemed incomparably more excellent than that of Europe. This argument, which we have already made uſe of, might be carried much farther to the confuſion of our philoſophers.

But thoſe authors have not a juſt idea of American animals. It is true that the Mexican, or Mexican lion, is not to be compared with the celebrated lions of Africa. The latter ſpecies either never did paſs into the new world, or was extirpated by man; but the former does not

not yield to thoſe of its ſpecies, or the lion without hair of the old continent, according to the teſtimony of Hernandez, who knew both the one and the other. The Mexican tyger, whether it is or is not of the ſame ſpecies with the royal tyger of Africa, as that is of no importance, has ſurpriſing ſtrength and ferocity. There is no quadruped, among thoſe of Europe or America, which can be oppoſed to it. It intrepidly attacks and tears men, deer, horſes, bulls, and even the moſt monſtrous crocodiles, as Acoſta affirms. This learned author vaunts both its intrepidity and ſwiftneſs. G. de Oviedo, who had travelled through many countries of Europe, and was not ignorant of natural hiſtory, ſpeaking of thoſe American tygers, ſays, "They are animals very ſtrong in the legs, well armed with "claws, and ſo terrible, that, in my judgment, none of the greateſt "royal lions can rival their ſtrength and ferocity." The tyger is the terror of the American woods; it is not poſſible to tame it or catch it when it is grown up: thoſe which are taken when young are not to be kept without danger, unleſs they are ſhut up in the ſtrongeſt cages of wood or iron. Such is the character of thoſe animals which are called cowardly by Mr. de Paw and other authors, who were unable to diſtinguiſh the ſpecies of quadrupeds with ſpotted ſkins.

It is however certain, that thoſe authors ſhew themſelves as credulous of every thing they find written concerning the ſize, ſtrength, and intrepidity of the royal tygers of the old continent, as they are obſtinate in denying faith to what eye-witneſſes ſay of American tygers. Count de Buffon believes, upon the atteſtation of we do not know what author, that the royal tyger is from thirteen to fourteen feet in length, and five in height; that it will engage with three elephants, kill a buffaloe, and drag it wherever it pleaſes, and other ſimilar abſurdities, which can only gain belief from thoſe who are prejudiced in favour of the old continent. If ſome authors deſerving of faith ſhould relate of the American tygers a few of the particulas which are told of Aſiatic tygers they would be conſidered as idle exaggerating boaſters (*i*). The account which Pliny (*k*) gives of the artifices of hunters in robbing the

(*i*) It is ſufficient to obſerve the little credit given by theſe authors to the teſtimony of Mr. Candamine, notwithſtanding the eſteem in which they held that learned mathematician.

(*k*) Nat. Hiſt. lib. viii. cap. 18.

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tyger of its young, and the coolneſs of temper with which it carries them of again one by one, and that which Bomare relates (*k*) of the combat in the year 1764, in Windſor foreſt, in England, between the ſtag and a tyger brought from India to the duke of Cumberland, in which the ſtag came off conqueror, ſhews us that the ferocity of thoſe Aſiatic wild beaſts is not ſo great as count de Buffon and Mr. de Paw repreſent it.

The American wolves are not leſs ſtrong nor bold than thoſe of the old continent, as all who have had any experience of them both know. Even ſtags, which as Pliny ſays, are very tranquil animals, are ſo daring in Mexico, that they frequently attack the hunters; this fact is teſtified by Hernandez, and is notorious in that kingdom; we have ſeen in our own dwelling the vicious nature of a ſtag, which had become almoſt domeſtic, ſhew itſelf moſt cruelly upon an American girl.

But let the American quadrupeds be ſmaller in ſize, more ungraceful in form, and more puſillanimous in their nature; let us grant to thoſe philoſophers that from ſuch a poſition the happineſs of the climate of the old continent is to be deduced; they will not ſtill perſuade us, that it is a full proof and a certain argument of the malignity of the American climate, while they do not ſhew us in the reptiles and birds of America (*l*) the ſame degeneracy which they ſuppoſe in quadrupeds. Mr. de Paw ſays of American crocodiles, whoſe ferocity is notorious, that it appeats from the obſervations of Mr. du Pratz, and others, that they have not the fury and impetuoſity of thoſe of Africa. But Hernandez, who knew both the one and the other, found no difference between them (*m*). Acoſta ſays, that thoſe of America are extremely fierce, but ſlow; but this ſlowneſs is not in a progreſſive line forwards, in which motion they are

(*k*) Bomare Diction. d'Hiſtorie Nat. V. Tigre.

(*l*) The count de Buffon might ſay, as he obſerves in vol. xviii. that we ought not to conſider the birds with reſpect to climate in this particular, becauſe it being eaſy for them to paſs from one climate to another, it would be almoſt impoſſible to determine which belonged properly to the one or to the other. But as the cauſe of the paſſage of birds is the cold or the heat of the ſeaſons, which they wiſh to avoid, on this account the American birds have no occaſion to leave their continent, becauſe there they have countries of every ſort of clime to ſhelter themſelves from every hurtful ſeaſon, and where they can always find their food. We are altogether certain, that the Mexican birds do not travel to the old continent.

(*m*) Hern. Hiſt. Nat. lib. ix. cap. 3.

moſt

moſt ſwift and active, but in turning only, or bending from one ſide to another, as is the caſe with the crocodiles of Africa, on account of the inflexibility of their *vertebræ*. Hernandez affirms that the *Acuetzpalin* or Mexican crocodile flies from thoſe who attack it, but purſues thoſe who fly from it, although the former caſe happens more ſeldom than the latter. Pliny ſays the ſame thing of African crocodiles (*n*). In ſhort, if we compare what Pliny ſays of the latter with what Hernandez ſays of the former, it will appear that there is not even a difference of ſize between them (*o*).

With regard to birds, Mr. de Paw makes mention only of oſtriches, and that ſo negligently as we have ſhewn. He certainly deſigned to be ſilent on this ſubject, diſcovering that on this ſide his cauſe was loſt, for whether we conſider number or variety of ſpecies, intrepidity, or beauty of plumage, and excellence of ſong, the old continent cannot be compared with America as to birds. Of their ſurpriſing multitude we have already ſpoken. The fields, the woods, the rivers, the lakes, and even inhabited places are filled with innumerable ſpecies. Gemelli, who had made the tour of the world, and ſeen the beſt countries of Aſia, Africa, and Europe, declares that there is not a country in the world which can compare with New Spain in the beauty and variety of its birds (*p*). See what is ſaid by the hiſtorians of New France, Louiſiana, Braſil, and other countries of the new world, on this ſubject.

Of the ſtrength and courage of American birds many European authors worthy of credit make mention. Hernandez, who had ſo much experience of birds of prey, in the court of Philip II. king of Spain, at the time when hawking was moſt in vogue, and had obſerved alſo thoſe of Mexico, confeſſes when he talks of the *Quauhtotli*, or Mexican falcon, that all the birds of this claſs are better and more

(*n*) Terribilis hæc contra fugaces bellua eſt, fugax contra inſequentes. Plin. Hiſt. Nat. lib. viii. cap. 25.

(*o*) Pliny ſays that the African crocodile is often more than eighteen cubits, or twenty-ſeven Roman feet in length. Hernandez affirms that the Mexican crocodile is uſually more than ſeven paces long. If he ſpeaks of Caſtilian paces, they make almoſt twenty-eight Roman feet; if he ſpeaks of Roman paces, they will make thirty-five feet, ſo that the difference is trifling, or if there is any it is in favour of the American crocodile.

(*p*) *Ella è tanta la vaghezza e la varietà degli uccelli della N. Spagna che non v'è paeſe al mondo, che ne abbia pari.* Giro del Mondo. tom. vi. lib. ii. cap. 9.

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courageous in New Spain, than they are in the old continent (*q*). On account of the excellence of the Mexican falcons having been known and acknowledged, Charles the V. ordered that every year fifty hawks ſhould be ſent to him from New Spain, and as many from the iſland of Hiſpaniola, as the hiſtorian Herrera atteſts; and Acoſta relates, that the falcons of Mexico and Peru, becauſe they were much eſteemed, were ſent in preſents to the grandees of Spain. Acoſta alſo ſays, that the condors, or Mexican vultures, are of an immenſe ſize, and have ſo much ſtrength, that they not only tear a ram, but even a calf; and D. A. Ulloa teſtifies, that a ſtroke of their wing will knock down a man (*r*). Hernandez ſays, that the *Itzquauhtli*, or royal eagle of Mexico, attacks men, and even the fierceſt quadrupeds. If the climate of America had taken from the quadrupeds their ſtrength and courage, it would without doubt have produced the ſame effect on birds: but from the teſtimony of the above mentioned writers, and other European authors, it is manifeſt that they are not feeble or puſillanimous, but that they excel thoſe of the old continent in intrepidity and ſtrength.

With reſpect to the beauty of birds, thoſe authors do not refuſe the ſuperiority to America, although in other reſpects they have ſo eagerly depreciated the new world. Whoever would form to himſelf a competent idea of them, may conſult Oviedo, Hernandez, Acoſta, Ulloa, and other European authors, who have ſeen the birds of America. In New Spain, ſays Acoſta, there is a great plenty of birds adorned with ſuch beautiful plumage, that they are not equalled by any in Europe.

It is true, ſay many European authors, that American birds are ſuperior in beauty of plumage, but not in excellence of ſong, in which they are exceeded by thoſe of Europe. So think two modern Italians (*s*): but

(*q*) Fateor accipitrum omne genus apud hanc novam Hiſpaniam, Jucatanicamve provinciam repertum præſtantius eſſe atque animoſius vetere in orbe natis. Hernandez de Avibus N. Hiſp. cap. 92.

(*r*) The condor is ſo large as to meaſure from fourteen to ſixteen feet from tip to tip of the wings when extended. Bomare ſays it is common to both continents; and that the Swiſs call it the *lammer-geyer*; but notwithſtanding this, it is certain that no bird of prey has been found yet on the old continent equal in ſize and ſtrength to the condor of America.

(*s*) The author of a certain Diſſertation metaphyſical and political, *Sulla Proportzione de' Talenti*

but however learned they are in certain ſpeculative ſubjects, they are equally ignorant of the productions of America: it will be ſufficient, in order to confute thoſe authors, to ſubjoin the teſtimony of Hernandez to this point (*t*); who, after having heard the ſinging of the beſt nightingales at the court of Philip II. heard for many years the *centzontli* or polyglots, the cardinals *tigrets*, the *cuitlacoechis*, and other innumerable ſpecies of vulgar ſinging birds in Mexico unknown in Europe, beſides the nightingales, *calderines* calandras, and others common to both continents. Among the ſinging birds moſt eſteemed in Europe the nightingale is the moſt celebrated, but it ſings ſtill better in America, according to the affirmation of Mr. Bomare. The nightingale of Louiſiana is, he ſays, the ſame with that of Europe; but it is more tame and familiar, and ſings the whole year, and has a more varied ſong. Theſe are three conſiderable advantages which it poſſeſſes over the European bird. But although there were not in America either nightingales, calandras, or any one of thoſe birds which are eſteemed in Europe for their ſong, the centzontli or polyglot alone would be ſufficient to excite the envy of any country in the world. We are free to declare to our Anti-american philoſophers, that what Hernandez ſays of the excellence of the polyglot over the nightingale is extremely true, and agreeable to the opinion of many Europeans who have been in Mexico, and alſo of many Mexicans who have been in Europe. Beſides the ſingular ſweetneſs of its ſong, the prodigious variety of its notes, and its agreeable talent in counterfeiting the different tones of the birds and quadrupeds which it hears (*u*); it is leſs

Talenti e del loro Uſo, in which he has written moſt prepoſterous particulars reſpecting America, and ſhewn himſelf as ignorant as a child of the land, the climate, the animals and the inhabitants of that new world. The other is the author of ſome beautiful Italian fables in one of which an American bird holds a diſcourſe with a nightingale.

(*t*) In cæteris quibus detinetur, ſuaviſſime cantat; nec ulla avis ulla, animalve cujus vocem non reddat lacerdatiſſime et expreſſiſſime æmulatur. Quid? Philomelam noſtram longo ſuperat intervallo, cujus ſuaviſſimum concentum tantopere laudant celebrantque, veteres auctores, et quidquid avicularum apud noſtrum orbem cantu auditur ſuaviſſimum. Hernandez de Avibus N. H. p. cap. 32 de centzontlatole ſive centzontli.

Linnæus calls the centzontli *orpheus*. Other authors call it *mocqueur*, the mocking-bird, or Beſtardo.

(*u*) Mr. Barrington, vice-preſident of the Royal Society of London, ſays, in a curious work he has written on the ſinging of birds, and preſented to that learned academy, that he heard a polyglot which entertained in the ſpace of one ſingle minute, the ſinging of the lark, the chaffinch, the black-bird, the ſparrow, and the thruſh.

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ſhy than the nightingale, and more common, as its ſpecies is one of the moſt numerous. If we were diſpoſed to reaſon in the manner of Mr. de Paw, we could, in order to demonſtrate the benignity of the American clime, add, that ſome birds which are not valued in Europe for their ſinging, ſing much better in America. The ſparrows, ſays Valdecebro, an European author, which do not ſing in Spain, are in New Spain better than *calderines* (*x*).

What we obſerve of ſinging birds may be applied alſo to thoſe which imitate the human voice; for in Aſia and Africa the ſpecies of parrots are neither ſo many nor ſo numerous as they are in America.

But as we are diſcourſing of birds, we will, before we end this ſubject, make an obvious reflection. There is not an American animal which draws ſo much reproach upon it from our philoſophers as the ſloth, on account of its aſtoniſhing indolence and inability of motion. But what would they ſay if there was a bird of this nature? This would certainly be the moſt irregular animal in the world, for ſuch an inactivity or flowneſs is more prepoſterous in a bird than a quadruped. But where is this bird? In the old continent, and has been deſcribed by count de Buffon; who ſays that the *Dronte*, a bird of the Eaſt Indies, larger than the ſwan, is among birds what the ſloth is among quadrupeds: it appears, he ſays, a turtle in the cloathing of a bird; and nature in granting it thoſe uſeleſs ornaments, wings and tail, ſeems to have intended to add embarraſſment to its weight, and irregularity of motion to the inactivity of its body, and to make its cumbrous largeneſs ſtill more afflicting, by putting it in remembrance that it is a bird.

From what we have ſaid we cannot avoid concluding, that the ſky of America is not niggardly, nor its climate unfavourable to the generation of animals; that there has been no ſcarcity of matter, nor has nature made uſe of a different ſcale of proportions in that region: that what count de Buffon, and Mr. de Paw have ſaid of the ſmallneſs, of the irregularity and defects of American quadrupeds is erroneous, or rather a ſeries of errors: and though it was true, it would be of no aſſiſtance

(*x*) In a work entitled *Gobierno de las Aves*, lib. v. cap. 29. But we have already obſerved, that the Mexican ſparrow, though reſembling, is different from, the true ſparrow.

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to prove the malignity of the climate of America. But we ſhall now enquire whether they have done leſs wrong to the new world in what they ſay of the ſuppoſed degeneracy of quadrupeds tranſported there from Europe.

SECT. II.

Of the Animals tranſported from Europe to America.

ALL the animals tranſported from Europe to America, ſuch as horſes, aſſes, bulls, ſheep, goats, hogs, and dogs, are, ſays count de Buffon, *conſiderably ſmaller there* than they are in Europe, and that, *without one ſingle exception*. If we ſeek for the proof of ſo general, or rather an univerſal aſſertion, we ſhall find no other in all the hiſtory of that philoſopher, than, that cows, ſheep, goats, hogs, and dogs are ſmaller in Canada than they are in France. The European or Aſiatic animals, ſays Mr. de Paw, that were tranſported to America immediately after its diſcovery, have degenerated, their corpulence has diminiſhed, and they have loſt a portion of their inſtinct and genius: the cartilages or fibres of their fleſh have become more rigid and more groſs. Such is the general concluſion of Mr. de Paw. Let us now attend to the proofs. Firſt, The fleſh of oxen in the iſland of Hiſpaniola is ſo fibrous than it can hardly be eaten; ſecondly, the hogs in the iſland of Cubagua changed in a ſhort time their forms to ſuch a degree, that they could hardly be known again; their nails grew ſo much that they were half a palm in length. Thirdly, Sheep ſuffered a great alteration in Barbadoes. Fourthly, Dogs tranſported from their own countries loſe their voice, and ceaſe to bark, in the greater part of the regions of the new continent. Fifthly, The cold of Peru incapacitated camels carried there from Africa, in their organs of generation. Such are the arguments which thoſe philoſophers uſe to aſcertain the degeneracy of animals of the old continent, in the new world; arguments which, if they were true, would not be ſufficient to prove ſo univerſal a poſition: becauſe of what importance is it that the fleſh of oxen is ſo fibrous in the iſland of Hiſpaniola, if in all the other parts of America it is good, and

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in many, particularly in all thoſe of Mexico which are ſituated on the coaſt of the Pacific Ocean, equal to the beſt in Europe, and poſſibly better? What ſignifies it that ſheep have undergone ſome change in Barbadoes, and other hot countries, if, in the temperate countries of Mexico and South America they continue the ſame as they came there from Spain? What does it avail that hogs have become diſfigured in Cubagua, a miſerable little iſland, deprived of water and every thing neceſſary for life, if in other parts of America they have acquired, as Mr. de Paw ſays himſelf, an extraordinary corpulence and their fleſh has become ſo improved, that the phyſicians there, preſcribe it to the ſick in preference to all other meat. If the hogs, having grown disfigured in Cubagua, it does not prove that the clime of America is not the moſt ſuitable to them, why ſhould the ſheep having ſuffered ſome change in Barbadoes, the fleſh of oxen having become more fibrous in Hiſpaniola, and ſome quadrupeds having grown leſs in Canada, ſerve to prove that the clime of America in general is unfavourable to the generation of animals, to their corpulence and inſtinct?

If ſuch logic was to be tolerated, we could adduce much ſtronger arguments againſt the climate of the old continent without making uſe of any other materials than thoſe that are furniſhed to us by count de Buffon in his Natural Hiſtory. Camels have never multiplied, as he ſays, in Spain, although that clime of all the climes of Europe is the leaſt contrary to their nature. Oxen have degenerated in Barbary, and in Iceland they have loſt their horns. Sheep, ſays count de Buffon. have degenerated in our country from their firſt exiſtence in it; and in all the hot countries of the old continent they change their wool into hair. Goats have grown ſmall in Guinea and other countries. In Lapland dogs have become extremely ſmall and deformed, and thoſe of the temperate climes when tranſported into cold climes ceaſe to bark, and after the firſt generation are born with ſtrait ears. From the accounts of travellers it is certain that maſtiffs, grey-hounds, and other breeds of dogs of Europe tranſported to Madagaſcar, Calcutta, Madeira, and Malabar, degenerate after the ſecond or third generation, and that in exceſſive hot countries, ſuch as Guinea and Senegal, this degeneration is more rapid; as in the ſpace of three or four years they

they loſe their hair, and their voice. Stags in mountainous countries which are hot and dry, ſuch as thoſe of Corſica and Sardinia, have loſt a half of their corpulence. If to theſe and other accounts given us by count de Buffon we were to add thoſe of many other authors, what examples ſhould we not have of the degeneracy of animals in the old continent, more numerous and true than thoſe of our philoſophers? But that we may expoſe the exaggeration and falſity which belong to their examples let us examine one by one the ſpecies of Aſiatic and European animals tranſported into the new world which by them are ſaid to have degenerated.

CAMELS.

AMONG all the quadrupeds tranſported to America, ſays Mr. de Paw, the camels are unqueſtionably thoſe which have thriven the leaſt. In the beginning of the ſixteenth century ſome of them were tranſported from Africa to Peru, where the cold diſabled the organs neceſſary for their production, and they left no poſterity. Setting aſide the chronological error into which he falls, as being immaterial to our purpoſe (z), if it was cold that deſtroyed the ſpecies of camels in America, the ſame thing would have happened in the European northern countries, where the cold is beyond compariſon greater than in any country whatever of Peru. If cold was the cauſe of their extirpation, let Mr. de Paw blame thoſe who ſettled thoſe quadrupeds in places unſuitable to their nature, and not America, where there are lands that are hot and dry, and proper for the ſubſiſtence of Camels. The ſame experiment which was made in Peru with camels, was alſo made in Spain, and with the ſame want of ſucceſs; but ſtill there are no perſons who will doubt that the clime of the latter is one of the moſt mild and temperate in Europe. Count de Buffon ſays, that if proper precautions were taken, thoſe animals would ſucceed not only in America but in Spain: and there is no doubt that they would proſper very well in New Gallicia. Beſides, it is falſe

(x) Hiſt. Nat. tom. xviii. (y) Recherch. Philoſoph. part. i.

(z) Camels were not tranſported to Peru in the beginning of the ſixteenth century, becauſe that country was not then diſcovered; but towards the middle of that century, as Herrera ſhews in his Decades.

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that the camels which were tranſported to Peru did not leave any poſterity; for Acoſta, who went there ſome years after, found that they had multiplied, though but a little (z).

OXEN.

THIS is one of thoſe ſpecies of animals which our philoſophers imagine to have degenerated in America; which effect they attribute to the clime. But if poſſibly in Canada the oxen have loſt part of their corpulence, as count de Buffon affirms, and if their fleſh has become fibrous in Hiſpaniola, as Mr. de Paw would inſinuate, this at leaſt is not the caſe in the greater part of the countries of the new world, in which the multitude and ſize of thoſe animals, and the goodneſs of their fleſh, demonſtrate how favourable the climate is to their propagation. Their prodigious multiplication in thoſe countries is atteſted by many authors both ancient and modern. Acoſta relates (z), that in the fleet in which he returned from New to Old Spain, in 1587, about ſixty years after the firſt bulls and cows had been tranſported to Mexico, they carried with them from that country ſixty-four thouſand three hundred ſixty ox hides; and from Hiſpaniola alone, which Mr. de Paw believes ſo unfavourable to the propagation of thoſe quadrupeds, thirty-five thouſand four hundred and forty-four ox hides. We do not doubt, that if the number of bulls and cows carried from the old continent to the new, was compared with the number of hides returned by America to Europe, there would be found more than five millions of hides for every one of thoſe animals. Valdeobro, a Dominican Spaniard, who lived ſome years in Mexico, towards the middle of the laſt century, relates, as a fact which was notorious that the cows belonging to D. G. Ordugna, a private gentleman, yielded him in one year thirty-ſix thouſand calves (a), which produce could not ariſe from a herd of leſs than two hundred thouſand bulls and cows taken together. At preſent there are many private perſons who are owners of herds of fifty thouſand head of cattle. But nothing can ſhew the aſtoniſhing multiplication of thoſe quadrupeds ſo well as the cheapneſs of them in thoſe countries in which they are neceſſary for the

(z) Hiſtor. Nat. y Mor. lib iv. cap. 33.

(a) In his work entitled *Gobierno de Animales*, lib. iv. cap. 34.

ſubſiſt-

ſubſiſtence of man, and the labours of the field, and where, on account of the abundance of ſilver, every thing is ſold dear (*c*). In ſhort, oxen have multiplied in Mexico, in Paraguay, and other countries of the new world more than in *more ancient* Italy (*d*).

With reſpect to the ſize of American oxen it is eaſy to gain perfect information, as ſhips loaded with their ſkins frequently arrive at Liſbon and at Cadiz (*e*). Let Mr. de Paw, therefore, or any perſon who maintains the degeneracy of European animals in the new world, meaſure fifty or one hundred of thoſe hides, and if they are found ſmaller than thoſe of the common oxen in Europe, we ſhall immediately confeſs, that the climate of America has ſhortened their bodies, and there is a ſcarcity of matter there; on the contrary, they ought to confeſs that their information and intelligence is falſe, their obſervations ill founded, and their ſyſtem viſionary and chimerical: but that they may underſtnad why we ought not to truſt to their knowledge, G. Oviedo, who was one of the firſt peoplers of the iſland of Hiſpaniola, and ſojourned there ſome years, diſcourſing of the oxen of that iſland, the fleſh of which, Mr. de Paw ſays cannot be eaten becauſe it is ſo fibrous, ſays that "the herds there are more numerous, and more beautiful, than any "in Spain; and as the air in thoſe regions is mild and never cold, the "oxen never become meagre, nor is their fleſh ever of a bad taſte." Count de Buffon affirms that cold countries are more favourable than

(*c*) In the country round Mexico, the capital of New Spain, although it is well peopled, a pair of oxen for the plough are ſold for ten ſequins, and bulls by wholeſale at forty-five paolis each. In the country round Guadalaxara, the capital of New Galicia, a pair of good oxen are worth from ſix to ſeven ſequins, a cow twenty-five paoli. In many other countries of that kingdom, thoſe animals are ſold for leſs. In many places of the provinces on the river of Plata a cow is to be had for five paoli. According to an account we have obtained from a perſon of credit, well acquainted with the provinces on the above river, the oxen which are in herds amount to about five millions in number, and it is computed there are about two millions running wild in the woods.

(*d*) Timeus, a Greek author, and Varro, both cited by Aulus Gellius (Noct. Attic. lib. ii. cap 1.) have ſaid that Italy was ſo called from the abundance of oxen in it, which in the ancient Greek language were called ἰτηλοι: whence Gellius affirms that *italia* ſignifies *armentoſiſſima*.

(*e*) Every perſon knows that no country has more commerce with Spain in ox-hides than Paraguay, from whence veſſels are ſent entirely loaded with them. We have been informed by perſons of credit who were experienced in that country, that the ſkins that were carried from thence to Spain, are at leaſt three *varas* (a Spaniſh meaſure) long, and many are four, or more than ten Pariſian feet. There are not, we conceive, three countries in Europe where oxen grow to ſuch a ſize.

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hot to oxen; but this is not the caſe in New Spain: as although the oxen of cold and temperate countries may be excellent, yet the oxen of warm countries are better. The fleſh of theſe animals in maritime lands is ſo admired, that it is ſent to the capital by way of preſent from places at two and three hundred miles diſtance.

SHEEP.

COUNT de Buffon confeſſes (*e*) that ſheep have not ſucceeded ſo well in the hot as in the cold countries of the new continent; but he adds, that although they have multiplied conſiderably, they are, notwithſtanding, more meagre, and their fleſh is leſs juicy, and leſs tender than it is in Europe, from which it appears that he has not been well informed. In the hot countries of the new world ſheep in general do not thrive, and the fleſh of wethers is not good; at this, however, we need not wonder, as the hot climes in the old continent are ſo pernicious to ſheep that, as count de Buffon himſelf ſays, they become clothed with hair inſtead of wool. In the cold and temperate countries of New Spain they have multiplied ſuperiorly to bulls, their wool in many places is as fine as the wool of the ſheep in Spain, and their fleſh as well taſted as any in Europe; which all thoſe who have viſited thoſe countries can teſtify. The multiplication of ſheep in America has been ſurpriſing. Acoſta relates (*f*) that before he went to America, there were in that country individuals poſſeſſing ſeventy, and ſometimes one hundred thouſand ſheep; and at preſent there are perſons in New Spain who own four and five and even ſeven hundred thouſand ſheep (*g*). Valdebro ſays (*h*) that D. Diego Muñoz Camargo, a Tlaſcalan noble, of whom we have made mention in our account of the writers of the ancient Hiſtory of Mexico, obtained from ten ſheep an increaſe of forty thouſand in the ſpace

(*e*) Hiſt. Nat. tom. xcvii.

(*f*) Stor. Nat. e Mor. lib. iv. 33.

(*g*) The Europeans who have not been in America are extremely apt to be incredulous with regard to what we ſay of the number of oxen, horſes, ſheep, and goats, which many American farmers have upon their eſtates; but having been long in that country, we aſſert no more than we know to be truth.

(*h*) In his work of *Gobierno de Animales*, lib. iv. cap. 34.

of

of ten years. How therefore could the climate be pernicious to their propagation, if they multiplied ſo exceſſively? With reſpect to ſize, we declare ſincerely, we have ſeen no rams in Europe larger than thoſe of Mexico.

GOATS.

THE count de Buffon, although ſo much diſpoſed to revile the animals of America, confeſſes, notwithſtanding, that the goats have proſpered well in the climes of America, and that their multiplication is greater there than in Europe (*b*); for whereas in Europe they bring but a ſingle kid, or two at moſt, at a birth, in America they bring three, four, and ſometimes five. Mr. de Paw, who very juſtly gives to the count de Buffon the title of the Pliny of France, and refers to his authority on the ſubject of animals, as to one who has made a review of all the animals of the earth, ought to have conſidered and weighed theſe and other confeſſions of that learned philoſopher, before he undertook to write or ſpeculate concerning the animals or the productions of America.

HOGS.

OUR philoſophers are not agreed upon this ſubject; for whereas the count de Buffon places hogs among the animals which have degenerated in America, Mr. de Paw on the contrary affirms, that theſe are the only animals which have acquired in the new world an extraordinary corpulence, and whoſe fleſh has been improved. This contradiction aroſe without doubt from the not diſtinguiſhing as they ought to have done the different countries of America. It may be, there are ſome places unkown to us where the hogs have loſt ſomething of their ſize: but it is certain that in New Spain, the Antilles, Terra-firma, and other places of America they are as large as thoſe of Europe; and in the iſland of Cuba there is a breed of hogs twice as large as thoſe of Europe; which all who have been in thoſe countries muſt have witneſſed. Our philoſophers may, if they pleaſe, have information from many European authors, who have ſeen the hogs of Toluca, of Angelopoli

(*b*) Hiſt. Nat. tom [illegible].

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in New Spain, of Carthagena, of Cuba, &c. reſpecting their exceſſive multiplication, and the excellence of their fleſh (*i*).

OF HORSES AND MULES.

OF all the reflections thrown out by the count de Buffon and Mr. de Paw againſt the animals of the new continent, there is no inſtance where they have done ſtronger injuſtice to America, and to truth, than in the ſuppoſed degeneracy of horſes there. Of them Acoſta ſays (*k*), "that in many countries of America, or in the greater "part, they have proſpered and proſper well, and ſome breeds are as "good as the beſt of Spain, not only for the courſe and for parade, "but alſo for journeys and labour." A teſtimony of this kind from a European ſo critical, ſo impartial, and ſo well verſed in the things of America and Europe, is of more weight than all the declamations of theſe philoſophers againſt the new world. The lieutenant general D. Antonio Ulloa, a learned Spaniſh mathematician ſtill living (*l*) ſpeaks with aſtoniſhment of the American horſes which he ſaw in Chili and Peru; and celebrates thoſe of Chili for their pace, thoſe which are called *aguilillas* for their extraordinary velocity, and thoſe called *parameros* for their wonderful agility in running in chace of the ſtag with riders upon them, down the ſides, and up the ſteepeſt rocky parts of the mountains. He relates, that on one of thoſe horſes called *aguilillas* which, he adds, was none of the fleeteſt of his kind, he has frequently gone upwards of fifteen miles in fifty-ſeven or fifty-eight minutes. In New Spain there is an incredible plenty both of horſes and mules. The multitude of them may be conjectured from their price; at the time of the conqueſt an ordinary horſe was worth a thouſand crowns, at preſent a good one may be purchaſed for ten or

(*i*) It will ſuffice to read what Acoſta has written in lib. iv. cap. 38. of his Hiſtory. "It "is certain," ſays he, "that hogs have multiplied abundantly through all America. Their "fleſh is eat freſh in many places, and eſteemed very wholeſome, and as much ſo as that of "the ſheep; namely in Carthagena. . . . In ſome places they are fattened with corn, and be-"come extremely fat. In others they make excellent lard and bacon of them, namely in To-"luca of New Spain, and in Paria." The count de Buffon, in the ſame, volume xviii. in which he claſſes the hog among the animals which have degenerated in America, ſays poſitively, that the hogs tranſported to America have thriven there well.

(*k*) Hiſt. Nat. y Mor. lib. iv. cap. 33.

(*l*) Voyage to South America, part. I. lib. vi. cap. 9.

twelve

twelve (*m*). Their ſize is the ſame as that of the common horſes of Europe. In Mexico there is ſeldom a horſe to be ſeen ſo ſmall as the breed of Sclavonia which we ſee in Italy, and ſtill ſeldomer ſo ſmall as thoſe of Iceland and other countries in the North, as Anderſon, or thoſe of India as Tavernier and other authors relate. Their hardineſs is ſuch, that it is a frequent cuſtom with the inhabitants of thoſe countries to make journies of ſeventy, eighty, or more miles at a good pace the whole way, without ſtopping or changing their horſes, however fatiguing the road. Saddle horſes, although they are geldings for the moſt part, have a prodigious ſpirit. Mules, which through the whole of that country ſerve for carriages, and for burdens, are equal in ſize to thoſe of Europe. Thoſe for burdens which are conducted by drivers, carry a load of about five hundred pounds weight. They do not travel more than twelve or fourteen miles a-day, according to the cuſtom of that country; but in this manner they make journies of eight hundred, a thouſand, and fifteen hundred miles. Carriage mules go at the rate of the poſts of Europe, although they draw a great deal more weight on account of the baggage of paſſengers. Saddle mules are made uſe of for very long journeys. It is common to make a journey on a mule from Mexico to Guatemala, which is about a thouſand miles diſtance, over a track of country that is mountainous and rough, at the rate of three or four ſtages a-day. The above facts which we have inſerted to ſhew the miſtakes of our philoſophers, are public and notorious in that kingdom, and agreeable to the report of ſeveral European authors. But nothing in our judgment can be a ſtronger indication of the plenty and excellence of American horſes than the following obſervation which we have had occaſion to make. Among the various things which are ordered from Spain, at great expence, by the Spaniards eſtabliſhed in America, from the attachment they preſerve to their native country, we do not know (at leaſt with regard to Mexico) that for theſe two hundred years paſt,

(*m*) In New Gallicia a middling horſe is to be had for two ſequins, a mule for three, or two and a half, and a herd of twenty-four mares with a ſtallion for twenty-five ſequins. In Chili, for half a ſequin or a crown may be purchaſed one of thoſe horſes that trot, which are much admired for their hardineſs and activity in running, and a mare may be bought for an equally ſmall conſideration.

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they have imported any horſes; and on the contrary, we are certain that American horſes have frequently been ſent to Spain as preſents to the grandees of the court, and ſometimes to the catholic king himſelf.

DOGS.

AMONG the abſurd opinions entertained by Mr. de Paw, which are not a few, his ideas reſpecting dogs are not the leaſt extraordinary: "Dogs," he ſays, (*n*) "when tranſported from our countries, immediately loſe their voice, and ceaſe to bark in the greater part of the "regions of the new continent." The Americans meet a number of things to make them ſmile in the work of Mr. de Paw, but in reading this paſſage it may provoke their loud laughter. Although we ſhould grant to Mr. de Paw that dogs have degenerated in many places, nothing could from thence be inferred againſt the new, which could not be equally well applied to the old world: for, according as Mr. de Buffon affirms, dogs when tranſported from the temperate into the cold climes of the old continent loſe their voice, and when tranſported into extremely hot climes, they loſe not only their voice, but alſo their hair. This aſſertion of the count de Buffon is ſupported by the experiment made on European dogs tranſported into Aſia and Africa, whoſe degeneracy, he ſays, is ſo quick in Guinea and other very hot countries, that after three or four years they remain entirely mute and bald. Mr. de Paw does not dare to ſay ſo much of the dogs tranſported to America; but even that which he affirms is moſt falſe. In what countries of America have dogs loſt their voice? On the faith of what author has he dared to publiſh ſuch a fable? The greater part of the countries of America to which European dogs have bsen tranſported are ſubjected to the king of Spain, and in none of them has ſuch an accident happened to dogs. Neither among the European authors who have obſerved and noted the peculiarities of America, nor among the many Americans lately arrived from the countries of Spaniſh America, have we found one to confirm this anecdote from Mr. de Paw. That, however, which we know both

(*n*) Recherch. Philoſoph. part i.

from ſeveral writers of America, and many perſons acquainted with thoſe countries, is, that dogs never run mad either in Peru, Quito, or in other countries of the new world. Mr. de Paw perhaps read, that in ſome countries of America there were dogs which did not bark, and this was enough for him to publiſh that European dogs when tranſported to America ſoon loſt their voice. In like manner it might be ſaid, that figs when tranſplanted from Europe to America become immediately thorny, becauſe the *nochtli* or *tuna* has thorns, and from ſome reſemblance to the fig was called by the Spaniards Indian fig, in the ſame way as they called the *techichi*, the little dog of Mexico, becauſe it reſembled a little dog; but neither is this quadruped a real dog, nor that fruit a true fig. It is eaſy to be betrayed into ſuch errors when the ideas of men wander in ſpeculation, and the paſſions help their going aſtray. The count de Buffon, on the contrary, affirms (*o*) that European dogs have proſpered in the hot as well as the cold countries of the new world: in which affirmation he grants certainly a great ſuperiority to the clime of America over that of the old world.

CATS.

OUR philoſophers ſay nothing in particular concerning the degeneracy of cats in America: but they ought to be comprehended in their univerſal aſſertion. Nevertheleſs count de Buffon, who in the paſſage above quoted does not admit any exception in that which he ſays of the degeneracy of animals in America, treating afterwards of cats in particular, after boaſting thoſe of Spain as the beſt of all, he affirms that theſe Spaniſh cats tranſported to America have preſerved their fine colours, and have not in the leaſt degenerated (*p*).

Theſe are the quadrupeds (*q*) tranſported from the old to the new continent, all of which, except camels, have multiplied exceſſive-

(*o*) Hiſtoire Nat. tom. x.

(*p*) Id. tom. xi.

(*q*) The count de Buffon adds to the above mentioned quadrupeds tranſported to America the Guinea pig and the rabbet; but affirms that thoſe two ſpecies have proſpered. With reſpect to mice it would certainly be a great diſtreſs to America if they could not live in that climate.

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ly, and have preſerved without alteration their corpulence, their figure, and the perfection of their originals; which is confirmed partly by the confeſſion of theſe philoſophers themſelves, partly by the depoſitions of European authors who are impartial, judicious, and well experienced in thoſe countries; and partly by the notoriety alſo of what we have alledged, and which we truſt cannot be confuted. We do not doubt that candid readers will be ſenſible from what we have ſet forth of the miſtakes and contradictions of theſe philoſophers occaſioned by their ridiculous attempt to diſcredit the new world, the fallacy of their obſervations, the inſufficiency of their arguments, and the raſhneſs of their cenſure.

CATALOGUE OF AMERICAN QUADRUPEDS.

SECT. I.

Species acknowledged and admitted by the Count de Buffon.

(The Number added to each Species refers to the Volume in which the author ſpeaks of it.)

ACOUTI, a ſmall quadruped of Paraguay and Brazil, ſimilar to the rabbet. The true name in the Paragueſe tongue is *Acuti*, 17.

AI, a ſpecies of ſloth furniſhed with a tail, 26.

AKOUCHI, a ſmall quadruped of Guiana, 30.

ALCE, vulgarly called *Great-beaſt* (*a*), by the French *Elan*, by the Canadians *Orignac*, 24.

ALCO, amongſt the Peruvians *Alleo*, among the Mexicans *Techichi*, a mute eatable quadruped ſimilar to a little dog.

APAR, ſpecies of *Tatu* or *Armadillo*, furniſhed with three moveable bands, 21.

APEREA, a quadruped reſembling the rabbet, but without a tail, 30.

BUFFLER, or hunch-backed bull, called in Mexico *Cibolo*, a large quadruped of North America, 23.

(*a*) In America they call the Tapir or Danta the *Great-beaſt*.

CA-

CABASSOU, a ſpecies of Tatu, covered with two plates or ſhells, and twelve moveable bands, 21.

CABCAI, or *capibara* (*b*), an amphibious quadruped ſimilar to the hog, 25.

CACHICAMO, a ſpecies of Tatu, covered with two plates, and nine moveable bands, 21.

CHAMOIS, 24.

CHEVRUEIL, 29.

BEAVER, 17.

STAG, 11.

CHINCHE, a ſpecies of American polecat (*c*), 27.

COAITA, a ſpecies of *cercopithecus*, or ape furniſhed with a tail, 30.

COASO, a ſpecies of polecat.

COATI, or rather *Cuati*, a ſmall and curious quadruped of the ſouthern countries of America, 17.

COENDU', or rather *Cuandu*, the porcupine of Guiana or Paraguay, called in Oronoko *Arura*, 25.

COJOPOLLIN, (not Cayopollin, as count de Buffon writes it) a ſmall quadruped of Mexico, 21.

CONEPATA, in Mexican *conepatl*, the ſmalleſt ſpecies of polecat, 27.

COQUALLINO, (theſe count de Buffon calls the *Cozocotecuillin* of Mexico) a quadruped ſimilar to the ſquirrel, but different, 26.

COUGUAR, or *Cuguar*, a ſpotted wild beaſt of the tyger kind, 19.

FALLOW-DEER, 12, 29.

ENCOBERTADO, Tatu covered with two plates or ſhells and ſix bands, 21.

EXQUIMA, a ſpecies of *cercopithecus*, 30.

FALANGER, the name given to a ſmall quadruped, ſimilar to the mouſe, 26.

(*b*) The Cabiai of Buffon is called *Capibara* or *Capiguara* by the Tucumaneſe nation, *Capiiba* or *Capibara* by the Paragueſe, *Cappiva* by the Tamanacheſe, by the Chiquitans *Oquis*, and by other nations *Chiaco*, *Ciguiri*, *Irabubi*.

(*c*) *Chinche* is the Spaniſh for bug; from whence it ſeems the name of this inſect was given, likewiſe to the polecat, on account of the intolerable ſmell it emits behind; but we do not doubt that count de Buffon has rather altered the name *Chinche*, by which the polecat is known in Chili; for we do not find the name *Chinche* uſed to ſignify that quadruped in any country of America.

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FER DE LANCE, a ſpecies of rat ſo called by Buffon, on account of a membrane which it has ſimilar to the iron of a lance, 27.

FILANDRO of Surinam, a quadruped ſimilar to the Maroſa and *Tlacuatzin*, but different, 30.

ANT-KILLER (*e*), a quadruped of the hot countries of America, 20.

GLUTTON, called by the Canadians *Carcaju*, a wild beaſt of northern coutries, 27.

JAGUAR (*f*), or American tyger, 19.

JAGUARETE (*g*), or rather *Jaguaretè*, a wild beaſt of the tyger kind, 18.

ISATIS, a wild beaſt of cold countries, 27.

LAMENTIN, ſo the French call the *Manati*, a large animal of the ſea, of lakes, and rivers, claſſed by Buffon among quadrupeds, although it can hardly be called *bipes*, or rather *bimanus*, 27.

SEA-LION, ſo Lord Anſon called the greater ſea-calf, which in Chili has the name of *Lame*, 27.

COMMON HARE, 13.

LYNX, 19.

LLAMA, not *lama*, as Buffon writes it, nor *glama*, as Mr. de Paw writes, the Peruvian ram, 26.

LONTRA, called by the Peruvians *Miquilo*, 14.

COMMON WOLF, called by the Mexicans *Cuetlachtli*, 14, 19.

SEA-WOLF, or ſmaller ſea-calf, 27.

BLACK-WOLF, different from the common wolf, 19.

MAPACH, a curious quadruped of Mexico, 17.

MARGAI, or Tyger-cat. This name may have been taken from the *Mbaracaja* of the Paragueſe, 27.

MARIKINA, or lion-ape, a ſpecies of *cercopithecus*, 30.

MARMOSA, a ſmall and curious quadruped of hot and temperate countries of America, 21.

(*e*) The Ant-killer is called by the Spaniards *oſo ormiguero*, or ant-bear, although it is as unlike to a bear as a dog is to a cat. Buffon diſtinguiſhes the ſpecies of them in Ameriea. The firſt is called by him ſimply *Fourmillier*, the ſecond *Tammannoir*, and the third *Tamandua*. The Peruvians call them *Hucumari*.

(*f*) *Jagua* in the Guarani language is the common name for tygers and dogs. The Peruvians call the tygers *Uturuncu*, and the Mexicans *Ocelotl*.

(*g*) The generic name for tygers in the Guarani language is *Jaquar-ete*.

MAR-

MARMOT, called by the Canadians *Muax*, 26.

MICO, the ſmalleſt ſpecies of the *cercopitheci* (*h*), 30.

MORSE, a large amphibious animal of the ſea, 27.

OCELOTL, or leopard-cat of Mexico, 27.

ONDATRA, *(rat muſque du Canada)* a quadruped ſimilar to the mouſe, 20.

BROWN-BEAR, 17.

BLACK-BEAR, ſpecifically different from the brown, 17.

PACA, a quadruped ſimilar to the pig in hair and grunting, but in head like a rabbet. In Brazil *Paca*, in Paraguay *Pag*, Quito *Picuru*, and Oronoko *Accuri*, 21.

PACO, a quadruped of South America of the ſame kind, not however of the ſame ſpecies, with the Llama. The Indian name is *Allpaca*, 26.

PECARI, a quadruped which has upon its back a humorous gland which ſtinks, by many ſuppoſed to be its navel. The true names of it in different countries of America, are thoſe of *ſaino*, *cojametl*, *tatabro*, and *pachira* (*l*) 20.

PEKAN, or American marten, 27.

PETIT-GRIS a quadruped of cold countries ſimilar to the ſquirrel, ſo called by Buffon, 20.

PILORI, (*rat muſque des Antilles*) a ſmall qnadruped ſimilar to the mouſe, and different from the Ondatra, 20.

PINCHIS, (with Buffon, *Pinche*) a ſpecies of ſmall *cercopithecus*, 30.

POLATUCA, a quadruped partly like a ſquirrel, called by the Mexicans *Quimichpatlan*, or flying-rat, 20.

INDIAN-PIG, (in French *porc de Inde)* a ſmall quadruped of South America reſembling the pig and rabbet, without a tail, 16.

PUMA, or American lion, called by the Mexicans *Miztli*, and in Chili *Pagi*, 18.

(*h*) *Mico* in Spaniſh is the generic name of the *cercopitheci*, but Buffon only applies it to the ſmalleſt ſpecies.

(*i*) *Ocelotl* in Mexican is the name of the tyger; but Buffon applies it to the Leopard cat.

(*l*) It is not improbable that the *Pecari* has been ſo called by Buffon from *pachira*, which is the name given to this quadruped in Oronoko. Buffon calls it alſo *Tayaſſou*, but *Tajazu*, as it ſhould be written in the Guarani tongue, is the common name for all the ſpecies of hogs.

QUIR-

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QUIRQUINCHO, a ſpecies of Tatu covered with a ſhell and eighteen bands (*m*).

REIN-DEER, in Canada *Caribu*, 24.

SAI (*n*), a ſpecies of *cercopithecus*, 30.

SAIMIRI, or rather *Caimiri*, a curious ſpecies of *cercopithecus*, 30.

SAKI, a ſpecies of *cercopithecus* with a long tail, 30.

SARICOVIENNE, particular Lontra of Paraguay, Brazil, Guiana, and Oronoko. In Paraguay it is called *Kija*, and in Oronoko *Cairo*, and *Nevi*, 27.

SAYU, (perhaps *Caju*) a ſpecies of *cercopithecus*, 30.

WATER-RAT, 30.

SURICATE, quadruped of South America, which, like the Hyena, has four toes to every foot, 26.

SVIZZERO, called by the Mexicans *Tlalmototli*, a quadruped in form like the ſquirrel, but different in its mode of life, and almoſt twice as large, 20.

TAIRA, or weaſel of Guiana.

TAMANDUA, or rather *Tamanduà*, the middling ſpecies among the Ant-killers, 26.

TAMANNOIR, the largeſt ſpecies of the Ant-killers, 26.

TAPET, or Tapeto, a quadruped of South America, reſembling both the hare and rabbit. The true name in the Guarani language is Tapiiti, 30.

TAPIR (*a*), a large quadruped of America, called by the Spaniards *Anta*, *Danta*, and *Granbeſtia*, and in other American languages, *Tapii*, *Tapiira*, *Beori*, *Tlacaxolotl*, &c. 23.

TARSIERE, a quadruped ſomething like the Marmoſa and *Tlacuatzin*. 29.

(*m*) *Quirquincho*, amongſt the Peruvians, *Ajotochtli*, amongſt the Mexicans, *Tatu* amongſt the Paragueſe, and *Armadillo* among the Spaniards, are all generic names of theſe ſpecies of quadrupeds. Buffon confines the name *Quirchincho* not *Cirquincon* as he writes it to one ſingle ſpecies; as alſo that of *Ajotochtli*.

(*n*) *Cai*, not *Sai* as Buffon writes it, is in the Guarani tongue the generic name of all the *Cercopithecus*; but he confines it alſo to one ſpecies.

(*o*) We willingly adopt the name *Tapir*, becauſe it is already in uſe among modern zoologiſts, and is not otherwiſe equivocal. That of *Great-beaſt* is proper to the Alce; that of Anta or Danta is likewiſe given to the Zebu, a quadruped of Africa very different from the Tapir.

TATU.

TATUETO, a name given by count de Buffon to that ſpecies of Tatu which is covered with two ſhells and eight bands, 21.

TLACUATZIN, a curious quadruped, the female of which carries its young, after having brought them forth, in a bag or membrane which it has under its belly. In different countries of America it has the following names, *Chucha*, *Churcha*, *Mucamuca*, *Jariquè*, *Fara*, and *Auarè*. The Spaniards of Mexico call it *Tlacuache*. Some naturaliſts have given it the improper name of *Filandro*, and others, the extremely proper one of *Diaelfus*. Count de Buffon calls it *Larigue* and *Carigue*, changing the name *Jarique*, by which it is known in Braſil. 21.

TOPORAGNO (in the Spaniſh muſaraña). 30.

TUZA, not *Tucan*, as count de Buffon writes (*p*); in Mexican, *Tozan*; a quadruped of Mexico, of the mole kind, but larger and more beautiful. 30.

VAMPIRO, great bat of America.

UARINA, with Buffon, *Ouarine* (*q*); great-bearded *cercopithecus*, called in Quito *Omeco*. 30.

VISON, or American polecat. 27.

UISTITI, ſpecies of ſmall *cercopithecus*, 30.

UNAU, a ſpecies of ſloth without tail. (*r*) 26.

COMMON FOX. 14.

URSON, quadruped of cold countries, ſimilar to but different from the beaver. 25.

ZORRILLO, or Zorriglio, a ſpecies of polecat (*s*). 27.

(*p*) We know not if the Tuza is of the ſame ſpecies of quadruped which the Peruvians call *Tupu tupu*.

(*q*) The count de Buffon doubts whether the *Aluata* which is a cercopithecus of a large ſize, is of the ſame ſpecies with the Uarina; but we aſſure him it is certainly of the ſame ſpecies, and therefore we have not put down the Aluata, (which he writes Alouate) in this catalogue.

(*r*) The count de Buffon juſtly diſtinguiſhes two ſpecies of the ſloth, the one furniſhed with a tail, the other not; becauſe beſides this they bear other different characters. In Quito they call the ſloths *Quillac* or *Quigllac*, and in Oronoko *Proto*. The Spaniards call them *Pereza*, which means ſlothfulneſs, and *Perico ligero*, or ſwift dog, by way of antiphraſis.

(*s*) *Zorrillo*, or little fox, is the generic name which the Spaniards give to Polecats. The Mexicans call them *Epatl*. In Chili *Chingbe*, and in other countries of South America *Mapurito*, *Aguatuja*, &c.

DISSERT. VI.

From this catalogue we ſee that the count de Buffon, who could not find more than ſeventy ſpecies of quadrupeds in all America, in the progreſs of his Natural Hiſtory acknowledges and diſtinguiſhes at leaſt ninety-four; we ſay *at leaſt*, as beſides thoſe above mentioned we ought to mention the common hog, the ermine, and others, which, denied by Buffon to America in ſome places of his hiſtory, are granted to it in others.

SECT. II.

Species which Count de Buffon has confounded with others that are different.

The *Guanaco* with the Llama or Gliama (*t*).

The *Vicugna* with the Paco.

The *Citli* with the Tapete or Tapiiti (*u*).

The *Huiztlacuatzin*, or Mexican porcupine, with the *Cuandu* or porcupine of Guiana (*x*).

The *Tlacocelotl* with the *Ocelotl (y)*.

The *Tepeitzcuintli*, or mountain dog of Mexico with the Glutton *(z)*.

The *Xoloitzcuintli*, or bald dog with the Wolf.

(*t*) Beſides other characters of diſtinction between the Llama, the Guanaco, the Vicugna, and Paco, they have never been known to copulate though put together in one place. If this circumſtance is ſufficient to allow us to infer a difference of ſpecies between the dog and the wolf, quadrupeds very ſimilar in external figure and internal organization, what ought we to conclude reſpecting four quadrupeds which are more different from each other than the dog is from the wolf?

(*u*) To render ourſelves certain of the difference between the *Citli* and the *Tapete* it is ſufficient to compare the deſcriptions which Hernandez and Buffon give of each.

(*x*) See what we have ſaid in the firſt book of our Hiſtory concerning the difference between the Mexican oſtrich and that of Guiana.

(*y*) The count de Buffon is deſirous of perſuading us that the *Tlacocelotl* and *Ocelotl* are but one ſame animal; the laſt the male, the other the female; that *Ocelotl* is the ſame name with *Tlacocelotl* excepting the ſyncope. We might as well ſay that *Canis* is not different from *Semicanis*, and that *Tygris* is the ſame as *Semitygris*, becauſe the Mexican *Ocelotl* is the ſame thing with *Tygris* and *Tlacocelotl* means nothing but *Semitygris*. The count de Buffon is not blameable for not knowing the Mexican language; but neither ought he to be excuſed for deciding on matters in which he was ignorant. Hernandez, who ſaw and examined as a naturaliſt both thoſe two wild animals, certainly deſerves the greater credit.

(*z*) See what we have ſaid reſpecting theſe three laſt quadrupeds in our fourth Diſſertation.

The

The *Itzcuintepozotli*, or hunch-backed dog, with the *Alco* or Techichi. We ought therefore to add theſe eight ſpecies, which he has confuſed with others, to the ninety-four above mentioned, which will make one hundred and two.

SECT. III.

Species anknown, or unjuſtly denied by the the Count de Buffon to America.

ACHUNI, *cercopithecus* of Quito, furniſhed with a long ſnout and very ſharp teeth, and covered with hair like briſtles. Manuſcript in our poſſeſſion.

AHUITZOTL, ſmall amphibious quadruped of Mexico, deſcribed by us in our firſt book.

AMIZTLI, an amphibious quadruped of Mexico, deſcribed by us *(a)*.

CACOMIZTLE, a quadruped of Mexico, ſimilar to the pole-cat in its mode of living, but different in ſhape, deſcribed in our firſt book.

DOG of Cibola, or dog of burden, a quadruped of the country of Cibola, ſimilar in form to a maſtiff, which the Indians employ to carry burdens. Several hiſtorians of Mexico mention this ſtrong animal.

CHICHICO, *cercopithecus* of Quito, ſo ſmall that it can be held in the hand. It is found of different colours. MS.

CHILLIHUEQUE, a large quadruped of Chili, ſimilar to the Guanaco, but different. Hiſtory of Chili, by Molina.

CHINCHILLA, ſpecies of woolly field-rat, mentioned by many hiſtorians of South America.

CHINCHIMEN, or ſea-cat, an amphibious quadruped of the ſea of Chili. Nat. Hiſt. of Chili.

CINOCEPHALUS *Cercopithecus*, a quadruped of Mexico, of which Hernandez, Briſſon, and others make mention.

COJOTE, (in Mexico Cojotl) a wild beaſt deſcribed in this hiſtory.

(*a*) In a note of the firſt book of our Hiſtory we ſaid that the *Amizdi* appeared to us the ſame quadruped with that called by Buffon *Saricovienne*; but on farther reflection and conſideration we have found thoſe two quadrupeds ſpecifically different.

COMMON RABBET, called by the Mexicans *Tochtli*.

CUL, or Peruvian rabbet, a ſmall quadruped, ſimilar to the Indian pig, of which ſeveral hiſtorians of Peru make mention.

CULPEU, a particular ſpecies of large fox in Chili. Hiſt. of Chili.

DEGU, or dormouſe of Chili. Ibid.

SEA-HOG, a particular ſpecies of amphibious hog of Chili. Ibid.

FERRET of Chili and Paraguay, called in Guarani *Jaguarohape*. Ibid. and MS. with us.

HONEY-CAT. Thus the Spaniards name a quadruped of the province of Chaco, in South America, ſimilar in form to the cat, which lies in watch for birds upon trees, and is extremely fond of the honey of bees. MS. with us.

GUANQUE, a ſpecies of field-rat, of a blueiſh caſt, in Chili. Nat. Hiſt. of Chili.

HORRO, great *cercopithecus* of Quito and Mexico, all black but the neck, which is white. It cries loudly in the woods, and when upright on its feet meaſures the height of a man. MS. with us.

HUEMUL, cloven footed horſe of Chili. Hiſt. of Chili.

JAGUARON, in Guarani *Jaquaru*, an amphibious wild animal of Paraguay, called by ſome naturaliſts the water-tyger. MS. with us.

KIKI, quadruped of Chili, of the weazel kind. Hiſt. of Chili.

MAJAN, quadruped ſimilar to a hog, which has a round body, and its briſtles ſticking up. It inhabits Paraguay. MS. with us.

PISCO-CUSHILLO, or *avis cercopithecus*, *cercopithecus* of Quito, which is covered from the neck to the tail with a certain kind of feathers. MS. with us.

Common HEDGE-HOG of Paraguay. MS. with us.

RAT, moſt common in America before the Spaniards landed there, and called by the Mexicans *Quimichin*. Deſcribed by us.

The common FIELD-RAT of Mexico and other countries of America.

TAJE, a quadruped of California, of which mention is made both in the printed hiſtory and in manuſcripts of that peninſula. The *Taje* is unqueſtionably the *Ibex* of Pliny, deſcribed by count de Buffon under the name *Bouquetin*.

TAITETU

TAITETU a quadruped of Paraguay, of the hog kind, the female of which brings forth two young which are united together by means of the navel-ſtring. MS. by us.

WHITE BADGER of New York, deſcribed by Briſſon.

THOPEL-LAME, an amphibious quadruped of the ſea of Chili, a ſpecies of ſea-calf, more ſimilar ſtill to the lion than that ſeen by lord Anſon. Hiſtory of Chili.

TLALCOJOTE, in Mexico *Tlalcojotl*, a common quadruped of Mexico, deſcribed in book i.

Common WHITE FIELD MOUSE of Mexico.

Common FIELD MOUSE of Mexico and other countries of America.

MOUSE of Maule, a quadruped of that province, in the kingdom of Chili, ſimilar to the Marmot, but twice as large. Hiſt of Chili.

TREFLE, or *Trefoil*, a large quadruped of North America, deſcribed by Bomare.

VISCACHA of the fields, a quadruped ſimilar to the rabbet, but furniſhed with a large tail turned upwards. Acoſta and other hiſtorians of South America mention it.

VISCACHA of the mountains, a quadruped extremely beautiful, of the ſame kind with that of the fields, but different in ſpecies. MS. by us.

USNAGUA, or *Cercopithecus nocturnus* of Quito. MS. &c.

Theſe forty ſpecies, added to thoſe one hundred and two above mentioned, make one hundred and forty-two ſpecies of American quadrupeds. If we add to thoſe, horſes, aſſes, bulls, ſheep, goats, common hogs, and Guinea-pigs, dogs, cats, and houſe mice, tranſported there ſince the conqueſt, we ſhall have at preſent an hundred and fifty-two ſpecies in America. Count de Buffon, who in all his Natural Hiſtory does not enumerate more than two hundred ſpecies of quadrupeds in the countries of the world hitherto diſcovered, in his work entitled, *Epoches de la Nature*, reckons now three hundred; ſo large has the increaſe been in the ſpace of a few years! But now that they are three hundred, America, although it does not make more than a third part of the globe, has notwithſtanding almoſt one half of the ſpecies of its quadrupeds. We repeat *almoſt*, becauſe we have omitted

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all thoſe of which we are in doubt whether they are different from thoſe deſcribed by Buffon. Our principal aim in forming this catalogue has not been to ſhew the miſtakes of the count de Buffon in his enumeration of American quadrupeds, and the error of his opinions concerning the imagined ſcarcity of matter in the new world, but to be of ſome ſervice to European naturaliſts by pointing out to them ſome quadrupeds hitherto unknown, and removing in ſome degree thoſe difficulties which have been occaſioned by indiſtinct appellations of them. They might deſire to have exact deſcriptions along with them, and even in this we ſhould be willing to contribute every thing in our power, were it not foreign to our purpoſe. In order to make this catalogue, beſides the great ſtudy in which it has engaged us, we have obtained written informations from perſons of learning and accuracy of knowledge, experienced in different countries of America, for whoſe obliging communications we owe them the greateſt acknowledgements.

DISSERTATION V.

On the Phyſical and Moral Conſtitution of the Mexicans.

IN Mexico and the other countries of America four claſſes of men may be diſtinguiſhed. Firſt, The proper Americans, commonly called Indians, or thoſe who are deſcended of the ancient peoplers of that new world, and have not mixed their blood with the people of the old continent. Secondly, The European Aſiatics and Africans eſtabliſhed in thoſe countries. Thirdly, The ſons or deſcendants of them who have been called by the Spaniards *Criollos*, that is *Creoles*, although the name principally belongs to thoſe deſcendants of Europeans whoſe blood has not been mixed with that of the Americans, Aſiatics, or Africans. Fourthly, The mixed breeds called by the Spaniards *caſtas*, that is thoſe who are born or deſcended of an European and an American, or from an European and an African, or from an African and American, &c. All thoſe claſſes of men have been fated to meet with the contempt and defamation of Mr. de Paw. He ſuppoſes or feigns the climate of the new world to be ſo malignant as to cauſe the degeneracy of not only the Creoles and proper Americans who are born in it, but alſo thoſe Europeans who reſide there, although they have been born under a milder ſky, and a climate more favourable, as he imagines, to all animals. If Mr. de Paw had wrote his philoſophical reſearches in America, we might with reaſon apprehend the degeneracy of the human ſpecies under the climate of America; but as we find that work and many others of the ſame ſtamp produced in Europe, we are confirmed by them in the truth of the Italian proverb taken from the Greek, *Tutto il mondo è paeſe*. But leaving aſide the prejudices and prepoſſeſſions of that philoſopher and his partizans againſt the other claſſes of men, we ſhall only treat of that which he has written againſt the native Americans, as they are the moſt injured and the leaſt defended. If in the writing of this Diſſertation we had given

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given way to intereſt or paſſion, we would rather have undertaken the defence of the Creoles, which, beſides that it would have been more eaſy, ſhould naturally have intereſted us more. We are deſcended of Spaniſh parents, we have no affinity or relation to the Indians, nor can we hope for any recompence from their miſery: our motive is the love of truth, and the cauſe of humanity.

SECT. I.

Of the Corporeal Qualities of the Mexicans.

MR. de Paw, who finds fault with the ſtature, the formation, and the ſuppoſed irregularities of the animals of America, has not been more indulgent towards its men. If the animals appeared to him a ſixth part leſs in ſize than thoſe of Europe, the men, as he reports, are alſo ſmaller than the Caſtilians. If in the animals he remarked the want of tail, in the men he complains of the want of hair. If in the animals he found many ſtriking deformities, in the men he abuſes the complexion and ſhape. If he believed that the animals there, were not ſo ſtrong as thoſe of the old continent, he affirms, in like manner, that the men are feeble in extreme, and ſubject to a thouſand diſtempers occaſioned by the corruption of the air and the ſtench of the ſoil.

Concerning the ſtature of the Americans he ſays, in general, that although it is not equal to the ſtature of the Caſtilians, there is but little difference between them. But we are confident, and it is notorious through the whole of New Spain, that the Indians who inhabit thoſe countries, lying between nine and forty degrees of north latitude, which are the limits of the diſcoveries of the Spaniards, are more than five Pariſian feet in height, and that thoſe who do not reach that ſtature are as few in number amongſt the Indians as they are amongſt the Spaniards. We are certain beſides, that many of thoſe nations, as the *Apaches*, the *Hiaqueſe*, the *Pimeſe*, and *Cochimies*, are at leaſt as tall as the talleſt Europeans; and we are not conſcious, that in all the vaſt extent of the new world, a race of people has been found, except the Eſquimaux, ſo diminutive in ſtature as the Laplanders, the *Samojeds*, and

and Tartars, in the north of the old continent. In this reſpect, therefore, the inhabitants of the two continents are upon an equality.

In regard to the regularity and proportion of the limbs of the Mexicans, we do not need to ſay more than we have already ſaid in our firſt book. We are perſuaded, that among all thoſe who may read this work in America, no one will contradict the deſcription we have given of the ſhape and character of the Indians, unleſs he views them with the eye of a prejudiced mind. It is true, that Ulloa ſays, in ſpeaking of the Indians of Quito, he had obſerved, "that imperfect peo-"ple abounded among them, that they were either irregularly diminutive, "or monſtrous in ſome other reſpect, that they became either inſenſible, "dumb, or blind, or wanted ſome limb of their body:" but having ourſelves made ſome enquiry reſpecting this ſingularity of the Quitans, we were informed by perſons deſerving of credit, and acquainted with thoſe countries, that ſuch defects were neither cauſed by bad humours, nor by the climate, but by the miſtaken and blind humanity of their parents, who, in order to free their children from the hardſhips and toils to which the healthy Indians are ſubjected by the Spaniards, fix ſome deformity or weakneſs upon them, that they may become uſeleſs: a circumſtance of miſery which does not happen in other countries of America, nor in thoſe places of the ſame kingdom of Quito, where the Indians are under no ſuch oppreſſion. M. de Paw, and, in agreement with him, Dr. Robertſon, ſays, that no deformed perſons are to be found among the ſavages of America; becauſe, like the ancient Lacedemonians, they put to death thoſe children which are born hunch-backed, blind, or defective in any limb; but that in thoſe countries where they are formed into ſocieties, and the vigilance of their rulers prevent the murder of ſuch infants, the number of their deformed and irregular individuals is greater than it is in any other country of Europe. This would make an exceeding good ſolution of the difficulty if it were true: but if, poſſibly, there has been in America a tribe of ſavages who have imitated the barbarous example *(a)* of the celebrated Lacedemonians, it is certain that thoſe authors have no

(*a*) That inhuman practice of killing children which were born deformed, was not only permitted in Rome, but was preſcribed by the laws of the Twelve Tables. *Patet inſignem ad deformitatem puerum cito necato.*

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grounds to impute ſuch inhumanity to the reſt of the Americans; for that it has not been the practice, at leaſt with the far greater part of thoſe nations, is to be demonſtrated from the atteſtations of the authors the beſt acquainted with their cuſtoms. Beſides, in all the countries of Mexico, or New Spain, which make at leaſt one fourth of the new world, the Indians lived in ſocieties together, and aſſembled in cities, towns, and villages, under the care of Spaniſh or Creole magiſtrates and governors, and no ſuch inſtances of cruelty towards their infants are ever ſeen or heard of; yet deformed people are ſo uncommon, that all the Spaniards and Creoles, who came from Mexico to Italy, in the year 1768, were then, and are ſtill much ſurpriſed to obſerve the great number of blind, hunch-backed, lame, and otherwiſe deformed people, in the cities of that cultivated peninſula. The cauſe of this phenomenon, which ſo many writers have obſerved among the Americans, muſt therefore be different from that to which the above mentioned authors would impute it.

No argument againſt the new world can be drawn from the colour of the Americans; becauſe their colour is leſs diſtant from the white of the Europeans than it is from the black of the Africans, and a great part of the Aſiatics. The hair of the Mexicans, and of the greater part of the Indians, is, as we have already ſaid, coarſe and thick; on their face they have little, and in general (*b*) none on their arms and legs: but it is an error to ſay, as M. de Paw does, that they are entirely deſtitute of hair in all the other parts of their body. This is one of the many paſſages of the Philoſophical Reſearches, at which the Mexicans, and all the other nations, muſt ſmile to find an European philoſopher ſo eager to diveſt them of the dreſs they had from nature. He read, without doubt, that ignominious deſcription, which Ulloa gives of ſome people of South America (*c*), and from this ſingle premiſe, according to his logic, he deduces his general concluſion.

(*b*) We ſay, in general, becauſe there are Americans in Mexico who are bearded, and have hair on their arms and limbs.

(*c*) Ulloa, in the deſcription which he gives of the Indians of Quito, ſays, that hair neither grows upon the men nor upon the women when they arrive at puberty, as it does on the reſt of mankind; but whatever ſingularlity may attend the Quitans, or occaſion this circumſtance, there is no doubt that among the Americans in general, the period of puberty is accompanied with the ſame ſymptoms as it is among other nations of the world.

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The very aſpect of an Angolan, Mandingan, or Congan, would have ſhocked Mr. de Paw, and made him recall that cenſure which he paſſes on the colour, the make, and hair of the Americans. What can be imagined more contrary to the idea we have of beauty, and the perfection of the human frame, than a man whoſe body emits a rank ſmell, whoſe ſkin is as black as ink, whoſe head and face are covered with black wool, inſtead of hair, whoſe eyes are yellow and bloody, whoſe lips are thick and blackiſh, and whoſe noſe is flat? Such are the inhabitants of a very large portion of Africa, and of many iſlands of Aſia. What men can be more imperfect than thoſe who meaſure no more than four feet in ſtature, whoſe faces are long and flat, the noſe compreſſed, the *irides* yellowiſh black, the eyelids turned back towards the temples, the cheeks extraordinarily elevated, their mouths monſtrouſly large, their lips thick and prominent, and the lower part of their viſages extremely narrow? Such, according to count de Buffon (*d*), are the Laplanders, the Zemblans, the *Borandines*, the *Samojeds*, and Tartars in the Eaſt. What objects more deformed than men whoſe faces are too long and wrinkled even in their youth, their noſes thick and compreſſed, their eyes ſmall and ſunk, their cheeks very much raiſed, the upper jaw low, their teeth long and diſunited, their eye-brows ſo thick, that they ſhade their eyes; the eye-lids thick, ſome briſtles on their faces inſtead of beard, large thighs and ſmall legs? Such is the picture count de Buffon gives of the Tartars, that is of thoſe people who, as he ſays, inhabit a tract of land in Aſia, twelve hundred leagues long and upwards, and more than ſeven hundred and fifty broad. Amongſt theſe the Calmucks are the moſt remarkable for their deformity, which is ſo great, that, according to Tavernier, they are the moſt brutal men of all the univerſe. Their faces are ſo broad that there is a ſpace of five or ſix inches between their eyes, according as count de Buffon himſelf affirms. In Calicut, in Ceylon, and other countries of India, there is, ſay Pyrard and other writers on thoſe regions, a race of men who have one or both of their legs as thick as the body of a man; and that this deformity among them is almoſt hereditary. The Hottentots, beſides other groſs imperfections, have that

(*d*) Hiſt. Nat. tom. vi.

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monſtrous irregularity attending them, of a callous appendage extending from the os pubis downwards, according to the teſtimony of the hiſtorians of the Cape of Good Hope. Struys, Gemelli, and other travellers affirm, that in the kingdom of Lambry, in the iſlands of Formoſa, and of Mindoro, men have been found with tails. Bomare ſays (*e*), that a thing of this kind in men is nothing elſe than an elongation of the *os coccygis*; but what is a tail in quadrupeds but the elongation of that bone, though divided into diſtinct articulations (*f*)? However it may be, it is certain, that that elongation renders thoſe Aſiatics fully as irregular as if it was a real tail.

If we were, in like manner, to go through the nations of Aſia and Africa, we ſhould hardly find any extenſive country where the colour of men is not darker, where there are not ſtronger irregularities obſerved, and groſſer defects to be found in them, than M. de Paw finds fault with in the Americans. The colour of the latter is a good deal clearer than that of almoſt all the Africans, and the inhabitants of ſouthern Aſia. The ſcantineſs of beard is common to the inhabitants of the Phillippine Iſlands, and of all the Indian Archipelago, to the famous Chineſe, Japaneſe, Tartars, and many other nations of the old continent. The imperfections of the Americans, however great they may be repreſented to be, are certainly not comparable with the defects of that immenſe people, whoſe character we have ſketched, and others whom we omit. All theſe circumſtances might have reſtrained the pen of M. de Paw, but they ſlipped his memory, or he ſhut out the recollection of them.

M. de Paw repreſents the Americans to be a feeble and diſeaſed ſet of nations: Ulloa, on the contrary affirms, that they are healthy, robuſt, and ſtrong. Which of the two merits the greater credit? M. de Paw, who undertook at Berlin to review the Americans without knowing them; or Ulloa, who reſided amongſt them for ſome years, and converſed with them in different countries of South America; M. de Paw, who employed himſelf to degrade and debaſe them, in order to eſtabliſh his abſurd ſyſtem of degeneracy, or Ulloa, who, though

(*e*) Diction. de Hiſtoire. Nat. v. Homme.

(*f*) See Heiſter. Anat. de *Oſſibus trunci.*

by

by no means favourable in general to the Indians, was not bent on forming any ſyſtem, but only on writing what he judged to be true? The impartial reader will decide this queſtion.

M. de Paw, in order to demonſtrate the weakneſs and diſorder of the phyſical conſtitution of the Americans, adduces ſeveral proofs, which we ought not to omit. Theſe are, 1. That the firſt Americans who were brought to Europe went mad during their voyage, and their madneſs continued till death. 2. That grown men in many parts of America have milk in their breaſts. 3. That the American women are delivered with great facility, have an extraordinary plenty of milk, and the periodical evacuation of blood is ſcanty and irregular. 4. That the leaſt vigorous European conquered in wreſtling any American whatever. 5. That the Americans could not bear the weight of a light burden. 6. That they were ſubject to the venereal diſtemper, and other endemic diſeaſes.

With regard to the firſt proof, we deny it as being altogether falſe and inconſiſtent. Mr. de Paw ſays, on the faith of the Fleming Dappers, that the firſt Americans whom Columbus brought with him in 1493, were going to kill themſelves during the voyage, but that having been bound in order to prevent them from doing ſo, they run mad, and their madneſs laſted while they lived; that when they entered into Barcelona, they frightened the citizens to ſuch a degree with their howls, their contorſions, and their convulſive motions, that they were thought to be delirious. We have never ſeen the work of Dappers, but we have no doubt that his account is a ſtring of fables; for we do not find, that either any of his cotemporary authors, nor thoſe who wrote in the years immediately following, make any mention of ſuch an event; but, on the contrary, from what they ſay, it is eaſy to demonſtrate the falſity of his ſtory. Gonzalez Hernandez Oviedo, who was in Barcelona when Columbus arrived, ſaw, and knew thoſe Americans, and was an eye-witneſs of what happened, ſays nothing of their madneſs, their howls, and contorſions, which he would not naturally have omitted had they been true, as he was rather unfavourable to the Indians, as we have ſaid before, particularly when he was minutely relating their entry into that city, their baptiſm, their names, and in part their end. He ſays, that Columbus brought with him, from the iſland of Hiſ-

paniola,

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paniola, ten Americans, one of which died on the paſſage, three remained ſick in Palos, a port of Andaluſia, where, as he imagines, they died ſoon after, and the other ſix came to Barcelona, where the court was then held, that they were well inſtructed in the Chriſtian doctrines and baptiſed: Peter Martyr, of Aighera, who was alſo in Spain when Columbus arrived, makes mention of the Indians (*k*) which that famous admiral brought with him, but does not ſay a word about their madneſs: on the contrary, he relates, that when Cortes returned to Hiſpaniola, he carried back three of the Indians with him, as all the others had died by that time, from change of air and food (*l*); and that he employed one of them to gain information of the ſtate of the Spaniards whom he had left in that iſland. Ferdinand Colombus, a learned and diligent writer of the life of Chriſtopher Columbus his father, who happened alſo to be in Spain at that time, makes a minute detail of the voyages and actions of his glorious parent, ſpeaks of the Indians whom he had ſeen, and relates nothing more of them than P. Martyr. The account given by Dappers, therefore, is falſe, or at leaſt we will ſay, that madmen learned the Spaniſh language, that the Catholic kings choſe madmen to be with them, to amuſe them with their horrible howls; and laſtly, that Columbus, the prudent Columbus, made uſe of one of theſe madmen, to gain information of all that had happened to the Spaniards in Hiſpaniola while he had been abſent.

The anecdote of milk in the breaſts of the Americans is one of the moſt curious which we read in the Philoſophical Reſearches, and moſt worthy to excite our ſmiles, and the mirth of all the Americans: but

(*k*) Sommar. della Stor. delle Ind. Occid. cap. 4.

(*l*) To the cauſes of the death of thoſe Americans, mentioned by P. Martyr, may be added the extraordinary hardſhips they ſuffered in that horrid voyage, the circumſtances of which are to be found in the letters of Columbus, publiſhed by his ſon. From the number of thoſe who died, mentioned by Martyr, an exception ought to be made of that American whom the prince Don John retained with him, as he did not die till two years after, according to the teſtimony of Oviedo. But although they had all died on the voyage, or become frantic and mad, it ſhould not cauſe any wonder, conſidering what is recited by M. de Paw himſelf, in Part iii. ſect. 2. of his Reſearches: "Les academiciens Francois," he ſays, enleverent au de la de "Torneo deux Lappons, qui, obſedès et martyrisès par ces philoſophes, moururent de de-"ſeſpoir en route." Neither the country which the Laplanders left, nor the voyage which they had to make, can be compared with the country and the voyage of thoſe Americans; nor can we imagine the Spaniſh ſailors, of the fifteenth century, ſo humane as the French academicians of the eighteenth.

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it is neceſſary to confeſs, that Mr. de Paw has ſhewn more moderation than many others whom he has quoted. The celebrated naturaliſt Johnſton, affirms, in his *Thaumatographia*, on the faith of we know not what travellers, that in the new world almoſt all the men abound with milk in their breaſts. In all Braſil, ſays the author of the Hiſtorical Reſearches, the men alone ſuckle children, for the women have hardly any milk. We do not know whether moſt to admire the effrontery and impudence of thoſe travellers who invent and publiſh ſuch fables, or the exceſs of ſimplicity in thoſe who repeat them. If there had ever been a nation of the new world, in which ſuch a phenomenon had been obſerved (which M. de Paw cannot prove), that certainly would not have been ſufficient to ſay, that in many places of America milk abounds in the breaſts of men; and much leſs to affirm, as Johnſton does, of almoſt all the men in the new world.

Thoſe ſingularities, which Mr. de Paw remarks in the American women, would be moſt acceptable to them if they were true; for nothing certainly could be more deſirable to them, than to be freed from the pains and difficulties of child-bearing, to abound with that liquor which nouriſhes their children, and to be ſpared the inconveniencies which are occaſioned by thoſe periodical and diſagreeable evacuations? But that which would be eſteemed by them a circumſtance of happineſs, is reported by M. de Paw as a proof of their degeneracy; for that eaſe of delivery, he ſays, ſhews the expanſion of the vaginal paſſage, and the relaxation of the muſcles of the matrix, on account of the fluids being too copious: their abundance can only proceed from the humidity of their conſtitutions, and that, otherwiſe, they do not conform with the women of the old continent; whereas they, according to M. de Paw's legiſlation, are the model of all the world. Surely it muſt excite the wonder of every one, that whereas the author of the Hiſtorical Reſearches remarks ſuch a ſcarcity of milk in the American women, that the men are obliged to ſuckle their own children; the author of the Philoſophical Reſearches on the contrary, ſhould attribute to them ſuch an extraordinary abundance of it; and who is there, that in reading theſe and other ſimilar contradictions and tales publiſhed in Europe, particularly a few years back, will not diſcover that the travellers, hiſtorians, naturaliſts, and philoſophers

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ſophers of Europe, have made America the magazine of their fables and fictions; and in order to render their works more entertaining, from the marvellous novelty of their pretended obſervations, have aſcribed to all the Americans, whatever ſingularities have been obſerved in one individual, or perhaps in none?

The American women are ſubject to the common ſentence of nature, and are not delivered without pains; poſſibly, not with ſo much apparatus as attends the women of Europe; becauſe they are leſs delicate, and more accuſtomed to the inconveniencies of life. Thevenot ſays, that the Mogul women are delivered with great eaſe, and that the day after they are ſeen going through the ſtreets of the cities, and yet there is no reaſon to find fault with their fruitfulneſs, or their conſtitution.

The quantity and quality of milk in the American women in Mexico, and other countries of America, are well known to the European and Creole ladies, who take them commonly as wet-nurſes to their children; they find that they are wholſome, faithful, and diligent, in ſuch ſervice. Nor does it matter to ſay, that the ancient Americans are talked of, and not the moderns, as M. de Paw has ſometimes replied to his adverſary Don Pernety; ſince beſides, that his propoſitions againſt the Americans are all meant of the preſent day, as it is manifeſt to every one who has read his work, that diſtinction has no place in many countries of America, and particularly in Mexico. The Mexicans uſe, for the moſt part, the ſame food which they fed upon before the conqueſt. The climate, if poſſibly it is changed in ſome regions, from the cutting down of the woods, and the draining of ſtagnant waters, in Mexico is ſtill the ſame. Thoſe who have compared, as we have, the accounts of the firſt Spaniards, with the preſent ſtate of that kingdom, know that the ſame lakes, the ſame rivers, and, in general, the ſame woods, ſtill ſubſiſt.

With reſpect to the *menſes* of the American women, we can give no account, nor do we know who can. M. de Paw, who has from Berlin ſeen ſo many things of America, has, perhaps, found, in ſome French author, the manner of knowing that which we neither can, nor chuſe to enquire into. But granting that the menſtrual evacuation of the American women is ſcanty and irregular, it argues nothing againſt

againſt their conſtitution, as the quantity of that evacuation depends, as count de Buffon juſtly obſerves, on the quantity of their aliment, and inſenſible perſpiration. Women who eat much, and take little exerciſe, have abundant *menſes*. In hot countries, where perſpiration is more copious than it is in cold, that evacuation is more ſparing. If the ſcantineſs of ſuch evacuation can proceed from ſobriety in eating, from the heat of the clime and exerciſe, why produce it as an argument of a bad conſtitution? Beſides, we do not know how to reconcile that ſcantineſs of the *menſes* with the ſuperabundance of fluids, which M. de Paw ſuppoſes in the women of America, to be a conſequence of the diſorder of their phyſical conſtitution.

The proofs abovementioned of the weakneſs of the Americans, are not better ſupported. M. de Paw ſays, that they were overcome in wreſtling by all the Europeans, and that they ſunk under a moderate burden; that by a computation made two hundred thouſand Americans were found to have periſhed in one year from carrying of baggage. With reſpect to the firſt point, it would be neceſſary that the experiment of wreſtling was made between many individuals of each continent, and that the victory ſhould be attested by the Americans as well as the Europeans. But however that may be, we do not pretend to maintain, that the Americans are ſtronger than the Europeans. They may be leſs ſtrong without the human ſpecies having degenerated in them. The Swiſs are ſtronger than the Italians, and ſtill we do not believe the Italians are degenerated, nor do we tax the climate of Italy. The inſtance of two hundred thouſand Americans having died in one year, under the weight of baggage, were it true, would not convince us ſo much of the weakneſs of the Americans, as of the inhumanity of the Europeans. In the ſame manner that thoſe two hundred thouſand Americans periſhed, two hundred thouſand Pruſſians would alſo have periſhed had they been obliged to make a journey of between three and four hundred miles, with a hundred pounds of burden upon their backs; if they had collars of iron about their necks, and were obliged to carry that load over rocks and mountains; if thoſe who became exhauſted with fatigue, or wounded their feet ſo as to impede their progreſs, had their heads cut off that they might not retard the pace of the reſt; and if they were not allowed but a ſmall morſel

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of bread to enable them to ſupport ſo ſevere a toil. The ſame author (*m*) from whom M. de Paw got the account of the two hundred thouſand Americans who died under the fatigue of carrying baggage, relates alſo all the above mentioned circumſtances. If that author therefore is to be credited in the laſt, he is alſo to be credited in the firſt. But a philoſopher who vaunts the phyſical and moral qualities of the Europeans over thoſe of the Americans, would have done better, we think, to have ſuppreſſed facts ſo opprobrious to the Europeans themſelves. It is true, that neither Europe in general, nor any nation of it in particular, can be blamed for the exceſſes into which ſome individuals run, eſpecially in countries ſo diſtant from the metropolis, and when they act againſt the expreſs will and repeated orders of their ſovereigns; but if the Americans were diſpoſed to make uſe of M. de Paw's logic, they might from ſuch premiſes deduce univerſal concluſions againſt the old continent in the ſame manner, as he is continually forming arguments againſt the whole of the new world, from what has been obſerved in ſome particular people, or poſſibly only in ſome individuals.

He allows the Americans a great agility of body, and ſwiftneſs in running; becauſe they are accuſtomed from childhood to this exerciſe: neither then ought he to deny them ſtrength; for, as it is clear from their hiſtory and from their paintings, that as ſoon as they could walk, they were habituated to carry burdens, in which occupation they were to be employed all their lives; in like manner no other nation ought to be more vigorous in carrying burdens, becauſe no other exerciſed itſelf ſo much as the Americans in carrying loads on their backs, on account of their want of beaſts of burden (*n*), with which other nations were provided. If Mr. de Paw had ſeen, as we have, the enormous weights which the Americans ſupport on their ſhoulders, he would never have reproached them with feebleneſs.

But nothing demonſtrates ſo clearly the robuſtneſs of the Americans as thoſe various and laſting fatigues in which they are continually engaged. Mr. de Paw ſays (*o*), that when the new world was diſco-

(*m*) Las Caſas.

(*n*) Although the Peruvians had beaſts of burden theſe were not ſuch as could ſerve them in tranſporting thoſe large ſtones which were found in ſome of their buildings, and in thoſe of Mexico: having no machines either for aſſiſting them in that work, it muſt have been done ſolely by the ſtrength of men.

(*o*) Defence de Recherches, cap. xii.

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vered, nothing was to be ſeen but thick woods; and that at preſent there are ſome lands cultivated, not by the Americans however, but by the Africans and Europeans; and that the ſoil in cultivation is to the ſoil which is uncultivated as two thouſand to two millions. Theſe three aſſertions are preciſely as many errors. To reſerve, however, what belongs to the labours of the ancient Mexicans for another Diſſertation, and to ſpeak only of latter times, it is certain that ſince the conqueſt the Americans alone have been the people who have ſupported all the fatigues of agriculture in all the vaſt countries of the continent of South America, and in the greater part of thoſe of South America ſubject to the crown of Spain. No European is ever to be ſeen employed in the labours of the field. The Moors, who, in compariſon of the Americans, are very few in number in the kingdom of New Spain, are charged with the culture of the ſugar-cane and tobacco, and the making of ſugar; but the ſoil deſtined for the cultivation of thoſe plants is not with reſpect to all the cultivated land of that country in the proportion of one to two thouſand. The Americans are the people who labour on the ſoil. They are the tillers, the ſowers, the weeders, and the reapers of the wheat, of the maize, of the rice, of the beans, and other kinds of grain and pulſe, of the cacao, of the vanilla, of the cotton, of the indigo, and all other plants uſeful to the ſuſtenance, the clothing, and commerce of thoſe provinces; and without them ſo little can be done, that in the year 1762, the harveſt of wheat was abandoned in many places on account of a ſickneſs which prevailed and prevented the Indians from reaping it. But this is not all; the Americans are they who cut and tranſport all the neceſſary timber from the woods; who cut, tranſport, and work the ſtones; who make lime, plaiſter, and tiles; who conſtruct all the buildings of that kingdom, except a few places where none of them inhabit; who open and repair all the roads, who make the canals and ſluices, and clean the cities. They work in many mines of gold, of ſilver, of copper, &c. they are the ſhepherds, herdſmen, weavers, potters, baſket-makers, bakers, couriers, day-labourers, &c.; in a word, they are the perſons who bear all the burden of public labours. Theſe are the employments of the weak, daſtardly, and uſeleſs Americans, while

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the vigorous M. de Paw and other indefatigable Europeans are occupied in writing invectives againſt them.

Theſe labours, in which the Indians are continually employed, certainly atteſt their healthineſs and ſtrength; as, if they are able to undergo ſuch fatigues, they cannot be diſeaſed, nor have an exhauſted ſtream of blood in their veins, as M. de Paw inſinuates. In order to make it believed that their conſtitutions are vitiated, he copies whatever he finds written by hiſtorians of America whether true or falſe, reſpecting the diſeaſes which reign in ſome particular countries of that great continent; and eſpecially concerning the venereal diſtemper, which he conceives to be truly American. With reſpect to the venereal diſorder, we ſhall treat of it at large in another Diſſertation: concerning other diſeaſes, we grant, that in ſome countries in the wide compaſs of America men are expoſed more than elſewhere to the diſtempers which are occaſioned by the intemperature of the air, or the pernicious quality of the aliments; but it is certain according to the aſſertion of many reſpectable authors acquainted with the new world, that the American countries are for the moſt part healthy; and if the Americans were diſpoſed to retaliate on M. de Paw and other European authors who write as he does, they would have abundant ſubject of materials to throw diſcredit on the clime of the old continent, and the conſtitution of its inhabitants in the endemic diſtempers which prevail there, ſuch as the *elephantiaſis* and leproſy of Egypt and Syria (*p*), the *verben* of ſouthern Aſia, the *dragoncello* or worm of Medina, the *pircal* of Malabar, the yaws or Guinea-evil, the *tiriaſi* or *morbus pedicularis* of Little Tartary, the ſcurvy and dyſentery of northern countries, the *plica* of Poland, the goitiers of Tyrol and many alpine countries, the itch, rickets, the ſmall-pox (*q*), and above all the plague, which has ſo often depopulated

(*p*) The *elephantiaſis*, an endemic diſeaſe of Egypt, and entirely unknown in America, was ſo common in Europe in the thirteenth century, that there were, according to what Mathew Paris ſays, an exact writer of that time, nineteen thouſand hoſpitals for it.

(*q*) The ſmall pox was carried to America by the Europeans, and made as great a havoc there as the venereal diſeaſe did in Europe. The rickets is a diſtemper unknown in the new world; this we conceive the principal cauſe of there being fewer deformed and imperfect ſhaped people there than in Europe. The itch exiſts either not at all, or ſo rarely, that during many years reſidence in different countries of Mexico, we never ſaw one infected with that diſeaſe, nor ever heard of any one who was. The *vomito prieto*, which appears to be an endemic diſtemper

lated whole cities and provinces of the old continent, and which annually commits immenſe havoc in the Eaſt: the moſt terrible ſcourge of the human race, but hitherto warded off from the new world.

Laſtly, The ſuppoſed feebleneſs and unſound bodily habit of the Americans do not correſpond with the length of their lives. Among thoſe Americans whoſe great fatigues and exceſſive toils do not anticipate their death, there are not a few who reach the age of eighty, ninety, and an hundred years; and, what is more, without there being obſerved in them that decay which time commonly produces in the hair, in the teeth, in the ſkin, and in the muſcles of the human body. This phenomenon, ſo much admired by the Spaniards who reſide in Mexico, cannot be aſcribed to any other cauſe than the vigour of their conſtitutions, the temperance of their diet, and the ſalubrity of their clime. Hiſtorians, and other perſons who have ſojourned there for many years, report the ſame thing of other countries of the new world. But if poſſibly there is any region where life is not ſo much prolonged, at leaſt there is no one where it is ſo much ſhortened as in Guinea, in Sierra Leona, in the Cape of Good Hope, and other countries of Africa, in which old age commonly begins at forty; and he who arrives at fifty is looked upon as an octogenary is with us (*r*). Of them it might be ſaid with ſome ſhew of reaſon, that their blood is waſted, and their phyſical conſtitution is overthrown.

temper alſo, is extremely modern, and is not felt except in ſome places of the torrid zone frequented by Europeans. The firſt who were ſeized with it were the ſailors of ſome European veſſels, who immediately after the bad diet they had during their voyage, eat greedily of fruit, and drank immoderately of brandy. Ulloa affirms, that in Carthagena, one of the moſt unhealthy places of America, this diſtemper was not known before the year 1729, and that it began among the crews of the European veſſels, which arrived there under the command of D. D. Giuſſiniani.

(*r*) The Hottentots, ſays Buffon, are ſhort livers, for they hardly exceed forty years of age. Drack atteſts that certain nations inhabiting the frontiers of the Ethiopian diſtricts, on account of the ſcarcity of aliment, feed on ſalted locuſts, and that this wretched food produces a horrid effect; when they arrive at the age of forty, certain flying inſects breed upon their bodies, which ſoon occaſion their deaths, by devouring firſt their belly, then their breaſt, and laſtly their very bones. Theſe, and the kind of inſects by which, as M. de Paw himſelf confeſſes, the inhabitants of Little Tartary are deſtroyed, are certainly greatly worſe than thoſe worms which, he ſays, are found amongſt ſome people of America.

SECT.

SECT. II.

On the mental Qualities of the Mexicans.

HITHERTO we have examined what M. de Paw has ſaid concerning the corporal qualities of the Americans. Let us now ſee what are his ſpeculations concerning their minds. He has not been able to diſcover any other characters than a memory ſo feeble, that today they do not remember what they did yeſterday; a capacity ſo blunt, that they are incapable of thinking, or putting their ideas in order; a diſpoſition ſo cold, that they feel no excitement of love; a daſtardly ſpirit, and a genius that is torpid and indolent. In ſhort, he paints the Americans in ſuch colours, and debaſes their ſouls to ſuch a degree, that although he ſometimes inveighs againſt them, that they put their very rationality in doubt, we do not doubt, that if he had then been conſulted, he would have declared himſelf contrary to the opinion of *rationaliſts*. We know well that many other Europeans, and, what is ſtill more wonderful, many of thoſe children or deſcendants of Europeans who are born in America, think as M. de Paw does; ſome from ignorance, ſome from want of reflection, and others from hereditary prejudice and prepoſſeſſion. But all this and more would not be ſufficient to belie our own experience and the teſtimony of other Europeans whoſe authority have a great deal more weight, both becauſe they were men of great judgment, learning, and knowledge of theſe countries, and becauſe they gave their teſtimony in favour of ſtrangers againſt their own conntrymen. The atteſtations and arguments which we could adduce in favour of the mental qualities of the Americans are ſo numerous, that they would fill a great volume; we ſhall, however, to avoid prolixity or confuſion, confine ourſelves to a few, which are worth a thouſand others.

Zummarraga, firſt biſhop of Mexico, a prelate of happy memo- and highly eſteemed by the catholic kings, for his learning and irreproachable life, his paſtoral zeal and apoſtolic labours, in his letter written in the year 1531, to the general chapter of the P. P. Fran-

Franciſcans, aſſembled in Toloſa, ſpeaks thus of the Indians: "They "are temperate and ingenious, particularly in the art of painting. "They are not ungifted with mental talents. The Lord be praiſed "for all." If M. de Paw does not value the teſtimony of this moſt venerable prelate, whom he calls a bigot and barbarian, in right of that authority which he has arrogated to himſelf to injure thoſe whoſe ſentiments are not conformable to his extravagant ſyſtem of degeneracy, let him read what Las Caſas, the firſt biſhop of Chiapa, has written, who knew them well, from having reſided many years in different parts of America. He in a memorial preſented to Philip II. ſpeaks of them thus: "The Americans alſo are people of a bright and lively "genius, eaſy to be taught and to apprehend every good doctrine, ex- "tremely ready to embrace our faith and virtuous cuſtoms, and the "people of all others in the world who feel leaſt embarraſſment in it." He makes uſe almoſt of the ſame expreſſions in his refutation of the anſwers of Dr. Sepulveda; "The Indians have," he ſays, "as good "an underſtanding and acute a genius, as much docility and capacity "for the moral and ſpeculative ſciences, and are, in moſt inſtances, as "rational in their political government, as appears from many of their "extremely prudent laws, and are as far advanced in the knowledge of "our faith and religion, in good cuſtoms and civilization where they "have been tutored by perſons of religious and exemplary life, and "are arriving at refinement and poliſh as faſt as any nation ever did "ſince the times of the apoſtles." Since M. de Paw believes all that which this learned exemplary prelate wrote againſt the Spaniards, although he was not preſent at the greater part of the facts which he relates, he ought much more to believe that which the ſame biſhop, depoſes in favour of the Americans, as an eye-witneſs and reſident among them; as there is much leſs requiſite to make us believe that the Americans are people of a good genius and diſpoſition, than to perſuade us of thoſe horrid and unheard of cruelties of the Spaniſh conquerors.

But if he does not admit the teſtimony of that great biſhop, becauſe he eſteems him, though wrongfully, to have been a cheat, and ambitious hypocrite, he may read the depoſition concerning them of the firſt biſhop of Tlaſcala, Garces, a moſt learned man, and highly and juſtly

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juſtly eſteemed by his famous patron Ant. dé Nebrija, the reſtorer of letters in Spain. This renowned prelate in his Latin Letter to pope Paul III. written in 1536, after ten years continual commerce with, and obſervation of the Americans, among many praiſes which he beſtows on their diſpoſitions, and the gifts of their minds, he extols their genius, and in ſome degree raiſes it above that of his countrymen, as may appear from the paſſage of his letter which we have ſubjoined here below (*s*). What perſon is there who would not give greater faith to thoſe three biſhops, who, beſides their probity, their learning, and character, had long commerce with the Americans, than to other authors who either never ſaw the Americans, or viewed them without reflection, or paid improper and unjuſt deference to the informations of ignorant, prejudiced, or intereſted men?

But laſtly, if M. de Paw refuſes the depoſitions of theſe three witneſſes, however reſpectable, becauſe they were eccleſiaſtics, to whom he thinks weakneſs of mind attached, he cannot, but ſubmit to the judgment of the famous biſhop of Angelopoli, Palafox. Mr. de Paw, though a Pruſſian and a philoſopher, calls that prelate *the venerable ſervant of God*. If he gives ſo much faith to this *venerable ſervant of God* in what he wrote againſt the Jeſuits in his own cauſe, why not believe him in what he has written in favour of the Americans! Let him read the work of this prelate, compoſed in order to demonſtrate the diſpoſition, genius, and virtues of the Indians.

Notwithſtanding the implacable hatred which M. de Paw bears to the eccleſiaſtics of the Roman church, and to the Jeſuits in particular, he praiſes the Natural and Moral Hiſtory of Acoſta, and calls it very juſtly *an excellent work*. This judicious, impartial, and very learned Spaniard, who ſaw and obſerved with his own eyes the Americans in Peru as well as Mexico, employs the whole ſixth book of this *excellent* work in demonſtrating the good ſenſe of the Americans by

(*s*) "Nunc vero de horum ſigillatim hominum ingenio, quos vidimus ab hinc decennio, "quo ego in Patria converſatus eorum potui perſpicere mores ac ingenia perſecutari, teſtificans "coram te, Beatiſſime Pater qui Chriſti in terris Vicarium agis quod vidi quod audivi et ma- "nibus noſtræ contrectaverunt de his progenitis ab eccleſia per qualecumque miniſterium meum "in verbo vitæ quod ſingula ſingulis referendo, id eſt paribus paria, rationis optimæ compotes "ſunt et integri ſenſus ac capitis ſed inſuper noſtratibus pueri iſtorum et vigore ſpiritus et ſenſu- "um, vivacitate dexteriore in omni agibili et intelligibli præſtantiores reperiuntur.".

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an explanation of their ancient government, their laws, their hiſtories in paintings and knots, calendars, &c. To be informed of his opinion on this ſubject, it will be ſufficient to read the firſt chapter of that book. We requeſt M. de Paw, as well as our readers, to read it attentively, as there are matters in it worthy of being known. M. de Paw will diſcover there the origin of the error into which he, and many Europeans, have fallen, and will perceive the great difference there is between viewing things while the ſight is dimmed by paſſion and prejudices, and examining them with impartiality and cool judgment. M. de Paw thinks the Americans are beſtial; Acoſta, on the other hand, reputes thoſe perſons weak and preſumptuous who think them ſo. M. de Paw ſays, that the moſt acute Americans were inferior in induſtry and ſagacity to the rudeſt nations of the old continent. Acoſta, extols the civil government of the Mexicans above many republics of Europe. M. de Paw finds, in the moral and political conduct of the Americans, nothing but barbarity, extravagance, and brutality; and Acoſta finds there, laws that are admirable and worthy of being preſerved for ever. To which of theſe two authors our greateſt faith is due, the impartial reader will decide.

We cannot here avoid the inſertion of a paſſage of the Philoſophical Reſearches, in which the author diſcovers his turn for defamation as well as enmity to truth. "At firſt, he ſays, the Americans were not be-" lieved to be men, but rather ſatyrs, or large apes, which might be " murdered without remorſe or reproach. At laſt, in order to add in-" ſult to the oppreſſion of thoſe times, a pope made an original bull, " in which he declared, that being deſirous of founding biſhopricks " in the richeſt countries of America, it pleaſed him, and the Holy " Spirit, to acknowledge the Americans to be true men: in ſo far, that " without this deciſion of an Italian, the inhabitants of the new world " would have appeared, even at this day, to the eyes of the faithful, a " race of equivocal men. There is no example of ſuch a deciſion, " ſince this globe has been inhabited by men and apes." We ſhould rejoice that there was no other example in the world of ſuch calumnies and inſolence as thoſe of M. de Paw, but that we may put the complexion of this paſſage in its true light, we ſhall give a copy of that deciſion, after having explained the occaſion of it.

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Some of the firſt Europeans who eſtabliſhed themſelves in America, not leſs powerful than avaricious, deſirous of enriching themſelves to the detriment of the Americans, kept them continually employed, and made uſe of them as ſlaves; and in order to avoid the reproaches which were made them by the biſhops and miſſionaries who inculcated humanity, and the giving liberty to thoſe people, to get themſelves inſtructed in religion, that they might do their duties towards the church and their families, alledged, that the Indians were by nature ſlaves and incapable of being inſtructed; and many other falſhoods of which the Chronicler Herrera makes mention againſt them. Thoſe zealous eccleſiaſtics being unable, either by their authority or preaching, to free thoſe unhappy converts from the tyranny of ſuch miſers, had recourſe to the Catholic kings, and at laſt obtained from their juſtice and clemency, thoſe laws as favourable to the Americans as honourable to the court of Spain, that compoſe the Indian code, which were chiefly due to the indefatigable zeal of the biſhop de las Caſas. On another ſide, Garces, biſhop of Tlaſcala, knowing that thoſe Spaniards bore, notwithſtanding their perverſity, a great reſpect to the deciſions of the vicar of Jeſus Chriſt, made application in the year 1586, to pope Paul III. by that famous letter, of which we have made mention; repreſenting to him the evils which the Indians ſuffered from the wicked Chriſtians, and praying him to interpoſe his authority in their behalf. The pope, moved by ſuch heavy remonſtrances, diſpatched the next year the original bull, a faithful copy of which we have here ſubjoined (*t*), which was not

(*t*) Paulus papa III. univerſis Chriſti Fidelibus preſentes Litteras inſpecturis Salutem & Apoſtolicam Benedictionem—" Veritas ipſa, quæ nec falli, nec fallere poteſt, cum Prædicatores Fidei " ad officium prædicationis deſtinaret, dixiſſe dignoſcitur: *Euntes docete omnes gentes:* omnes dixit " abſque omni delectu, cum omnes Fidei diſciplina capaces exiſtant. Quod videns & invidens " ipſius humani generis æmulus, qui bonis operibus, ut pereant, ſemper adverſatur, modum " excogitavit hactenus inauditum, quo impediret, ne Verbum Dei Gentilibus, ut ſalvæ fierent, " prædicaretur: ut quoſdam ſuos ſatellites commovit, qui ſuam cupiditatem adimplere cupi- " entes. Occidentales & Meridionales Indos, & alias Gentes, quæ temporibus iſtis ad noſ- " tram notitiam pervenerunt, ſub pratextu quod Fidei Catholicæ expertes exiſtant, uti bruta " animalia, ad noſtra obſequia redigendos eſſe, paſſim aſſerere præſumant, & eos in ſervitutem " redigunt tantis afflictionibus illos urgentes, quantis vix bruta animalia illis ſervientia urgeant. " Nos igitur, qui ejuſdem Domini noſtri vices, licet indigni, gerimus in terris, & Oves gregis " ſui nobis commiſſas, quæ extra ejus Ovile ſunt, ad ipſum Ovile toto nixu exquirimus, at- " tendentes Indos ipſos, utpote veros homines, non ſolum Chriſtianæ Fidei capaces exiſtere " ſed, ut nobis innotuit, ad Fidem ipſum promptiſſime currere, ac volentes ſuper his congruis " remediis providere, prædictos Indos & omnes alias gentes ad notitiam Chriſtianorum in poſte- " rum

not made, as is manifeſt, to declare the Americans free men; for ſuch a piece of weakneſs was very diſtant from that or any other pope: but ſolely to ſupport the natural rights of the Americans againſt the attempts of their oppreſſors, and to condemn the injuſtice and inhumanity of thoſe, who, under the pretence of ſuppoſing thoſe people idolatrous, or incapable of being inſtructed, took from them their property and their liberty, and treated them as ſlaves and beaſts. The Spaniards, indeed, would have been more pitiable than the rudeſt ſavages of the new world, if they had waited for a deciſion from Rome before they would acknowledge the Americans to be true men. It is well known, that long before the pope diſpatched that bull, the Catholic kings had earneſtly recommended the inſtruction of the Americans, had given the moſt careful orders that they ſhould be well treated, and that no wrong ſhould be offered either to their property or their perſons; and had ſent ſeveral biſhops to the new world, and ſome hundreds of miſſionaries at the royal expence, to teach thoſe ſatyrs the faith of Jeſus Chriſt, and train them in the Chriſtian mode of life. In 1531, ſix years before that bull was out, the French miſſionaries alone had baptized in Mexico more than a million of thoſe ſatyrs; and in 1534, the ſeminary of the Holy Croſs was founded in Tlatelolco, for the inſtruction of a conſiderable number of thoſe large apes, where they learned the Latin language, Rhetoric, Philoſophy, and Medicine. If at firſt the Americans were eſteemed ſatyrs, no body can better prove it than Chriſtopher Columbus their diſcoverer. Let us hear, therefore, how that celebrated admiral ſpeaks, in his account to the Catholic kings Ferdinand and Iſabella, of the firſt ſatyrs he ſaw in the iſland of Haiti, or Hiſpaniola. "I ſwear," he ſays, "to your ma-"jeſties, that there is not a better people in the world than theſe, "more affectionate, affable, or mild. They love their neighbours as "themſelves; their language is the ſweeteſt, the ſofteſt, and the moſt

"rum deventuras, licet extra fidem Chriſti exiſtant, ſua libertate & dominio hujuſmodi uti, & "potiri, & gaudere libere & licite poſſe, nec in ſervitutem redigi debere, ac quicquid ſecus "fieri contigerit irritum & inane, ipſoſque Indos, & alias Gentes Verbi Dei prædicatione, & "exemplo bonæ vitæ ad dictam Fidem Chriſti invitandos fore. Auctoritate Apoſtolica per præ-"ſentes literas decernimus, & declaramus, non obſtantibus præmiſſis, cæteriſque contrariis qui-"buſcunque."—Datum Romæ anno 1537. IV. Non. Jun. Pontificatus noſtri anno III. Queſta, e non altra è quella famoſa bolla, per la quale s'è fatto un sì grande ſchiamazzo.

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" chearful; for they always ſpeak ſmiling; and although they go " naked, let your majeſties believe me, their cuſtoms are very be- " coming; and their king, who is ſerved with great majeſty, has " ſuch engaging manners, that it gives great pleaſure to ſee him, and " alſo to conſider the great retentive faculty of that people, and their " deſire of knowledge, which incites them to aſk the cauſes and the " effects of things (*u*)." As M. de Paw employed ten continued years to ſearch into the affairs of America, he ought to have known, that in the countries of the new world ſubjected to the Spaniards, no other biſhopricks are founded there than thoſe which the Catholic king has conſtituted. To him belong, from the patronage given him over American churches by pope Julius II. in 1508, the foundation of biſhopricks, and the preſentation of biſhops. To affirm, therefore, that Paul III. would acknowledge the Americans to be true men, in order to found biſhopricks in the richeſt countries of the new world, is but the calumny of an enemy of the Roman church; for if he was not blinded by enmity, he would rather have perceived the zeal and humanity which the pope diſplays in that bull.

Dr. Robertſon, who, in a great meaſure, adopts the extravagant notions of M. de Paw, ſpeaks thus of the Americans, in the VIIIth book of his Hiſtory of America. " Some miſſionaries aſtoniſhed " equally at their flowneſs of comprehenſion, and at their inſenſibility, " pronounced them a race of men ſo brutiſh, as to be incapable of un- " derſtanding the firſt principles of religion." But what miſſionaries theſe were, and how much their judgment is to be truſted, can be underſtood from no body better than Garces, in the above mentioned letter to pope Paul III. Let the paſſage which we have here ſubjoined be read (*x*), it will appear from it, that the reaſons of ſuch an

(*u*) Cap. xxxii. of the Hiſtory of Chr. Columbus, written by his ſon.

(*x*) Quis tam impudenti animo ac perfricata fronte incapaces fidei aſſerere audet, quos mechanicarum artium capaciſſimos intuemur, ac quos etiam ad miniſterium noſtrum redactos bonæ indolis, fidelis, & ſolertes experimur? Et ſi quando, Beatiſſime Pater, Tua Sanctitas aliquem religioſum virum in hanc declinare ſententiam audierit, etſi eximia integritate vitæ, vel dignitate fulgere videatur is, non ideo quicquam illi hac in re præſtet auctoritatis, ſed eumdem parum aut nihil infudaſſe in illorum converſione certo certius arbitretur, ac in eorum addiſcenda lingua, aut inveſtigandis ingeniis parum ſtuduiſſe perpendat: nam qui in his caritate chriſtiana laborarunt, non fruſtra in eos jactare retia caritatis affirmant; illi vero qui ſolitudini dediti, aut ignavia præpediti neminem ad Chriſti cultum ſua induſtria reduxerunt, ne inculpari

an error, were the ignorance and ſloth of thoſe miſſionaries; and we add, the falſe ideas they had imbibed from their infancy. Las Caſas, Acoſta, and other grave writers on America, ſay the ſame thing as Garces.

"A council held at Lima," continues Dr. Robertſon, "decreed, "that on account of this incapacity they ought to be excluded from "the ſacrament of the Euchariſt. And though Paul III. by his fam- "ous bull, iſſued in the year 1537, declared them to be rational crea- "tures, entitled to all the privileges of Chriſtians; yet, after the lapſe "of two centuries, during which they have been members of the "church, ſo imperfect are their attainments in knowledge, that very "few poſſeſs ſuch a portion of ſpiritual diſcerment, as to be deemed "worthy of being ad nitted to the holy communion. Even after "the moſt careful inſtruction, their faith is conſidered feeble and du- "bious, and though ſome of them have been taught the learned lan- "guages, and have gone through the ordinary courſe of academic edu- "cation with applauſe, their frailty is ſo much ſuſpected, that no In- "dian is ever ordained a prieſt, or received into any religious order." In a few words, here are four errors at leaſt. 1. That a council of Lima had excluded the Indians from the ſacrament of the Euchariſt, on account of their imbecility of mind. 2. That Paul III. declared the Indians rational creatures. 3. That very few Indians poſſeſs ſuch a portion of ſpiritual diſcernment as to be judged worthy to approach to the ſacred table. 4. That no Indian is ever ordained a prieſt.

With reſpect to the firſt, it is true, that in an aſſembly held at Lima, in the year 1552, which was called *Primum concilium Limæ*, though it was not a council, nor had ever any authority of a council, it was ordained that the Euchariſt ſhould not be adminiſtered to the Indians until they were perfectly inſtructed and perſuaded in things of faith;

culpari poſſint quod inutiles fuerint, quod propriæ negligentiæ vitium eſt, id Infidelium imbecillitati adſcribunt, veramque ſuam deſidiam falſæ incapacitatis impoſitione defendunt, ac non minorem culpam in excuſatione committunt, quam erat illa, a qua liberari conantur. Lædit namque ſumme iſtud hominum genus talia afferentium hanc Indorum miſerrimam turbam: nam aliquos religioſos viros retrahunt, ne ad eoſdem in fide inſtruendos proficiſcantur: quamobrem nonnulli Hiſpanorum qui ad illos debellandos accedunt, horum freti judicio illos negligere, perdere, ac macſare opinari ſolent non eſſe flagitium. *Ex literis Julani Garcès Ep. Thaſ. ad Paulum III. Pont. Max.*

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becauſe that ſacrament is the food of the perfect, but not becauſe they were eſteemed weak of underſtanding. This is clear from the firſt provincial council vulgarly called the ſecond, held in Lima in the year 1567, which ordered prieſts to adminiſter ſuch ſacrament to all the Indians who found themſelves diſpoſed for it (*y*). But notwithſtanding that order to make thoſe eccleſiaſtics comply, of which Acoſta juſtly complained, the ſecond council of Lima held in 1583, at which S. Toribio Mogrobejo preſided, endeavoured to remedy thoſe diſorders by the decrees which we here ſubjoin (*z*), from which it is to be ſeen, that they for the ſame reaſons equally denied the euchariſt to the Indians and to the Moors, who were ſlaves brought from Africa: that the true reaſons for denying it were, in the judgment of the council, the negligence or ſloth, and the indiſcreet and miſaplied zeal of thoſe eccleſiaſtics, and that the council found itſelf obliged to put a remedy to ſo great a diſorder by new decrees and ſevere puniſhments. We know well alſo, that thoſe reſpectable decrees were not exactly executed, and it became neceſſary for the dioceſan ſynod of Lima, Plata, Paz, Arequipa and Paraguay, to inculcate them afreſh;

(*y*) Quamquam omnes Chriſtiani adulti utriuſque ſexus teneantur Santiſſimum Euchariſtiæ Sacramentum accipere ſingulis annis ſaltem in Paſchate, hujus tamen Provinciæ Antiſtites cum animadverterent gentem hanc Indorum & recentem eſſe & infantilen in fide, atque id illorum ſaluti expedire judicarent, ſtatuerunt ut uſque dum fidem perfecte tenerent, hoc divino ſacramento, quod eſt perfectorum cibus, non communicarentur, excepto ſi quis ei percipiendo ſatis idoneus videretur.... Placuit huic Sanctæ Synodo monere, prout ſerio monet, omnes Indorum Parochos, ut quos audita jam confeſſione perſpexerint, huic cæleſtem cibum a reliquo corporali diſcernere, atque eumedem devote cupere & poſcere, quoniam ſine cauſa neminem divino alimento privare poſſumus, quo tempore cæteris Chriſtianis ſolent, Indis omnibus adminiſtreut. Conc. Lim. I. vulgo II, cap. 58.

(*z*) Cæleſte viaticum, quod nulli ex hac vita migranti negat Mater Eccleſia, multis abhinc annis Indis atque Æthiopibus, cæteriſque perſonis miſerabilibus præberi debere Concilium Limenſe conſtituit. Sed tamen Sacerdotum plurium vel negligentia, vel zelo quodam præpoſtero atque intempeſtivo illis nihilo magis hodie præbetur. Quo fit, ut imbecilles animæ tanto bono, tamque neceſſario priventur. Volens igitur Sancta Synodus ad executionem perducere, quæ Chriſto duce ad ſalutem Indorum ordinata ſunt, ſevere præcipit omnibus Parochis, ut extreme laborantibus Indis atque Æthiopibus viaticum miniſtrare non prætermittant, dummodo in eis debitam diſpoſitionem agnoſcant, nempe fidem in Chriſtum, & pœnitentiam in Deum ſuo modo.... Porro Parochos qui a prima hujus decreti promulgatione negligentes fuerint, noverint ſe, præter divinæ ultionis judicium, etiam pœnas Arbitrio Ordinariorum, in quo conſcientiæ onerantur, daturos: atque in Viſitationibus in illos de hujus ſtatuti obſervatione ſpecialiter inquirendum. Conc. Lim. II. *vulgo* III. Act. 2. cap. 19.

In Paſchate ſaltem euchariſtiam miniſtrare Parochus non prætermittat iis, quos & ſatis inſtructos, & correctione vitæ idoneos judicaverit: ne & ipſe alioqui eccleſiaſtici præcepti violati reus ſit. Ibid. cap. 20.

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but that demonſtrates the obſtinacy of the eccleſiaſtics, not the want of capacity in the Americans.

With reſpect to the bull of Paul III. we have already ſhewn that it was not intended to declare the Americans men, but, on account of their right to all the privileges of men, to condemn their oppreſſors.

In regard to the third error of Dr. Robertſon which we have mentioned above, omitting at preſent what belongs to other countries of America as it is not neceſſary here; it is certain and notorious, that in all New Spain the Indians are obliged as much as the Spaniards to receive the Euchariſt at Eaſter, except thoſe of remote countries, who are admitmitted or not to the ſacred table according to the judgment of the miſſionaries. In the three audiences into which New Spain is divided, there are, ſays Robertſon, at leaſt two millions of Indians (*a*). We are confident that this number is much inferior to the truth; but be it ſo and no more. The Indians therefore, are not very few in number who poſſeſs ſo great a portion of ſpiritual diſcernment as to be judged worthy of approaching to the ſacred table, unleſs two millions appear very few to him, or he thinks thoſe biſhops and prieſts raſh, who not only admit but even oblige thoſe Indians to communicate. But when we add to thoſe the Indians of many provinces of South America who are equally obliged to receive the ſacred Euchariſt, the number will be greatly increaſed.

His fourth error, in which he affirms that no Indian is ever ordained prieſt is not leſs groſs, It is ſubject of wonder, that a writer who collected ſo great a library of writers on America, and for whom ſo many accounts of the things of the New World were obtained from Madrid, ſhould have been ſo ill informed on this as well as on other points. Dr. Robertſon will pleaſe to know, therefore, that although the firſt provincial council held in Mexico in the year 1555 forbid that the Indians ſhould be ordained, not on account of their incapacity, but becauſe it was thought the lowneſs of their condition might draw ſome diſcredit on the eccleſiaſtical ſtate, nevertheleſs the third provincial council, held in 1585, which was the moſt celebrated of all, and whoſe deciſions are ſtill in force, permitted them to be ordained prieſts, provided there was great care taken in admit-

(*a*) Hiſtory of America, Book viii.

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ting them into ſacred orders. But it is neceſſary to obſerve, that the decrees of each council comprehend equally, and under the ſame conditions, both the Indians and Mulattoes that are there, who are born or deſcended of a European father and an African mother, or on the contrary; and nobody, we believe, doubts of the talents and capacity of the Mulattoes to learn all the ſciences. Torquemada, who wrote his hiſtory in the firſt years of the laſt century, ſays, that they did not uſe to admit the Indians into religious orders, nor to ordain them prieſts, on account of their violent inclination to drinking; but he himſelf atteſts (*d*) that in his time Indian prieſts were extremely ſober and examplary: ſo that it is at leaſt a hundred and ſeventy years ago ſince the Indians began to be made prieſts. From that unto the preſent time the American prieſts have been ſo numerous in New Spain, that they might be counted by hundreds: among thoſe there have been many hundreds of rectors, ſeveral canons and doctors, and as report goes, even a very learned biſhop. At preſent there are many prieſts, and not a few rectors, among whom have been three or four our own pupils. If in a point of this nature ſuch groſs errors have been committed by Dr. Robertſon, what may we not apprehend from him in others which cannot ſo eaſily be cleared up and certified to an author, who writes at ſo great a diſtance from thoſe countries without ever having ſeen them?

We have had intimate commerce with the Americans, have lived for ſome years in a ſeminary deſtined for their inſtruction, ſaw the erection and progreſs of the royal college of Guadaloupe, founded in Mexico, by a Mexican Jeſuit, for the education of Indian children, had afterwards ſome Indians amongſt our pupils, had particular knowledge of many American rectors, many nobles, and numerous artiſts; attentively obſerved their character, their genius, their diſpoſition, and manner of thinking; and have examined beſides with the utmoſt diligence their ancient hiſtory, their religion, their government, their laws, and their cuſtoms. After ſuch long experience and ſtudy of them, from which we imagine ourſelves enabled to decide without danger of erring, we declare to M. de Paw, and to all Europe, that the mental qualities of the Americans are not the leaſt inferior to thoſe

(*d*) Torquemada, lib. xvii. cap. 13.

of

of the Europeans, that they are capable of all, even the moſt abſtract ſciences, and that if equal care was taken of their education, if they were brought up from childhood in ſeminaries under good maſters, were protected and ſtimulated by rewards, we ſhould ſee riſe among the Americans, philoſophers, mathematicians, and divines who would rival the firſt in Europe. But it is a little difficult, not to ſay impoſſible, to make great progreſs in the ſciences, in the midſt of a life of miſery, ſervitude, and oppreſſion. Whoever contemplates the preſent ſtate of Greece will not be apt to believe that thoſe great men flouriſhed there whom hiſtory records, were we not convinced of it by their immortal works, and the voice of all ages. But the obſtacles which the people of Greece have to ſurmount before they can become learned are not comparable to thoſe which the Americans always had, and ſtill have to overcome. Nevertheleſs, we with M. de Paw, and ſome other perſons who think as he does, could be preſent without being obſerved in thoſe aſſemblies or councils which are held by the Americans on certain days to deliberate on public affairs, that they might hear how thoſe ſatyrs of the new world diſcourſe and harangue.

Laſtly, The whole ancient hiſtory of the Mexicans and Peruvians evinces to us, that they knew how to think and order their ideas, that they are ſuſceptible of all the paſſions and impreſſions of humanity, and that the Europeans have had no other advantage over them than that of having been better inſtructed. The civil government of the ancient Americans, their laws, and their arts evidently demonſtrate they ſuffered no want of genius. Their wars ſhew us that their ſouls are not inſenſible to the excitements of love, as count de Buffon and M. de Paw think; ſince they ſometimes took up arms in his cauſe.

In regard to their courage, we have explained, when we ſpoke of their character, what we have obſerved in the preſent, and what we judge of the ancient Americans on this head. But as Mr. de Paw alledges the conqueſt of Mexico as a convincing proof of their cowardice, it may be proper to enlighten his ignorance, or rather to ſtrengthen his little faith.

"Cortes," he ſays, "conquered the empire of Mexico with "four hundred and fifty vagabonds and fifteen horſes, badly armed;

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" his miſerable artillery conſiſted of ſix falconets, which would not " at the preſent day be capable of exciting the fears of a fortreſs de- " fended by invalids. During his abſence the capital was held in awe " by the half of his troops. What men! what events!"

" It is confirmed," he adds, " by the depoſitions of all hiſtorians " that the Spaniards entered the firſt time into Mexico without mak- " ing one ſingle diſcharge of their artillery. If the title of hero is " applicable to him who has the diſgrace to occaſion the death of a " great number of rational animals, Ferdinand Cortes might pretend " to it; otherwiſe I do not ſee what true glory he has acquired by the " overthrow of a tottering monarchy, which might have been deſtroyed " in the ſame manner by any other aſſaſſin of our continent." Thoſe paſſages of the Philoſophic Reſearches detect that M. de Paw was ignorant of the hiſtory of the conqueſt of Mexico, or that he ſuppreſſes what would openly contradict his ſyſtem; ſince all who have read that hiſtory know well, that the conqueſt of Mexico was not made with four hundred and fifty men, but with more than two hundred thouſand. Cortes himſelf, to whom it was of more importance than to M. de Paw to make his bravery conſpicuous, and his conqueſt appear glorious, confeſſes the exceſſive number of the allies who were under his command at the ſiege of the capital, and combated with more fury againſt the Mexicans than the Spaniards themſelves. According to the account which Cortes gave to the emperor Charles V. the ſiege of Mexico began with eighty-ſeven horſes, eight hundred and forty-eight Spaniſh infantry, armed with guns, croſs-bows, ſwords, and lances, and upwards of ſeventy-five thouſand allies, of Tlaſcala, Huexotzinco, Cholula, and Chalco, equipped with various ſorts of arms; with three large pieces of cannon of iron, fifteen ſmall of copper, and thirteen brigantines. In the courſe of the ſiege were aſſembled the numerous nations of the Otomies, the Cohuixcas, and Matlazincas, and the troops of the populous cities of the lakes; ſo that the army of the beſiegers not only exceeded two hundred thouſand but amounted to four millions according to the letter from Cortes; and beſides theſe, three thouſand boats and canoes, came to their aſſiſtance. We therefore aſk M. de Paw if it appears to him to have been cowardice to have ſuſtained, for full ſeventy-five days, the

the ſiege of an open city, engaging daily with an army ſo large, and in part provided with arms ſo ſuperior, and at the ſame time having to withſtand the ravages of famine? Can they merit the charge of cowardiſe, who, after having loſt ſeven of the eight parts of their city, and about fifty thouſand citizens, part cut off by the ſword, part by famine and ſickneſs, continued to defend themſelves until they were furiouſly aſſaulted in the laſt hold which was left them (*p*).

"It is certain," ſays M. de Paw, "by the depoſitions of all "hiſtorians, that the Spaniards entered the firſt time into Mexico with-"out making a ſingle diſcharge of their artillery." If this argument is peculiar to the logic of M. de Paw; if the Mexicans were cowards becauſe the Spaniards entered into Mexico without a ſingle diſcharge of their artillery, it might as well be ſaid that the Pruſſians are cowards becauſe the ambaſſadors of ſeveral courts of Europe enter into Berlin without diſcharging even a fuſil. Who does not know that the Spaniards were admitted into that city as the ambaſſadors of the monarch of the Eaſt? Hiſtorians all recount this as well as Cortes himſelf, who feigned himſelf the ambaſſador of the Catholic king. If the Mexicans had been willing to oppoſe him then as they did the ſecond time, how would the Spaniards have been able to enter with only ſix thouſand men, when their ſecond entry was ſo difficult with two hundred thouſand (*q*)?

With reſpect to what M. de Paw adds againſt Cortes, we do not mean to make the apology of this conqueror, neither can we endure the panegyric which Solis has written in place of a hiſtory; but as an impartial perſon, well informed of all his military actions, we muſt confeſs, that in courage, conſtancy, and military prudence, he rivals the moſt famous generals; and that he poſſeſſed that ſpecies of heroiſm which we acknowledge in Alexander and the Cæſars, in

(*p*) All that we have here ſaid reſpecting the ſiege and conqueſt of Mexico is taken from the letter of the conqueror Cortes to Charles V.

(*q*) "It is not leſs certain," ſays Acoſta, "that it was the aid of the Tlaſcalans which ob-"tained to Cortes his victories, and the conqueſt of Mexico; and without them it would have "been impoſſible to have made himſelf maſter of that place, nor to have continued longer "there. Thoſe who make little of the Indians, and think the Spaniards could have conquered "any country or nation by the ſuperiority of their arms, valour, and horſes, are groſsly de-"ceived."

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whom we praiſe their magnanimity in ſpite of the vices with which it was blended.

The cauſe of the rapidity with which the Spaniards conquered America has been partly mentioned by M. de Paw: "I confeſs," he ſays, "that the artillery was a deſtructive and all-powerful engine, which ne- "ceſſarily ſubdued the Mexicans." If to the artillery we add the other ſuperior arms, horſes, and diſcipline on the part of the conquerors, and the diviſions which prevailed among the conquered, it will be ſeen that there is no reaſon to charge the Americans with puſillanimity, or to wonder at the violent convulſion of the new world. Let M. de Paw imagine, that at the time of the noiſy and cruel factions of Sylla and Marius the Athenians had invented artillery and other fire arms, and equipped only ſix thouſand men with them, joining themſelves not to the army of Marius, but only to ſome part of his troops, and undertaken the conqueſt of Italy; does not M. de Paw think that they would have ſucceeded in ſpite of all the power of Sylla, the courage and diſcipline of the Roman troops, their numerous legions and cavalry, the multitude of their armies, their machines and the fortifications of their city? What terror would the horrid ſound of the artillery, and the deſtructive violence of the balls, not have ſtruck to the minds of the boldeſt centurions, when they ſaw whole ranks of men carried off by them? What then muſt the effect have been on thoſe nations of the new world who had no arms nor cavalry, no diſcipline, machines, or fortifications like the Romans? That, on the contrary, which is truly to be wondered at, is, that the brave Spaniards, with all their diſcipline, artillery, and arms, have not been able, in two centuries, to ſubdue the *Araucan* warriors of South America, though armed only with clubs and lances, nor the *Apaches* in North America, armed with bows and arrows; and above all, what appears incredible, but is notwithſtanding certain, five hundred men of the nation of the *Seris*, have for many years been the ſcourge of the Spaniards of Sonora and Cinaloa.

Laſtly, omitting many other abſurd opinions of M. de Paw againſt the Americans, we ſhall only now take notice of the injury which he does them of the groſſeſt kind in regard to their cuſtoms. There are four principal vices with which he charges the Americans, gluttony, drunkenneſs, ingratitude, and pederaſty.

We

We never heard of the Americans being reproached with gluttony until we met with that paſſage in Mr. Condamine, cited and adopted by M. de Paw. We have found no author, who was the leaſt inſtructed in the affairs of America, who did not praiſe the temperance of the Americans in eating. Whoever pleaſes may on this point conſult Las Caſas, Garces, the anonymous conqueror, Oviedo, Gomara, Acoſta, Herrera, Torquemada, Betancourt, &c. All hiſtorians mention the wonder of the Spaniards at the temperance of the Indians; and, on the contrary, the wonder of the Indians to ſee the Spaniards eat more in one day than they did in a week. In ſhort, the ſobriety of the Americans is ſo notorious, that to defend them on this ſubject would be ſuperfluous. Mr. Condamine perhaps ſaw in his travels on the river Maragnon, ſome famiſhed Indians eat very greedily, and from them was perſuaded, as happens often to travellers, that all the Americans were gluttons. It is certain that Ulloa, who was in America with Mr. Condamine, remained there a longer time, and got more knowledge of the cuſtoms of the Indians, ſpeaks of them in a manner quite contrary to that French mathematician.

Drunkenneſs is the prevailing vice of thoſe nations. We confeſs it ſincerely in the firſt book of this hiſtory, explain its effects, and point out the cauſe of it; but we add alſo, that it did not prevail in the country of Anahuac before the Spaniards came there, on account of the great ſeverity with which that vice was puniſhed, though in the greater part of the countries of the old continent it is ſtill incorrected, and ſerves as an excuſe for more heinous crimes. It is certain, from the inquiries made by authors into the civil government of the Mexicans, that there were ſeveral laws againſt drunkenneſs in Mexico as well as Tezcuco, in Tlaſcala, and other ſtates, which we have ſeen repreſented in their ancient paintings. The ſixty-third painting of the collection made by Mendoza repreſents two youths of both ſexes condemned to death for having intoxicated themſelves, and at the ſame time an old man of ſeventy, whom the laws permit, on account of his age, to drink as much as he pleaſes. There are few ſtates in the world whoſe ſovereigns have ſhewn greater zeal to prevent exceſſes of this kind.

In

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In the above mentioned book alſo we have reported the common error reſpecting the gratitude of the Indians: but as what was ſaid there will not be ſufficient to convince thoſe who are prepoſſeſſed againſt them, we ſhall here relate an inſtance of gratitude which will of itſelf be enough to diſſipate this prejudice. In the year 1556 died, in Uruapa, a conſiderable place of the kingdom of Michuacan, on a viſit to his dioceſe at the age of ninety-five, Vaſco de Quiroga, founder and firſt biſhop of that church, who, after the example of St. Ambroſe, was tranſlated from the ſecular juriſdiction to the epiſcopal dignity. This celebrated prelate, worthy of compariſon with the firſt fathers of Chriſtianity, laboured indefatigably in favour of the people of Michuacan, inſtructing them as an apoſtle, and loving them as a father; he erected temples, founded hoſpitals, and aſſigned to each ſettlement of the Indians a branch of commerce, that the mutual dependance upon each other might keep them in ſtronger bonds of union, perfect the arts, and provide a manner of life for every one. The memory of ſuch benefits is, after more than two ages, preſerved as freſh in the minds of the Americans, as if their benefactor was yet living. The firſt care of the Indian women, as ſoon as their children begin to have any judgment, is to give them an account of their *Tata Don Vaſco:* for ſo they ſtill call him on account of the pious reſpect they bear to his memory. They communicate a knowledge of him by means of pictures of him, explaining all that he did in favour of their nation, and never paſs before his image without kneeling. This prelate alſo founded, in 1540, a ſeminary in the city of Pazcuaro for the inſtruction of youth; and enjoined the Indians of *Santa Fe*, a place ſettled by him on the bank of the lake *Pazcuaro*, to ſend every week a man to ſerve in the ſeminary. He was obeyed, and for two hundred and thirty years paſt an Indian has never been wanted to attend upon the ſeminary without any neceſſity to force or even call them, from their zeal to make a return by ſuch ſervice for the benefits which that worthy prelate conferred on them. They preſerve his bones with ſuch veneration in the city of Pazcuaro, that once as the chapter of the cathedral of Valladolid attempted to tranſport them there, the Indians became uneaſy, and prepared to oppoſe it by force of arms, which they would have certainly done had not the chapter,

in order to prevent any ſuch diſorder, abandoned their reſolution. Can there be imagined a more concluſive proof of the gratitude of a nation? Similar demonſtrations of the ſame diſpoſition have been given by the Indians in many places of the kingdom, where they wiſhed to retain the miſſionaries who had inſtructed them in their faith. Thoſe inſtances, which happened in the two laſt centuries, may be learned from the third volume of Torquemada, and the Mexican Theatre of Betancourt. Of thoſe which have occurred in our own times there are many living witneſſes; and we can teſtify ſome ourſelves. If the Americans ever ſhew themſelves ungrateful to their patrons, it is becauſe the continual experience of evils from them renders even their benefits ſuſpicious: but whenever they are convinced of the ſincere benevolence of their benefactors, they are capable of making a ſacrifice of all their poſſeſſions to gratitude. All who have ſeen and obſerved with impartiality the manners of the Americans confirm this character.

But of all the remarks made by M. de Paw againſt the Americans, nothing has been more injurious than his affirmation that pederaſty was much a vice in the iſlands, in Peru, in Mexico, and in all the new continent. We cannot conceive how M. de Paw, after having vented ſo horrid a calumny, had confidence to ſay in his reply to Don Pernety, that all his work of *Philoſophical Reſearches* breathes humanity. Can it be humanity unjuſtly to defame all the nations of the new world with a vice ſo opprobrious to nature? Is it humanity to be enraged againſt the Inca Garcilaſſo becauſe he defends the Peruvians from ſuch a charge? Although thoſe were reſpected authors who aſcribed this crime to all the people of America, there being many reſpected authors who ſay the contrary, M. de Paw, according to the laws of humanity, ought to have abſtained from ſo groſs an accuſation. But how much more ought he to have avoided it when there is not any writer of authority on whoſe teſtimony he can ſupport ſo univerſal an aſſertion. He may find ſome authors, as the anonymous conqueror, Gomara, and Herrera, who have accuſed ſome Americans of ſuch a vice, or at moſt ſome people of America; but he will find no hiſtorian of credit who has dared to ſay that pederaſty was much a vice in the *iſlands*, in *Peru*, in *Mexico*, and in all the new continent? On the

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the contrary, all the hiſtorians of Mexico ſay unanimouſly, that ſuch a vice was held in abomination by thoſe nations, and make mention of the ſevere puniſhments preſcribed by the laws againſt it, as appears from the works of Gomara, Herrera, Torquemada, Betancourt, and others. Las Caſas, in his memorial to Charles V. preſented in 1542, atteſts, that having made a diligent enquiry in the Spaniſh iſlands, Cuba, Jamaica, and Porto Rico, he found there was no memory of ſuch a vice among thoſe nations. The ſame thing he affirms of Peru, Yucatan, and all the countries of America in general; in ſome one place or other, he ſays, there may be ſome addicted to that crime; but he adds, the whole new world, however, muſt not be taxed with that vice. Who then has authoriſed M. de Paw to defame, in a point ſo injurious, the whole of the new world? Although the Americans were, as he believes, men without honour, and without ſhame, the laws of humanity forbid him to calumniate them. Such is the exceſs into which his ridiculous eagerneſs to depreciate America leads him, and ſuch are the conſequences of his unnatural logic, that he conſtantly deduces from particular premiſes univerſal concluſions! If poſſibly the Panucheſe, or any other people of America, were infected with that vice, is it from thence to be affirmed that pederaſty was much a vice in all the new world? The Americans might as well defame in the ſame manner the whole old continent, becauſe among ſome ancient people of Aſia and among the Greeks and Romans it was a notorious vice. Beſides, it is not known that there is any nation at preſent in America infected with that vice; whereas we are informed by ſeveral authors, that ſome people of Aſia are ſtill tainted with it; and that even in Europe, if what Mr. Locke and M. de Paw ſay is true, among Turks of a certain profeſſion, another vice more execrable, of the ſame kind, is common; and that inſtead of being ſeverely puniſhed for it, they are held, by that nation, in the light of ſaints, and receive the higheſt marks of reſpect and veneration.

Amongſt the crimes charged to the Americans by M. de Paw ſuicide is included. It is true that at the times of the conqueſt many hanged themſelves, or threw themſelves down precipices, or put an end to themſelves by abſtinence; but it is not the leaſt wonderful that men who had become deſperate from continual haraſſment and vexations,

tions, who thought their gods had abandoned, and the elements conſpired againſt them, ſhould do that which was frequent with the Romans, the Franks, and ancient Spaniards, the modern Engliſh (*x*), French, and Japaneſe, for a ſlight motive; for ſome falſe idea of honour, or ſome caprice of paſſion? Who could perſuade himſelf that a European would reproach the Americans with ſuicide in an age in which it is become a daily event in England and France (*y*), where the juſt ideas we have from nature and her religion, are baniſhed from the mind, and arguments invented, and books publiſhed, to vindicate it? So great is the rage for defaming America and the Americans.

A ſimilar paſſion ſeems to have affected that Spaniard who formed the general Index of the Decads of Herrera, inconſiderately imputing to all the Americans what Herrera ſays in his work of ſome individuals, with various exceptions. We copy here what we have read in that Index. "The Indians," he ſays, "are very ſlothful, very full of vices, "great drunkards, by nature lazy, weak, lyars, cheats, fickle, inconſtant, "have much levity, cowardly, naſty, mutinous, thieviſh, ungrateful, "inexorable, more vindictive than any other nation, of ſo low a nature, "&c. that it is doubtful if they are rational creatures; barbarous, beſ-"tial, and led like the brutes by their appetites." This is the language of M. de Paw, and other moſt humane Europeans; ſo it appears they do not think themſelves obliged to believe the truth with regard to the people of the new world, nor obſerve the laws of fraternal charity, publiſhed by the ſon of their own God in the old world.

But it would be eaſy for any American of moderate genius, and ſome erudition, who was deſirous of retaliating upon thoſe authors, to compoſe a work with this title, Philoſophical Enquiries concerning the Inhabitants of the Old Continent. In imitation of the method purſued by M. de Paw, he would collect whatever had been written of the barren countries of the old world, of inacceſſible mountains, of marſhy plains, of impenetrable woods, of ſandy deſerts, and malignant climes; of diſguſtful and noxious reptiles and inſects, of ſerpents, of toads,

(*x*) We have been informed by a perſon who was at the ſame time in London, that a ſuicide left in writing, that he killed himſelf to get free of the trouble of dreſſing and undreſſing himſelf every day.

(*y*) We know in one of theſe laſt years, there have been one hundred and fifty ſuicides committed in the city of Paris alone.

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of ſcorpions, of ants, of frogs, of ſcolopendras, of beetles, of bugs and lice; of quadrupeds, irregular, ſmall, without tails, imperfect and puſillanimous; of people, degenerated, ill-coloured, irregular in ſtature, deformed in ſhape, of bad conſtitutions, daſtardly minds, dull genius, and cruel diſpoſitions. When he came to the article of vices, what abundance of materials would be ready for his work! What examples of baſeneſs, perfidy, cruelty, ſuperſtition, and debauchery; what exceſſes in every kind of vice. The hiſtory of the Romans alone, the moſt celebrated nation of the ancient world, would furniſh him with an incredible quantity of the moſt horrid depravities. He would be ſenſible, that ſuch defects and vices were not common to all the countries, nor all the inhabitants of the ancient continent; but that would not ſignify, as he muſt follow his model in M. de Paw, and make application of his logic. This work would, unqueſtionably, be more valuable, and more worthy of faith than that of M. de Paw; for as this philoſopher does not cite againſt America and the Americans any but European authors, that American writer, on the contrary, would, in his curious work, refer to, and quote only the authors of the ſame continent againſt which he wrote.

DISSERTATION VI.

Of the Culture of the Mexicans.

MR. de Paw, perpetually incenſed againſt the new world, terms all the Americans barbarians and ſavages, and eſteems them inferior in induſtry and ſagacity to the coarſeſt and rudeſt nations of the old continent. If he had confined himſelf to ſay, that the American nations were in great part uncultivated, barbarous, and beaſtly in their cuſtoms, as many of the moſt cultivated nations of Europe were formerly, and as ſeveral people of Aſia, Africa, and even Europe are at preſent; that the moſt civilized nations of America were greatly leſs poliſhed than the greater part of the European nations; that their arts were not nearly perfected, nor their laws ſo good, or ſo well framed; and that their ſacrifices were inhuman, and ſome of their cuſtoms extravagant, we would not have reaſon to contradict him. But not to diſtinguiſh between the Mexicans and Peruvians, and the Caribs and Iroqueſe, to allow them no merit or virtues, to undervalue their arts, and to depreciate their laws, and place thoſe induſtrious nations below the coarſeſt nations of the old continent, is obſtinate perſiſtence in an endeavour to revile the new world and its inhabitants, inſtead of purſuing, according to the title of his book, the inveſtigation of truth.

We call thoſe men barbarous and ſavage, who, led more by caprice and natural will than guided by reaſon, neither live in ſociety, nor have laws for their government, judges to determine their differences, ſuperiors to watch over their conduct, nor exerciſe the arts which are neceſſary to ſupply the wants, and remedy the miſeries of life; thoſe, in ſhort, who have no idea of the Divinity, or, at leaſt, have not eſtabliſhed any worſhip by which they acknowledge him. The Mexicans, and all the other nations of Anahuac, as well as the Peruvians, confeſſed a ſupreme omnipotent Being, although their belief

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was like that of other idolatrous people, mixed with errors and ſuperſtition. They had prieſts, temples, ſacrifices, and eſtabliſhed rites, for the uniform worſhip of the Divinity. They had a king, governors, and magiſtrates; they had numerous cities, and a moſt extenſive population, as we ſhall make appear hereafter. They had laws and cuſtoms, the obſervance of which was attended to by their magiſtrates and governors. They had commerce, and took infinite care to enforce juſtice and equity in contracts. Their lands were diſtributed, and every individual was ſecured in the property and poſſeſſion of his ſoil. They exerciſed agriculture and other arts; not only thoſe neceſſary to life, but alſo thoſe which contributed to luxury and pleaſure alone. What more is neceſſary to defend nations from the imputation of being barbarous and ſavage? Money, ſays M. de Paw, the uſe of iron, the art of writing, and thoſe of building ſhips, conſtructing bridges of ſtone, and making lime. Their arts were imperfect and rude; their language extremely ſcarce of numeral terms and words fit to expreſs univerſal ideas, and their laws muſt be reckoned none; for laws cannot be where anarchy and deſpotiſm reign.

SECT. I.

Of the Want of Money.

MR. de Paw decides that no nation of America was cultivated or civilized, becauſe no one made uſe of money; and to ſupport this aſſertion he quotes a paſſage from Monteſquieu: "Ariſtippus," ſays this politician (*a*), "having been ſhipwrecked, made by ſwimming to the "neighbouring ſhore; he ſaw upon the ſand ſome figures of Geometry "drawn, and became full of joy, being perſuaded that he was thrown "among a Greek people, and not any barbarous nation. Imagine to your-"ſelf that by ſome accident you are placed in an unknown country; if "you find any money there, do not doubt that you are arrived among "a poliſhed people." But if Monteſquieu juſtly infers the civilization of a country from the uſe of money, M. de Paw does not well

(*a*) Eſprit des Loix, liv. xviii. chap. 13.

deduce

deduce the want of civilization from the deficiency of money. If we are to underſtand by money, a piece of metal, with the ſtamp of the prince, or the public, it is certain that the want of it in a nation is no token of barbarity. "The Athenians," ſays the ſame author, Monteſquieu, "becauſe they had no uſe of the metals, employed oxen for "money, as the Romans did ſheep;" and from thence took its origin, as we all know, the word *pecunia*; as the Romans put the ſtamp of a ſheep on the firſt money they coined, which they employed afterwards in their contracts. The Greeks were certainly a very cultivated nation in the times of Homer, ſince it was impoſſible that in the midſt of an uncultivated nation, a man ſhould ſpring up capable of compoſing the Iliad and the Odyſſey, thoſe two immortal poems, which, after twenty-ſeven centuries, are ſtill admired, but have never been equalled. The Greeks, however, at this period, did not know the uſe of coined money, as appears from the works of that renowned poet, who, whenever he means to ſignify the value of any thing, expreſſes it no otherwiſe than by the number of oxen or ſheep which it was worth; as in the VIIth book of the Iliad, when he ſays, that Glaucus gave his arms of gold, which were worth an hundred oxen, for thoſe of Diomede, which were of copper, and not worth more than nine. Whenever he ſpeaks of any purchaſe by contract, he mentions it no otherwiſe than by barter, or exchange. And therefore in that ancient controverſy between the Sabinians and Proculians, two ſects of lawyers, the firſt inſiſted that a real purchaſe and ſale could be made without a price, ſupporting this poſition by certain paſſages of Homer, where thoſe are ſaid to buy and ſell who only exchange. The Lacedemonians were a civilized nation of Greece, although they did not uſe money; and among the fundamental laws publiſhed by Lycurgus, was that law of not carrying on commerce otherwiſe than by means of exchange (*b*). The Romans had no coined money until the time of Servius Tullius; nor the Perſians until the time of Darius Hyſtaſpes; and yet the nations which preceeded thoſe epochs were not called barbarous. The Hebrews were civilized at leaſt from the time of their judges, but we do not find that ſtamped money was in uſe among

(*b*) Emi ſingula non pecunia ſed compenſatione mercium juſſit. Juſtin. lib. iii.

them

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them until the time of the Maccabees. The want of coined money, therefore, is no argument of barbarity.

If by money is underſtood a ſign repreſenting the value of all merchandize, as Monteſquieu defines it (*c*), it is certain, that the Mexicans, and all the other nations of Anahuac, except the barbarous Chechemecas and Otomies, employed money in their commerce. What was the cacao, of which they made conſtant uſe in the market to purchaſe whatever they wanted, but a ſign repreſenting the value of all merchandize. The cacao had its fixed value, and was reckoned by numbers; but to ſave the trouble of counting it, when the merchandize was of great value and worth, many thouſands of the nuts, they knew that every bag of a certain ſize contained three Xiquipilli, or twenty-four thouſand nuts. Who will not acknowledge, that the cacao is much fitter to be made uſe of as money than oxen or ſheep, which the Greeks and Romans made uſe of, or the ſalt which is at preſent employed by the Abyſſinians? The oxen and ſheep could not be employed to purchaſe any thing of ſmall value, and any ſickneſs, or other misfortune, which might befall thoſe animals, would impoveriſh thoſe who had no other capital. "Metal has been adopted for "money," ſays Monteſquieu, "that the ſign may be more durable. "The ſalt which the Abyſſinians uſe has this defect that it is conti-"nually diminiſhing." Cacao, on the contrary, could paſs for any merchandize, was tranſportable, and guarded more eaſily, and preſerved with leſs danger and with leſs care.

The uſe of cacao in the commerce of thoſe nations, will appear, perhaps, to ſome perſons, a mere exchange; but it was not ſo: for there were ſeveral ſpecies of cacao, and the *Tlalcacahuatl*, ſmall cacao, which they uſed in their diet and beverages, was not uſed as money: they employed other ſpecies, of inferior quality and leſs uſeful for food, which were in conſtant circulation as money (*d*), and uſed in no other way almoſt then in commerce. Of this ſort of money, all hiſtorians of Mexico, Spaniſh, as well as Indian, make mention. Of the

(*c*) L'Eſprit de Loix.

(*d*) In the capital itſelf of Mexico, where from eighteen to twenty thouſand crowns (peſos fuertes) annually coined in gold and ſilver, the poor people ſtill make uſe of the cacao to purchaſe ſmall articles in the market.

other four ſpecies, which we ſpoke of in our VIIth book of this hiſtory, Cortes and Torquemada both give an account. Cortes, in his laſt letter to the emperor Charles V. affirms, that having made inquiries concerning the commerce of thoſe nations, he found that in Tlachco, and other provinces, they trafficked with money. If he had not meant to be underſtood to ſpeak of coined money, he would not have reſtricted the uſe of it to Tlachco, and ſome other provinces; becauſe, he knew very well, without making ſuch enquiries, that at the markets of Mexico, where he had been frequently preſent, they employed, inſtead of money, the cacao, and certain little cloths of cotton, called by them *Patolquachtli*, and gold in duſt encloſed in gooſe quills. It is therefore ſomewhat ſuſpicious, notwithſtanding what we have ſaid in our former book, that there was alſo coined money among them, and that both thoſe thin pieces of tin which Cortes mentions, and thoſe pieces of copper, in form of T, mentioned by Torquemada, as two ſpecies of money, had ſome ſtamp upon them authoriſed by the ſovereign, or his feudatory lords.

To hinder any frauds in commerce, nothing but common articles of food could be ſold out of the market-place, which was kept, as we have already ſaid, in the greateſt order that can be imagined. There were meaſures fixed by the magiſtrates; the commiſſaries we mentioned formerly, were continually obſerving all that happened; and the judges of commerce were charged to take cogniſance of all diſputes between the merchants, and puniſh every treſpaſs which was committed; and notwithſtanding it muſt be ſaid, that the Mexicans were inferior in induſtry to the rudeſt people of the old continent; among whom are ſome, that after ſo many centuries, and the example of other nations of their own continent, do not yet know the advantages of money.

SECT. II.

On the Uſe of Iron.

The uſe of iron is one of thoſe things which M. de Paw requires to call a nation cultivated; and from the want of it he believes all the Americans barbarians. So that if God had not created this metal, all men

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men muſt, according to the ſentiments of this philoſopher, have of neceſſity remained barbarous. But in the ſame place of his work where he reproaches the Americans with barbarity, he furniſhes us all the arguments we could deſire to refute it. He affirms, that in all the extent of America there are found but few mines of iron, and thoſe ſo inferior in quality to thoſe of the old continent, that it cannot even be made uſe of for nails. He tells us, that the Americans were in poſſeſſion of the ſecret, now loſt in the old continent, of giving copper a temper equal to that of ſteel: that Godin ſent, in 1727 (probably 1747, as in 1727, he was not gone to Peru), to the count de Maurepas, an old ax of hard Peruvian copper; and that count Caylus having obſerved it, he diſcovered that it equalled the ancient arms of copper in hardneſs, of which the Greeks and Romans made uſe, who did not employ iron in many of thoſe works in which we employ it at preſent; either becauſe then it was more ſcarce, or becauſe their tempered copper was better in quality than our ſteel. Laſtly, he adds, that the count de Caylus, being ſurpriſed at that art, became perſuaded that (though in this he is oppoſed by Mr. de Paw), it was not the work of the beaſtly Peruvians, whom the Spaniards found there in the times of the conqueſt, but of ſome other more ancient and more induſtrious nation.

From all this, obſerved by M. de Paw, we draw theſe four important concluſions: 1. That the Americans had the honour of imitating the two moſt celebrated nations of the old continent in the uſe of copper. 2. That their conduct was wiſe in not making uſe of an iron ſo bad, that it was not even fit for making nails, but by making uſe of a ſort of copper to which they gave the temper of ſteel. 3. That if they did not know the very common art of working iron, they were in poſſeſſion of that more ſingular ſkill of tempering copper like ſteel, which the European artiſts of this enlightened century have not been able to reſtore. 4. That the count de Caylus was as much deceived in the judgment which he formed of the Peruvians, as M. de Paw has been in his reſpecting all the Americans. Theſe are the lawful inferences to be drawn from the doctrine of this philoſopher, on the uſe of iron, and not that of want of induſtry which he pretends to deduce. We ſhould be glad to know from him, if there is more induſtry required to work iron as the Europeans do, than to work without iron every ſort of

ſtone

ſtone and wood, to form ſeveral kinds of arms, and to make without iron, as the Americans uſed to do, the moſt curious works of gold, of ſilver, and of gems. The particular uſe of iron does not prove great induſtry in the Europeans. Invented by the firſt men, it paſſed eaſily from one to another; and as the modern Americans received it from the Europeans, in the ſame manner the ancient Europeans had it from the Aſiatics. The firſt peoplers of America certainly knew the uſe of iron, as the invention of it was cotemporary with the world; but it is probable, that that happened which we have conjectured in our firſt Diſſertation, that is, not having found at firſt the mines of that metal in the northern countries of America where they had ſettled themſelves, the memory of it was loſt to their deſcendants.

But, finally, if thoſe are barbarians who know not the uſe of iron, what muſt they be who know not the uſe of fire? In all the vaſt region of America, no nation has been found, nor tribe ſo rude, which did not know the art of kindling fire, and employing it for the common purpoſes of life; but in the old world people have been found ſo barbarous, that they neither uſed nor had any knowledge of fire. Such have been the inhabitants of the Marian Iſlands, to whom that element was totally unknown until the Spaniards arrived there, as the hiſtorians of thoſe iſles atteſt: yet M. de Paw would perſuade us that the American people are more ſavage than all the ſavages of the old world.

In other reſpects, M. de Paw is as wrong in what he ſays of the iron of America as in what he thinks of the copper. In New Spain, Chili, and many other countries of America, numerous mines of good iron have been diſcovered, and if it was not prohibited to work them, in prejudice of the commerce of Spain, America could furniſh Europe all the neceſſary iron in the ſame manner as ſhe ſupplies it with gold and ſilver. If M. de Paw had known how to make his enquiries concerning America, he would have learned from the chronicler Herrera, that even in the iſland of Hiſpaniola, there is a better iron there than in Biſcay. He would have found alſo from the ſame author, that in Zacatula, a maritime province of Mexico, there are two ſorts of copper; the one hard, which is uſed inſtead of iron, to make axes, hatchets, and other inſtruments of war and agriculture, and the other flexible and more-

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common, which they uſe to make pots, baſons, and other veſſels, for domeſtic uſe; ſo that they had no occaſion for the boaſted ſecret of hardening copper. Our ſincerity alſo compels us to defend in the ſame manner the true progreſs of American induſtry, and to reject thoſe imaginary inventions which are attributed to the new world. The ſecret of which the Americans were really in poſſeſſion of is that which we read in Oviedo, an eye witneſs, and a perſon ſkilled and intelligent in metals. "The Indians," he ſays, "know very well how to "gild copper veſſels, or thoſe of low gold, and to give them ſo ex- "cellent and bright a colour, that they appear to be gold of twenty- "two carats and more: this they do by means of certain herbs. The "gilding is ſo well executed, that if a goldſmith of Spain or Italy poſ- "ſeſſed the ſecret he would eſteem himſelf very rich."

SECT. III.

On the Art of building Ships, and Bridges, and of making Lime.

IF other nations deſerve the reproach of being ignorant how to build ſhips, it is certainly not due to the Mexicans; as not having rendered themſelves maſters of the ſea-coaſts, until the laſt years of their monarchy they had no occaſion nor convenience for contriving any ſuch ſtructures. The other nations, who occupied the ſhores of both ſeas before the Mexicans gained dominion over them, were ſatisfied with the boats which were in uſe among them, for fiſhing, and commerce with the neighbouring provinces; becauſe, being free from ambition and avarice, which have been the firſt incentives to long navigations, they did not think of uſurping the ſtates lawfully poſſeſſed by other nations, nor deſired to tranſport from diſtant countries thoſe precious metals for which they had no demand. The Romans, although they had founded their metropolis near to the ſea, remained five hundred years without conſtructing large veſſels (e), until the ambition of enlarging

(e) Appius uſed every poſſible dilligence to come to the aid of the Mamertines. In order to accompliſh this he thought of paſſing the ſtrait of Meſſina, but the enterpriſe was raſh, even dangerous, and according to all prudent appearances impoſſible. The Romans had no naval armament, but mere barges, or veſſels coarſely conſtructed, which might be compared with the canoes of the Indians. Rollin, Rom. Hiſt. lib. ii.

their

their dominions, and making themſelves maſters of Sicily, prompted them to build ſhips to paſs the ſtrait which divided them from it. What wonder is it then if thoſe nations of America, who felt no ſuch impulſes to abandon their native country, did not invent veſſels to tranſport themſelves to diſtant lands? It is certain, that the not having conſtructed ſhips does not argue any want of induſtry in them who had no intereſt in the invention.

Thus it is with regard to the invention of bridges. M. de Paw affirms, that there was not a ſingle ſtone bridge in America at the time it was diſcovered, becauſe the Americans did not know how to form arches; and that the ſecret of making lime was altogether unknown in America. Theſe three aſſertions are three very groſs errors. The Mexicans did know how to make bridges of ſtone, and among the remains of their ancient architecture are to be ſeen at preſent the large and ſtrong pilaſters which ſupported the bridge which was upon the river Tula. The remains of the ancient palaces of Tezcuco, and ſtill more their *Temazcalli*, or vapour baths, ſhew us the ancient uſe of arches and vaults among the Mexicans, and the other nations of Anahuac. Diego Valades, who went to Mexico a few years after the conqueſt, and remained there thirty years, gives us, in his *Chriſtian Rhetoric*, the image of a ſmall temple which he ſaw, and therefore leaves no ſort of doubt in this matter.

With reſpect to the uſe of lime, it requires the forwardneſs of M. de Paw to be able to affirm, as he does, that the ſecret of making lime was totally unknown in all America; ſince it is certain, from the teſtimony of the Spaniſh conquerors as well as the firſt miſſionaries, that the nations of Mexico not only made uſe of lime, but that they had the art of whitening and curiouſly ſmoothing and poliſhing the walls of their houſes and temples. It appears from the hiſtories of B. Diaz, Gomara, Herrera, Torquemada, and others, that the wall of the principal palace of Mexico appeared to the firſt Spaniards who entered the city to be made of ſilver, from their being ſo finely whitened, and ſhining with poliſh. It is certain, laſtly, from the paintings of the Tributes which are in Mendoza's collection, that the cities of Tepejacac, Techamachalco, Quecholac, &c. were obliged to pay annually to the king of Mexico four thouſand ſacks of lime. But although we had none of theſe proofs, the remains of ancient edifices, ſtill extant in Tezcuco,

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Mictlan, Guatuſco, and many other places of that kingdom, would be ſufficient to evince the truth of what we have aſſerted, and make M. de Paw bluſh at his raſhneſs and indiſcretion.

In regard to Peru, although Acoſta confeſſes that lime was not in uſe there, and that its natives neither conſtructed arches nor bridges of ſtone; which circumſtances proved ſufficient for M. de Paw to ſay, that the uſe of lime was totally unknown in all America; notwithſtanding Acoſta, who was no vulgar man, and neither exaggerated nor extenuated facts with reſpect to the Americans, gives much praiſe to the wonderful induſtry of the Peruvians for their bridges of *totora* or reeds at the mouth of the lake of Titicaca, and in other places, where the immenſe depth, or the extraordinary rapidity of the rivers, did not permit them to make bridges of ſtone, or made the uſe of boats dangerous. He affirms to have paſſed ſuch kind of bridges and boats, and alſo the eaſineſs and ſecurity of the paſſage. M. de Paw takes upon him to ſay, that the Peruvians did not know the uſe of boats, that they did not make windows to their houſes, and even ſuſpects that their houſes had no roofs. Theſe are the abſurd ſpeculations in the cloſet of a writer on America: he makes it very clear, that he does not know any thing of the *bejucos* of the Peruvian bridges, and that he has formed no idea of the rivers of South America.

SECT. IV.

On the Want of Letters.

NO nation in America knew the art of writing, if by it we are to underſtand the art of expreſſing on paper, on ſkins, on cloths, or on ſome other ſimilar ſubſtance, any ſort of words by the different combinations of certain characters: but if the art of writing is taken for that of repreſenting and explaining any ſubject to abſent perſons, or poſterity, by means of figures, hieroglyphics, and characters, it is certain that ſuch an art was known and much uſed by the Mexicans, the Acolhuas, the Tlaſcalans, and all the other poliſhed nations of Anahuac. The count de Buffon, in order to demonſtrate that America

rica was a country entirely new, and the people who inhabited it alſo new, has alledged, as we have already ſaid elſewhere, that even the nations who lived in ſocieties were ignorant of the art of tranſmitting their events to poſterity by means of durable ſigns, although they had found the art of communicating together at a diſtance, and of writing by making knots on cords. But this ſame art which they made uſe of to treat with thoſe who were abſent could not ſerve alſo to ſpeak to poſterity. What were the hiſtorical paintings of the Mexicans but durable ſigns to tranſmit to poſterity the memory of events to diſtant places and diſtant ages? The count de Buffon ſhews himſelf truly as ignorant of the hiſtory of Mexico as he is acquainted with the hiſtory of nature. M. de Paw, although he grants that art to the Mexicans which the count de Buffon unjuſtly denies them, makes, however, ſeveral remarks to depreciate it; and among others ſome ſo ſingular we muſt mention them.

He ſays that the Mexicans did not uſe hieroglyphics; that their paintings were nothing but the coarſe drafts of objects; that, in order to repreſent a tree they painted a tree; that their paintings no where ſhew any underſtanding of light and ſhade, any idea of perſpective, or imitation of nature; that they had made no progreſs in that art, by means of which they attempted to perpetuate the memory of events and things paſſed; that the only copy of hiſtorical painting ſaved from the burning which the firſt miſſionaries made of them, is that which the firſt viceroy of Mexico ſent to Charles V. which was afterwards publiſhed by Thevenot in France, and Purchas in England; that this painting is ſo coarſe and ill executed, that it is not to be diſcerned whether it treats, as the interpreter ſays, of eight kings of Mexico, or eight concubines of Montezuma, &c.

M. de Paw ſhews his ignorance throughout here, and from thence proceeds his forwardneſs in writing. Shall we give more faith to a Pruſſian philoſopher, who has ſeen only the groſs copies by Purchas, than to thoſe who have ſeen and carefully ſtudied many original paintings of the Mexicans? M. de Paw will not allow the Mexicans to have made uſe of hieroglyphics, becauſe he would not have it thought that he grants them any reſemblance to the ancient Egyptians. Kircher,

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cher, that celebrated enquirer into, and praiſer of Egyptian antiquities, in his work entitled *Oedipus Egyptiacus*, and Adrian Walton in his preface to the Polyglott Bible, are of the ſame opinion with M. de Paw; but their opinion has no other ſupport than the ſame copy by Purchas: but Motolinia, Sahagun, Valades, Torquemada, Arrigo, Martinez, Siguenza, and Boturini, who knew the Mexican language, converſed with the Indians, ſaw and diligently ſtudied many ancient paintings, ſay, that among the different modes practiſed by the Mexicans to repreſent objects, that of hieroglyphics was one, and that of ſymbolical pictures another. The ſame point is atteſted by Acoſta and Gomara, in their hiſtories; by Eguiara, in the learned preface to the Mexicana Bibliotheca; and by thoſe learned Spaniards who publiſhed, with new additions, the work of Garcia *on the Origin of the Indians*. Kircher was ſtrongly refuted by Siguenza in his work entitled *Theatre of Political Virtues*. It is certain that Kircher contradicts himſelf openly; for in the firſt volume of the Oedipus Egyptiacus, where he compares the religion of the Mexicans with that of the Egyptians, he freely confeſſes that the parts of which the image of the God Huitzilopochtli was compoſed, had many ſecret and myſterious ſignifications. Acoſta, whoſe hiſtory is juſtly eſteemed by M. de Paw, in the deſcription which he gives of that image, ſays, "all this ornament which we have "mentioned, and the reſt, which was conſiderable likewiſe, had its "particular ſignifications, according to what the Mexicans declared:" and in the deſcription of the idol of Tezcatlipoca expreſſes himſelf in theſe terms: "His hair was tied with a golden cord, from the ex"tremity of which hung an ear-ring of the ſame metal, with clouds of "ſmoke painted upon it, which ſignified the prayers of the afflicted and "ſinners, who were liſtened to by that God when they recommended "themſelves to him. In his left hand he had a fan of gold, adorned "with beautiful green, blue, and yellow feathers, ſo bright that it ſeemed "a mirrour; by which they intimated, that in that mirrour he ſaw every "thing which happened in the world. In his right hand he had four "arrows to ſignify the puniſhment he gave to criminals for their miſ"deeds." What are all thoſe, and other inſignia of the Mexican idols, of which we have made mention in the ſixth book of this hiſtory,

ſtory, but ſymbols and hieroglyphics, very ſimilar to thoſe of the Egyptians?

M. de Paw ſays, that the Mexicans did nothing elſe to repreſent a tree but paint a tree: but what did they to repreſent day and night, the month, the year, the century, the names of perſons? How could they repreſent time and other things which have no figure, without making uſe of ſymbols or characters? "The Mexicans," ſays Acoſta, "had "their figures and hieroglyphics, by which they repreſented things in "this manner; that is, thoſe things which had a figure were repreſented "by their proper figures; and for thoſe which had no proper image "they made uſe of other characters to ſignify them; thus they repre-"ſented whatever they would; and to mention the time in which "any event happened, they employed painted wheels, each of which "comprehended a century of fifty-two years, &c. *(f)*"

But here we have another piece of inſult from the ignorance of M. de Paw. He ridicules the ſecular wheels of the Mexicans, the explanation of which he ſays Carreri ventured to give, in imitation of a Caſtilian profeſſor called *Congara*, who did not dare to publiſh the work which he had promiſed on this ſubject: becauſe his relations and friends aſſured him that it contained many errors. It would appear that M. de Paw cannot write without committing errors. That profeſſor whom Carreri or Gemelli imitates, was not a Caſtilian, but a Creole, born in the city of Mexico; nor was he called Congara, but Siguenza and *Gongora*: he did not print his Mexican ciclography, which was the work Gemelli made uſe of, not becauſe he feared any cenſure from the public, but becauſe of the exceſſive expences of printing in thoſe countries; which have alſo prevented the publication of many other excellent works, not only of Siguenza, but other moſt learned authors. To ſay that the relations and friends of Siguenza diſſuaded him from the publication of that work becauſe they found many errors in it, is not a mere miſtake occaſioned by inattention, but appears a fiction deviſed to abuſe and miſlead the public. Who has communicated to M. de Paw ſo ſtrange an anecdote which is altogether unknown to New Spain, where the memory and fame of that great man is ſo celebrated,

(f) Stor. Nat. e Mor. lib. vi. cap. 7.

and

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and where the learned lament the loſs of that and many other works of the ſame author? What could Siguenza fear from the publication of the Mexican wheels, publiſhed already by Valades in Italy a century before him, and deſcribed by Motolinia, Sahagun, Gomara, Acoſta, Herrera, Torquemada, and Martinez, all Europeans, and by the Mexican, Acolhuan, and Tlaſcalan hiſtorians, Iztlilxochitl, Chimalpain, Tezozomoc, Niza, Ayala, and others? All thoſe authors are agreed with Siguenza in that which reſpects the Mexican wheels of the century, the year, the month, and only differ reſpecting the beginning of the year, and the name of ſome months, for the reaſons which we have mentioned in the ſixth book of this hiſtory. Beſides, all authors who have wrote on this ſubject, both Spaniſh and American, who are many in number, agree in ſaying that the Mexicans and other nations of thoſe countries made uſe of ſuch wheels to repreſent their century, their year, and their month; that their century conſiſted of fifty-two years, their year of three hundred and ſixty-five days, divided into eighteen months of twenty days each, and five days which they called *nemontemi*; that in their century they counted four periods of thirteen years, and that the days alſo were counted by periods of thirteen; that the names and characters of the years were only four, that is thoſe of the *rabbit*, the *cane* or *reed*, the *flint*, and the *houſe*, which without interruption were alternately uſed with different numbers.

This cannot be, ſays M. de Paw, becauſe it would ſuppoſe them to have made a long ſeries of aſtronomical obſervations, and thereby attained a knowledge ſufficient to enable them to regulate the ſolar year, and theſe could not happen to be united with that profound ignorance which thoſe people were immerſed. How could they perfect their chronology while they had no terms to count a higher number than three? Therefore, if the Mexicans had really that method of regulating time, they ought not to be called barbarians and ſavages, but rather a cultivated and poliſhed people; becauſe a nation muſt be moſt cultivated which has made a long ſeries of accurate obſervations and acquired exact knowledge in aſtronomy. But the certainty of the regulation of time among the Mexicans is ſuch as not to admit of the ſmalleſt doubt: becauſe, if the unanimous teſtimony of the Spaniſh writers reſpecting the *communion* of the Mexicans is not to

be

be doubted, which M. de Paw himſelf ſays is not *(g)*, how can we doubt of the method which thoſe nations had to compute years and centuries, and its conformity to the ſolar courſe, both facts being atteſted unanimouſly by the Spaniſh, Mexican, Acolhuan, and Tlaſcalan hiſtorians? Beſides, the depoſition of the Spaniards in this matter is of very great weight, as they were, as M. de Paw ſays, rather inclined to degrade the nations of America ſo far as even to doubt of their rationality. It is neceſſary, therefore, to believe what hiſtorians ſay of thoſe wheels, and to confeſs that the Mexicans were not immerſed in that profound ignorance which M. de Paw pretends. With regard to what he ſays of the ſcarcity of words to expreſs numbers in the Mexican language, we ſhall, in another place, demonſtrate his error as well as his ignorance.

It cannot be known, reſumes M. de Paw, what was contained in the Mexican paintings; becauſe the Spaniards themſelves could not underſtand them, until they were explained by the Mexicans, and none of the latter have known hitherto enough to be able to tranſlate a book! In order that the Spaniards ſhould have underſtood the Mexican paintings, it was not neceſſary that the Mexicans ſhould know the Spaniſh language, becauſe it was ſufficient that the Spaniards comprehended the Mexican; nor is there ſo much neceſſary to explain a picture as to tranſlate a book. M. de Paw ſays, that on account of the roughneſs of the Mexican language, no Spaniard has ever learned to pronounc it, and that, from the incapacity of the Mexicans, none of them have yet learned the Spaniſh tongue: but both the one and the other aſſertion are far from being true. Of the Mexican language we ſhall treat in its place. The Caſtilian has always been very common among the Mexicans, and there are many amongſt them who can ſpeak it as well as the Spaniards. Many of them have wrote their ancient hiſtory in Caſtilian, and alſo that of the Conqueſt of Mexico; ſome of whom we have mentioned in the Catalogue prefixed to this hiſtory. Others have tranſlated Latin books into Caſtilian, Caſtilian into Mexican, and Mexican

(g) "Je vous avoue que le conſentement de tous les Hiſtoriens Eſpagnols ne permet guères "de douter que ces deux peuples Américains (*the Mexicans and Peruvians*) n'euſſent dans la "ſomme immenſe de leurs ſuperſtitions groſſières, de quelques adages qui ne différoient pas "beaucoup de ce qu'on nomme la Connoiſſance parmi nous." Tom. II. Letter I.

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into Caſtilian: amongſt others deſerving of mention, are D. F. Ixtlilxochitl, whom we have ſo often cited; D. A. Valerianes, of Azcapozalco, the maſter in the Mexican language to the hiſtorian Torquemada, &c. We know from the Hiſtory of the Conqueſt, that the celebrated Indian donna Marina, learned with great quickneſs and facility the Caſtilian language, and that ſhe ſpoke the Mexican, and alſo the Maya language well, which are more different from each other than the French, the Hebrew, and the Illyrian. There having been at all times, therefore, very many Spaniards who have learned the Mexican, as we ſhall ſhew, and very many Mexicans who have learned the Spaniſh, why might not the Mexicans have been able to inſtruct the Spaniards in the ſignifications of their pictures?

With reſpect to the copies of the Mexican paintings, publiſhed by Purchas and Thevenot, it is true that the proportions, or laws of perſpective, are not obſerved in them; but thoſe groſs coarſe copies having been cut in wood, theſe authors have poſſibly increaſed the defects of the originals; nor ought we to wonder if they have omitted ſome things contributing to the perfection of thoſe pictures; as we know that they omitted the copies of the twelfth and twenty-ſecond paintings of that collection altogether, and the images of the cities in moſt of the others; and beſides, they change the figures of the years correſponding to the reigns of Ahuitzotl and Montezuma II. as we have already mentioned. Boturini, who ſaw in Mexico the original paintings of thoſe annals, and of the regiſter of the tributes which were contained in the copies publiſhed by Purchas and Thevenot, laments the great defects of thoſe editions. It is ſufficient to compare the copies publiſhed in Mexico, in 1770, by Lorenzana, with thoſe publiſhed in London by Purchas, and in Paris by Thevenot, to perceive and know the great difference there is between copy and original. But we do not mean to maintain the perfection of the original, copied by Purchas; we rather doubt not that they have been imperfect, as all the hiſtorical paintings were, in which the painters contented themſelves with outlines, regardleſs of the proportions or colouring of objects, the light and ſhade, or rules of perſpective. Nor was it poſſible they ſhould obſerve thoſe laws of the art, on account of their extraordinary expedition in making pictures, as Cortes, Diaz and other eye-witneſſes

have atteſted. But let us obſerve the concluſions M. de Paw deduces from thence. His arguments are theſe: the Mexicans did not obſerve the laws of perſpective in their paintings; they could not therefore, by means of them, perpetuate the memory of events: the Mexicans were wretched painters, therefore they could not be good hiſtorians; but at the ſame time that he makes uſe of this ſpecies of logic, he ought alſo to have ſaid, that all thoſe who in writing do not make good characters cannot be good hiſtorians; for that which letters are to our hiſtorians, were the figures of the Mexican hiſtorians; and as good hiſtories may be written with a bad character, ſo may facts be well repreſented by coarſe pictures; it is ſufficient that either hiſtorian make himſelf underſtood.

But this is what Mr. de Paw cannot find in the copies made by Purchas. He declares that having compared the figures of them in different manners with the interpretations annexed, he could never diſcover any connection between them; that which they interpret to be eight kings of Mexico, they might equally well interpret to be eight concubines of Montezuma. But the ſame thing might be ſaid by M. de Paw, if the book *Chun-yum* of the philoſopher Confucius, written in Chineſe characters, was preſented to him, with the interpretation in French beſide it. He would compare in various modes thoſe characters with the interpretations, and ſuppoſing that he could not find any connection between them, he might ſay, that as they interpret that book of the nine qualifications which a good emperor ought to have, they might alſo interpret it of nine concubines, or nine eunuchs of ſome ancient emperor, becauſe he underſtands almoſt full as much of the Chineſe characters as of the Mexican figures. If we had an interview with M. de Paw, we could explain to him what connexion theſe figures have with their interpretation; but, as he does not know it himſelf, he ought to take the judgment of thoſe who underſtand them.

He believes, or would make us believe, that thoſe pictures alone which Purchas copied, were ſaved from the burning made by the firſt miſſionaries; but this is moſt erroneous, as we have already made appear againſt Robertſon in the beginning of the firſt volume. The paintings ſaved from that burning were ſo many in number, that they ſupplied the materials for the ancient hiſtory of Mexico, not only to the

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Spaniſh writers, but alſo to the Mexicans themſelves. All the works of don Ferdinand Alba Ixtlilxochitl, of don Dominic Chimalpain, and others named in the catalogue of writers, at the beginning of this hiſtory, have been compoſed by the aſſiſtance of a great number of ancient paintings. The indefatigable Sahagun, conſulted an infinity of paintings for his hiſtory of New Spain. Torquemada often cites the pictures which he examined for his work. Siguenza inherited the manuſcripts and paintings of Ixtlilxochitl, and procured many others at a great expence, and after having made his extracts from them, left them at his death, together with his valuable library, to the college of St. Peter and St. Paul, of the Jeſuits of Mexico; in which library we ſaw and ſtudied ſome of thoſe paintings. During the two laſt centuries, ancient paintings were frequently produced at tribunals by the Mexicans, as titles of property, and the poſſeſſion of lands; and on that account, interpreters ſkilled in the ſignifications of ſuch paintings were conſulted. Gonzalez Oviedo makes mention of that cuſtom at tribunals in the times of Sebaſtiano Ramirez de Fuenleal, preſident of the royal audience of Mexico; and as the knowledge of ſuch titles was of great importance to the deciſion of ſuits, there was formerly a profeſſor in the univerſity of Mexico, appointed to teach the ſcience of Mexican paintings, hieroglyphics, and characters. The many pictures collected a few years ago by Boturini, and mentioned in the Catalogue of his Muſeum, publiſhed at Madrid, in 1746, demonſtrate, that not quite ſo few as M. de Paw and Dr. Robertſon imagine, have eſcaped the burning by the miſſionaries.

In ſhort, to confirm what we have written in this hiſtory, and let M. de Paw underſtand the variety of Mexican paintings, we ſhall mention here briefly what Dr. Eguiara has written in his learned Preface to his Bibliotheca Mexicana. "There were," he ſays, "among "the Mexican pictures thoſe of the lunar courſe, called by them *To-* "*nalamatl*, in which they publiſhed their prognoſtics reſpecting the "changes of the moon. One of thoſe pictures is introduced by Si- "guenza, in his Ciclographia Mexicana, as he himſelf acknowledges "in his work, entitled, *Libra Aſtronomica*. Others contained the "horoſcopes of children, in which they repreſented their names, the "day and ſign of their birth, and their fortune. Of this ſort of "paint-

" painting, mention is made by Jerom Roman, in his *Republic of the* " *World*, Part II. Tom. ii. Others were dogmatical, containing the " ſyſtem of their religion; others hiſtorical, others geographical," &c. " It is true," adds the ſame author, " that thoſe paintings which were " made for familiar and common uſe, were clear and intelligible to " every one: but thoſe which contained the ſecrets of religion were " full of hieroglyphics, the meaning of which could not be compre- " hended by the vulgar. There was great difference in their paintings, " both with reſpect to their authors, and the method of doing them, " and the deſign and uſe of them. Thoſe which were made for the " ornaments of the palaces were perfect; but in others containing " ſome ſecret meaning, particular characters, and ſome monſtrous and " horrible figures were employed. The painters were numerous; but " the writing of characters, the compoſing of annals, and the treat- " ing of matters concerning religion and politics, were employments " peculiar to the prieſts." So far EGUIARA.

M. de Paw will pleaſe to know therefore, that among the Mexican paintings ſome were mere images of objects; they had alſo characters not compoſing words as ours do, but ſignificative of things like thoſe of aſtronomers and algebraiſts. Some paintings were ſolely intended to expreſs ideas or conceptions, and, if we may ſay ſo, to write; but in theſe they paid no regard to proportion or beauty, becauſe they were done in haſte, and for the purpoſe of inſtructing the mind, not of pleaſing the eye: in thoſe, however, where they ſtrove to imitate nature, and which they executed with that leiſure which works of ſuch kind require, they ſtrictly obſerved the diſtances, proportions, attitudes, and rules of the art, though not with the perfection which we admire in the good painters of Europe. In ſhort, we wish M. de Paw would ſhew us ſome rude or half-poliſhed people of the old continent which has exerted ſo much induſtry and diligence as the Mexicans to perpetuate the memory of events.

Dr. Robertſon, where he treats of the culture of the Mexicans in the ſeventh book of his Hiſtory, explains the progreſs which human induſtry makes to arrive at the invention of letters, by the combinations of which are expreſſed all the different ſounds of diſcourſe. This ſucceſſive progreſs, according to him, proceeds from actual painting to ſim-

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ple hieroglyphic, from it to allegorical ſymbols, from thence to arbitrary characters, and laſtly to the alphabet. If any perſon would wiſh to know from his hiſtory to what degree the Mexicans were arrived, he certainly will not be able to find it; as that hiſtorical reaſoner ſpeaks with ſo much ambiguity, that ſometimes it appears that he believes they were hardly arrived at the ſecond degree, that is ſimple hieroglyphic; and ſometimes it ſeems that he judges them arrived at the fourth degree or at arbitrary character. But, independent of what he ſays, it is certain, that all the above mentioned ways of repreſenting ideas, except that of the alphabet, were uſed by the Mexicans. Their numeral characters, and thoſe ſignifying night, day, the year, the century, the heavens, the earth, the water, &c. perhaps were not truly arbitrary characters. The Mexicans were arrived then as far as the famous Chineſe, after many ages of civilization. There is no difference between the one and the other, except that the Chineſe characters are multiplied to ſuch exceſs, that a whole life-time is not enough to learn them.

Dr. Robertſon, far from denying, like Mr. de Paw, the ſecular wheels of the Mexicans, confeſſes their method of computing time, and ſays, that their having obſerved, that in eighteen months, of twenty days each, the courſe of the ſun was not completed, they added the five days Nemontemi. "This near approach to philoſophical accuracy is a remarkable proof that the Mexicans had beſtowed ſome "attention upon enquiries and ſpeculations to which men in their rude "ſtate never turn their thoughts (*b*)." What would he have ſaid had he known, as appears from the chronology of the Mexicans, that they not only counted three hundred ſixty-five days to the year, but alſo knew of the exceſs of about ſix hours in the ſolar over the civil year, and remedied the difference between them by means of thirteen intercalary days, which they added to their century of fifty-two years.

(*b*) Hiſt. of America, book vii.

SECT.

SECT. V.

On the Arts of the Mexicans.

MR. de Paw, after having given a contemptuous deſcription of Peru, and the barbarity of its inhabitants, ſpeaks of Mexico, of which ſtate, he ſays, there are as many falſities and miracles related as of Peru; but it is certain, he adds, that thoſe two nations were upon an equality; whether we conſider their government, their arts, or their inſtruments. Agriculture was abandoned by them, and their architecture moſt wretched: their paintings were coarſe, and their arts very imperfect; their fortifications, their palaces, and their temples, are mere fictions of the Spaniards. If the Mexicans, he ſays, had had fortifications, they would have ſheltered themſelves from the muſketry, and thoſe ſix poor pieces of cannon, which Cortes carried with him, would not have overthrown in a moment ſo many baſtions and entrenchments. The walls of their buildings were only great ſtones, laid looſely, one upon another. The boaſted palace, where the kings of Mexico reſided, was a mere hut; on which account, F. Cortes, finding no ſuitable habitation in all the capital of that ſtate, was obliged to erect a palace for himſelf in haſte, which ſtill exiſts. It is not eaſy to enumerate the abſurdities thrown out by M. de Paw on this ſubject: omitting, however, what belongs to Peru, we ſhall examine what he has written againſt the arts of the Mexicans.

Of their agriculture we have ſpoken in other places, where we have ſhewn, that the Mexicans not only cultivated moſt diligently all the lands of their empire, but likewiſe by wonderful exertions of induſtry, created to themſelves new territory for cultivation, by forming thoſe floating fields and gardens on the water, which have been ſo highly celebrated by all the Spaniards and foreigners, and are ſtill the admiration of all who ſail upon thoſe lakes. We have demonſtrated that not only all the plants which were neceſſary for food, for clothing and medicine, but likewiſe the flowers and other vegetables which contributed ſolely to luxury and pleaſure, were all moſt plenteouſly cultivated by them. Cortes, in his letters to Charles V. and Bernal Diaz, ſpeak with

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with aſtoniſhment of the famous gardens of Iztapalapan and Huaxtepec, which they ſaw; and they are alſo mentioned by Hernandez, in his Natural Hiſtory, who ſaw theſe gardens forty years after. Cortes, in a letter to Charles V. of the 30th of October, 1520, ſpeaks thus: "The multitude of inhabitants in thoſe countries is ſo great, that there "is not a foot of land left uncultivated." It is being very obſtinate to refuſe faith to the unanimous teſtimony of the Spaniſh authors.

We have ſet forth, on the ſupport of the ſame teſtimony, the great ſkill of the Mexicans in bringing up animals, in which kind of magnificence Montezuma ſurpaſſed all the kings of the world. The Mexicans could not have bred up ſuch an infinite variety of quadrupeds, reptiles, and birds, without having great knowledge of their natures, their inſtinct, their habits of life, &c.

Their architecture is not to be compared with that of the Europeans, but it was certainly greatly ſuperior to that of moſt of the people of Aſia and Africa. Who would form a compariſon between the houſes, palaces, temples, baſtions, aqueducts, and roads of the ancient Mexicans, with the miſerable huts of the Tartars, Siberians, Arabs, and other wretched nations, which live between the Cape de Verd, and the Cape of Good Hope; or the buildings of Ethiopia, of a great part of India, and the Aſiatic and African iſles, except thoſe of Japan?

M. de Paw ſays, the boaſted palace of Montezuma was nothing elſe than a mere hut. But Cortes, Diaz, and the anonymous conqueror, who ſaw this palace ſo often, affirm the direct contrary. "He had," ſays Cortes, talking of Montezuma, "in this city of Mexico, ſuch houſes for "his habitation, ſo deſerving of admiration, that I cannot ſufficiently "expreſs their grandeur and excellence; I ſhall therefore only ſay, that "there are none equal to them in Spain." Thus writes this conqueror to his king, without fear of being contradicted by his officers or ſoldiers, who had alſo themſelves viewed the palaces of Mexico. The anonymous conqueror, in his curious and faithful relation, ſpeaking of the buildings of Mexico, writes thus: "There were beautiful houſes be-"longing to the nobles, ſo grand and numerous in their apartments, "with ſuch admirable gardens to them, that the ſight of them filled us "with aſtoniſhment and delight. I entered from curioſity four times "into a palace belonging to Montezuma, and having pervaded it until

"I was

"I was weary, I came away at laſt without having ſeen it all. Around "a large court they uſed to build ſumptuous halls and chambers; but "there was one above all ſo large that it was capable of containing up-"wards of three thouſand perſons without the leaſt inconvenience: it "was ſuch, that in the gallery of it alone a little ſquare was formed, "where thirty men on horſe-back might exerciſe." It is certain from the affirmation of all the hiſtorians of Mexico, that the army under Cortes, conſiſting of ſix thouſand four hundred men and upwards, including the allies, were all lodged in the palace formerly poſſeſſed by king Axajacatl; and there remained ſtill ſufficient lodging for Montezuma and his attendants, beſides the magazine of the treaſures of king Axàjacatl. The ſame hiſtorians atteſt the moſt beautiful diſpoſition of the palace of birds; and Cortes adds, that in the apartments belonging to it two princes might have been lodged with all their ſuit, and minutely deſcribes its porticos, lodges, and gardens. He ſays alſo to Charles V. that he lodged in the palace of Nezahalpilli, at Tezcuco, with ſix hundred Spaniards, and forty horſes, and that it was ſo large it could eaſily have lodged ſix hundred more. He ſpeaks in a ſimilar manner of the palaces of Iztapalapan, and other cities, praiſing their ſtructure, their beauty, and magnificence. Such were the *huts* of the kings and chiefs of Mexico.

M. de Paw ſays, that Cortes made a palace be conſtructed in haſte for his own habitation, becauſe he could not find any one in all that capital ſufficiently commodious; but M. de Paw is in a great miſtake, or rather he aſſerts without truth, and condemns without reaſon. It is true that Cortes, during the ſiege of Mexico, burnt and demoliſhed the greater part of that great city, as he himſelf relates; and for that end he had demanded and obtained from his allies ſome thouſands of country people, who had no other employment than to pull down and deſtroy the houſes and buildings as the Spaniards advanced into the city, that there might not remain behind them any houſe from which the Mexicans could annoy them. It is therefore not very wonderful that Cortes did not find a convenient habitation for himſelf in a city which he had himſelf deſtroyed; but the ruin of it was not ſo general, but that there remained a conſiderable number of houſes in the diviſion of Tlatelolco, where the Spaniards might have lodged conveniently;

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veniently, with a good number of allies. "Since it has pleaſed our Lord," ſays Cortes in his laſt letter to Charles the V. "that this great "city of Tlatelolco ſhould be conquered, I have not thought proper "to reſide in it on account of many inconveniences; I have therefore "gone, with all my people, to ſtay at Cuyoacan." Had what M. de Paw ſays been true, it would have been ſufficient for Cortes to have ſaid that he did not remain in Mexico becauſe there were no houſes left fit to be inhabited. The palace of Cortes was erected in the ſame place where formerly that of Montezuma ſtood. If Cortes had not ruined this palace, he might have lodged conveniently in it, as that monarch had done, with all his court. It is falſe that the palace erected for Cortes is ſtill in exiſtence; it was burnt in the time of a popular ſedition, in 1692. But it is ſtill falſer that the walls of the Mexican houſes were only looſe ſtones laid one upon another without any cement, as the contrary is proved by the teſtimony of all hiſtorians, and by the remains of ancient buildings, of which we ſhall ſpeak in their place. From hence it appears, that the whole paſſage above cited from M. de Paw, is idle and fictitious.

M. de Paw, not contented with annihilating the houſes of the Mexicans, engages alſo with their temples; and in anger againſt Solis, becauſe he affirms that the temples of Mexico were not leſs than two thouſand in number, including large and ſmall, writes thus, "There "never has been ſo great a collection of houſes in any city from Pe-"kin to Rome, on which account Gomara, leſs raſh or more diſ-"cerning than Solis, ſays, that computing ſeven chapels, there were not "more than eight places deſtined for the repoſitories of the idols of "Mexico." In order to ſhew the unfaithfulneſs of M. de Paw in citing authors, we ſhall inſert the paſſage from Gomara to which he alludes. "There were," ſays Gomara, in chapter eighty of his Chronicle of New Spain, "many temples in the city of Mexico, "ſcattered through the different diſtricts, that had their towers, in "which were the chapels and altars for the repoſitories of the idols . . . "They had almoſt all the ſame form, ſo that what we ſhall ſay of the "principal temple will ſuffice to explain all the others." And after making a minute deſcription of that great temple, of which he boaſts the height, largeneſs, and beauty, he adds, "Beſides thoſe towers,

"which

" which were formed with their chapels above the pyramid, there were " more than forty other towers, great and ſmall, in other ſmaller *Teocalli* (*i*), which were within the incloſure of that principal tem- " ple, all of which were the ſame in form . . . There were other Teo- " calli or *Cues* in other places of the city . . . All thoſe temples had " houſes belonging to them, their prieſts, and their gods, together " with every thing neceſſary for their worſhip and ſervice." So that Gomara, who, according to M. de Paw, does not enumerate in Mexico more than eight places deſtined for the repoſitories of the idols, including ſeven chapels, reckons clearly more than forty temples within the incloſure of the principal temple, beſides many others ſcattered through the other diſtricts of the city. Can we give any faith to M. de Paw after ſo manifeſt a falſification?

It is true that Solis was inconſiderate in aſſerting that number of temples for a certainty which the firſt hiſtorians mentioned only from conjecture. But M. de Paw ſhews himſelf not very diſcerning in including amongſt the public buildings thoſe chapels alſo which the Spaniards call temples. Of theſe the quantity was innumerable; all thoſe who ſaw that country before the conqueſt teſtify unanimouſly, that not only in the inhabited places, but on the roads and mountains they ſaw ſuch kinds of buildings, which, although ſmall and totally different from our churches, were yet called temples, becauſe they were conſecrated to the worſhip of the idols. From the letters of Cortes, as well as from the hiſtory of Diaz, we know that the conquerors hardly went a ſtep in their expeditions without meeting with ſome temple or chapel. Cortes ſays he numbered more than four hundred temples in the city of Cholula alone. But there was a great difference in the ſize of the temples. Some were nothing elſe than ſmall terraſſes of little height, upon which was a little chapel for the tutelar idol. Others were of ſtupendous dimenſions. Cortes, where he ſpeaks of the greater temple of Mexico, declares to the emperor, that it is difficult to deſcribe its parts, its grandeur, and the things contained in it; that it was ſo large, that within the incloſure of that ſtrong wall which ſurrounded it, a village of five hundred houſes might

(*i*) *Teocalli*, the houſe of God, was the name which the Mexicans gave to their temple.

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be contained. This and the other temples of Mexico, Tezcuco, Cholula, and other cities, are ſpoken of in the ſame ſtile by B. Diaz, the anonymous conqueror, Sahagun, and Tobar, who ſaw them, and the Mexican and Spaniſh hiſtorians, who wrote after them and informed themſelves accurately on the ſubject. Hernandez deſcribed one by one, the ſeventy-eight parts of which the greater temple was compoſed. Cortes adds, that among the high towers which adorned that great capital were forty, ſo elevated that the ſmalleſt of them was not inferior in height to the famous *Giralda* (*k*) of Seville. D. F. de A. Ixtlilaochitl makes mention in his manuſcripts of the tower of nine floors, that his famous anceſtor Nezahualpilli, erected to the Creator of heaven, which appears to have been that famous temple of Tezcutzinco, ſo much extolled by Valades in his work.

All this cloud of witneſſes depoſe againſt M. de Paw. Notwithſtanding he cannot believe in that great multitude of temples in Mexico, becauſe he ſays Montezuma I. was he who gave the form of a city to that village: from the reign of this monarch until the arrival of the Spaniards, no more than forty-two years elapſed, which ſpace of time is not ſufficient to build two thouſand temples. Theſe three aſſertions, make, as is uſual with this author, as many errors. 1. It is falſe that Montezuma I. gave the form of a city to Mexico, becauſe we know from hiſtory that that court had the form of a city from the time of Acamapitzin the firſt king. 2. It is falſe, beſides, that there intervened but forty-two years between the reign of Montezuma and the arrival of the Spaniards. Montezuma began to reign, as we have ſhewn in Diſſertation ſecond, in the year 1436, and died in 1465, and the Spaniards did not come to Mexico before 1519. Therefore, from the beginning of that reign until the arrival of the Spaniards elapſed eighty-three years, and from the death of that king till then fifty-five. 3. M. de Paw diſcovers his total ignorance of the ſtructure of the Mexican temples, nor does he know what multitude of workmen aſſembled for the conſtruction of the public edifices, and what expedition they made in building. In thoſe times a whole village has been raiſed, though compoſed of huts of wood, covered

(*k*) The very lofty and famous ſteeple of the Dome of Seville.

or

or thatched with hay or ſtraw, and the new ſettlers have conducted their families, their animals, and all their other property to it, in one ſingle night.

As to their fortifications it is certain and indubitable, from the depoſitions made by Cortes and all thoſe who ſaw the ancient cities of that empire, that the Mexicans, and all the other neighbouring nations living in ſocieties, raiſed walls, baſtions, paliſades, ditches, and intrenchments for their defence. But without the atteſtations of thoſe eye-witneſſes, the ancient fortifications which ſtill exiſt in *Quauhtochco* or Guatuſco, and near to *Molcaxac*, would be ſufficient to ſhew the error of M. de Paw. It is true that ſuch fortifications were not comparable to thoſe of the Europeans, becauſe neither was their military architecture perfected, nor had they occaſion to cover themſelves from artillery, of which they had no experience or conception: but they gave plain proofs of their induſtry in inventing many different kinds of expedients to defend themſelves from their native enemies. Whoever will read the unanimous depoſition of the conquerors, will not entertain a doubt of the great difficulty they found in taking the ditches and intrenchments of the Mexicans during the ſiege of that capital, although they had ſuch an exceſſive number of troops of allies, and the advantages of fire arms, and the brigantines. The terrible defeat the Spaniards met with when they meant to have retired in ſecret from Mexico, will not ſuffer a doubt to remain concerning the fortifications of that capital. It was not ſurrounded by walls, becauſe its ſituation was rendered ſecure by ditches which interſected all the roads by which an enemy could approach; but other cities which were not placed in ſo advantageous a ſituation, had walls and other means of defence. Cortes himſelf gives an exact deſcription of the walls of Quauquechollan.

But it is not neceſſary to conſume time in accumulating teſtimonies and other proofs of the architecture of the Mexicans, while they have left, in the three roads which they formed upon the lake itſelf, and the very ancient aqueduct of Chapoltepec, an immortal monument of their induſtry.

The ſame authors who atteſt the architectural ſkill of the Mexicans, witneſs alſo the ingenuity of their gold-ſmiths, their weavers, their gem-cutters, and their artificers of works of feathers. Many

Europeans

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Europeans who ſaw ſuch kind of works were aſtoniſhed at the abilities of the American artiſts. Their art in caſting metals was admired by the goldſmiths of Europe, as many European writers, then living, have ſaid; and amongſt others the hiſtorian Gomara, who had the works in his hands, and heard the opinion of the Sevillian gold-ſmiths concerning them, who deſpaired of ever being able to imitate them. When ſhall we find any one capable of making thoſe wonderful works already mentioned by us, in Book viii. Sect. 51. of this hiſtory, and atteſted by many writers, namely that, for inſtance, of caſting a fiſh, which ſhould have its ſcales alternately, one of gold and the other of ſilver? Cortes ſays, in his ſecond letter to Charles V. that the images made of gold and feathers were ſo well wrought by the Mexicans that no workman of Europe could make any better; that in reſpect to jewels, he could not comprehend by what inſtruments their works were made ſo perfect; and their feather-works could not be imitated neither by wax nor ſilk. In his third letter, where he ſpeaks of the plunder of Mexico, he ſays, that among the ſpoils of Mexico he found there certain wheels of gold, and feathers, and other labours of the ſame matter, ſo wonderfully executed, that being incapable to convey a juſt idea of them in writing, he ſent them to his majeſty that he might be aſſured by his own ſight of their excellence and perfection. We are certain that Cortes would not have ſpoke in that manner to his king of thoſe works, which he ſent him in order that he might view them, if they had not been ſuch as he repreſented. Bernal Diaz, the anonymous conqueror, Gomara, Hernandez, and Acoſta, and all thoſe authors who ſaw them, of them in the ſame Manner.

Dr. Robertſon (*l*) acknowledges the teſtimony of the ancient Spaniſh hiſtorians, and believes that they had no intention to deceive us; but he affirms that they were all induced to exaggerate from the illuſion of their ſenſes produced by the warmth of their imagination. Such a ſolution might be made uſe of to deny faith to all human hiſtorians. All therefore muſt have been deceived, without excepting even the celebrated Acoſta, or the learned Hernandez, the gold-ſmiths of Seville, king Philip II. or Pope Sextus V. who were all admirers,

(*l*) Hiſtory of America, book vii.

and-

and praiſed thoſe Mexican labours (*m*)! their imaginations were all heated, even thoſe who wrote ſome years after the diſcovery of Mexico! Robertſon the Scotſman, and de Paw the Pruſſian, after two centuries and a half have alone that temperance of imagination which is required to form a juſt idea of things, perhaps, becauſe the cold of their climes has checked the heat of their imaginations. "It is not from "thoſe deſcriptions," adds Robertſon, "but from conſidering ſuch ſpe-"cimens of this art as are ſtill preſerved, that we muſt decide concern-"ing their degree of merit . . . Many of their ornaments in gold and "ſilver, as well as various utenſils employed in common life, are de-"poſited in the magnificent cabinet of natural and artificial produc-"tions, lately opened, and I am informed, by perſons on whoſe judg-"ment and taſte I can rely, that theſe boaſted efforts of their art are "uncouth repreſentations of common objects, or very coarſe images "of the human and ſome other forms, deſtitute of grace and pro-"priety." And in a note he ſays, "in the armory of the royal palace "of Madrid are ſhewn ſuits of armour, which are called Montezu-"ma's. They are compoſed of thin lackered copper-plates. In "the opinion of very intelligent judges they are evidently eaſtern. "The forms of the ſilver ornaments upon them may be conſidered as "a confirmation of this. They are infinitely ſuperior in point of work-"manſhip to any effort of American art. The only unqueſtionable "ſpecimen of Mexican art that I know of in Great Britain, is a cup "of very fine gold, which is ſaid to have belonged to Montezuma. "A man's head is repreſented on this cup. On one ſide the full face, "on another the profile, and on a third the back parts of the head. "The features are rude, but very tolerable, and certainly too rude "for Spaniſh workmanſhip. This cup was purchaſed by Edward "Earl of Oxford, while he lay in the harbour of Cadiz." Thus far Robertſon, to whom we anſwer, firſt, That there is no reaſon to believe that thoſe rude works are really Mexican; ſecondly, That neither do we know whether thoſe perſons in whoſe judgment he could confide, may be perſons fit to merit our faith: becauſe we have obſerved that Robertſon truſts frequently to the teſtimony of Cages, Corral, Ibagnez,

(*m*) See our Seventh, book ſect. 51.

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and other ſuch authors, who are entirely undeſerving of credit. Poſſibly thoſe perſons who gave their judgment of ſuch labours had their imaginations heated alſo; as it is eaſier, according to the ſtate of of our degenerate nature, to feel the imagination heated againſt a nation than in favour of it. Thirdly, It is more probable that thoſe arms of copper, believed by intelligent judges to be certainly oriental, are really Mexican, becauſe we are certain, from the teſtimony of all the writers of Mexico, that thoſe nations uſed ſuch plates of copper in war, and that they covered their breaſts, their arms, and thighs with them, to defend themſelves from arrows; whereas we do not know that ſuch were ever in uſe among the inhabitants of the Philippine iſles (*n*), or among any other people who had commerce with them. The dragons repreſented in thoſe arms, inſtead of confirming, as Robertſon thinks, the opinion of thoſe who think them oriental, rather ſtrengthen our opinion, becauſe there never was any nation in the world which uſed the images of terrible animals on their arms ſo much as the Mexicans. Nor is it matter of wonder that they had an idea of dragons while they had ideas of griffins, as Gomara atteſts (*o*). Fifthly, That although the images formed in theſe works of gold and ſilver are rude, they might ſtill be excellent, wonderful, and inimitable; becauſe in thoſe works two diſtinct points ought to be conſidered; that of the deſign, and that of the caſting; ſo that the fiſh, of which we have made mention above, might be ill formed as to figure, and yet wonderful and ſurpriſing in that alternation in the ſcales of gold and ſilver, done by caſt work. Sixthly and laſtly, The judgment of ſome perſons entirely unknown upon thoſe few doubtful works which are in the royal cabinet of Madrid, ſhould not avail againſt the unanimous depoſitions of all ancient writers, who certainly ſaw innumerable labours of this kind which were really Mexican.

From what we have ſaid, it is manifeſt that M. de Paw has done the greateſt injuſtice to the Mexicans, in believing them inferior in induſtry and ſagacity to the rudeſt people of the old continent. Acoſta,

(*n*) Dr. Robertſon ſays, that the Spaniards had thoſe arms poſſibly from the Philippine iſles.

(*o*) Chronicle of New Spain, chap. xxi.

where

when he treats of the induſtry of the Peruvians ſpeaks thus: "If thoſe "men are beaſts, let who will judge; ſince I am certain, that in that "to which they apply themſelves, they excel us." This ingenious confeſſion of a European of ſo much criticiſm, ſo much experience, and ſo much impartiality, is certainly of more weight than the airy ſpeculations of any Pruſſian philoſopher, or all the reaſoning of a Scottiſh hiſtorian; the one and the other ill informed in the affairs of America, or prejudiced againſt it. But although we ſhould grant to M. de Paw, that the induſtry of the Americans in the arts is inferior to that of other people in the world, he can infer nothing from them againſt the talents of the Americans, or the clime of America; as it is certain and indubitable, that the invention and progreſs of arts are generally more owing to chance, avarice, and neceſſity, than genius. The men the moſt induſtrious are not always the moſt ingenious in arts, but often the moſt neceſſitous, or eager for gold, are ſo. The barrenneſs of the earth, ſays Monteſquieu, makes men induſtrious (*p*). It is neceſſary that they procure to themſelves that which the earth does not yield them. The fertility of a country from the facility with which he is ſupported, begets indolence in man. "Neceſſity," ſays Robertſon, "is the ſpur and guide of the human race to inventions." The Chineſe certainly would never have been ſo induſtrious, if the exceſſive populouſneſs of their country had not rendered their ſupport difficult; nor would Europe have made ſuch progreſs in the arts, if artiſts had not been encouraged by rewards and the hopes of acquiring fortune. Nevertheleſs, the Mexicans could boaſt of many inventions worthy of immortalizing their name, ſuch as, beſides thoſe of caſting metals and moſaic works of feathers and ſhells, the art of making paper (*q*); thoſe of dying with indelible colours, ſpinning and weaving the fineſt hair of the rabbets and hares; making razors of Itztli (*r*); breeding ſo induſtriouſly the cochineal to make uſe of its colours; making cement for the pavements of their houſes, and many others

(*p*) Eſprit des Loix, liv. xviii. chap. 4.

(*q*) The invention of paper is certainly more ancient in America than in Egypt, from whence it was communicated to Europe; it is true, that the paper of the Mexicans was not comparable to the paper of the Europeans; but it ought to be obſerved that the former did not make theirs for writing but painting.

(*r*) See Book VII. ſect. 50. of this hiſtory, reſpecting that art.

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not leſs valuable, as may be known from the works of the hiſtorians of Mexico. But where is the wonder that ſuch inventions were found among thoſe civilized nations, while, amongſt other people of America, leſs poliſhed, arts of the moſt ſingular nature have been diſcovered? What art more wonderful, for example, than that of taming ſea-fiſh, and employing them to chace other larger fiſh, as the inhabitants of the Antilles uſed to do. This art alone, of which Oviedo (*s*), Gomara, and other authors make mention, would be ſufficient to refute the charge of want of induſtry among the Americans.

SECT. VI.

Of the Languages of the Americans.

"THE languages of America, ſays M. de Paw, are ſo limited, and "ſo ſcarce of words, that it is impoſſible to expreſs any metaphyſical "idea in them. In no one of thoſe languages can they count above "the number three (*t*). It is impoſſible to tranſlate a book either in- "to the languages of the Algonquines, or Paragueſe, or even into "thoſe of Mexico or Peru, on account of their not having ſufficient "plenty of proper terms to expreſs general ideas." Whoever reads thoſe dogmatical deciſions of M. de Paw, will be perſuaded, undoubtedly, that he determines after having travelled through all America, after having had commerce with all thoſe nations, and after having examined all their languages? But it is not ſo. M. de Paw, without moving from his cloſet at Berlin, knows the things of America better than the Americans themſelves, and in the knowledge of their different languages even excels thoſe who ſpeak them. We have learned the Mexican, and have heard it ſpoken by the Mexicans for many years;

(*s*) Oviedo Stor. Gener. e Nat. lib. xiii. cap. 10. Sommario della Stor. &c. cap. 8. Gomara Storia Gener. cap. 20. The ſpecies of fiſh which the Indians trained to chace large fiſh, as they train hawks in Europe, to chace other birds was rather ſmall, called by them *Guaican*, and by the Spaniards *Reverſo*. Oviedo explains the manner in which they made uſe of the fiſh to chace others.

(*t*) In the ſame ſection i. of the 5th part of the Recherches Philoſophiques, in which he affirms, that no language of America had terms to count more than three, he ſays the Mexicans could count as high as ten.

but

but never knew that it was deficient in numerical terms, and words ſignifying univerſal ideas, until M. de Paw gave us that information. We know that the Mexicans gave the name of *Centzontli* (four hundred), or rather that of *Centzontlatale* (he who has four hundred words), to that bird which is ſo renowned for its ſweetneſs and matchleſs variety of ſong. We know beſides that the Mexicans anciently counted by *Xiquipilli*, and the nuts of the cacao, in their commerce, and in numbering their troops of war; that *Xquipilli* was eight thouſand; ſo that when they ſaid that an army conſiſted of forty thouſand, they expreſſed that it had five *Xiquipilli*. We know laſtly, that the Mexicans had numeral words to expreſs as many thouſands, or millions, as they pleaſed; but M. de Paw knows the direct contrary, and there is not a doubt but he knows better than us; becauſe we had the misfortune to be born under a clime leſs favourable to the operations of the intellect. Nevertheleſs, we ſhall ſubjoin, to ſatisfy the curioſity of our readers, the ſeries of numerical terms which the Mexicans have always employed (*u*). It will appear thence, that thoſe who had not, according to

(*u*) Numeral Terms of the Mexican Language.

Ce	1.	Nahui	4.	Chicome.	7.	Matlachtli	10.
Ome	2.	Mocuilli	5.	Chicuci	8.	Chaxtolli	15.
Jei	3.	Chicuace	6.	Chiucnahui	9.		

With theſe terms differently combined together with theſe three following,

Pohualli or *Poalli* 20, *Tzontli* 400, and *Xiquipilli* 8000, they expreſs any quantity, thus:

Cem poalli	20	Nauhpoalli	80
Ompoalli	40	Macuilpoalli	100
Epoalli	60	Chicuacempoalli	120, &c.
Matlacpoalli ten times 20			200
Caxtolpoalli fifteen times 20			300

Thus they proceed until they come to 400.

Centzontli	400	Nachtzontli	1600
Ontzontli	800	Macuilzontli	2000
Etzontli	1200	Chicuacentzontli	2400, &c.
Matlaczontli ten times 400			4000
Caltoltzontli fifteen times 400			6000

Thus they go on to 8000.

Ce-xiquipilli	8 00	Nauhxiquipilli	32,000
Onxiquipilli	16000	Macuilxiquipilli	40,000
Exiquipilli	24000	Chicuacenxiquipilli	48,000, &c.
Matlacxiquipilli ten times 8000			80,000
Caxtolxiquipilli fifteen times 8000			120,000
Cempoalxiquipilli twenty times 8000			160,000

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to M. de Paw, numeral words to count above three, had, in ſpite of his ignorance, words to count to at leaſt forty-eight millions. In like manner, we could expoſe the error of M. Condamine and M. de Paw, in many other languages of America, and even in thoſe which are reckoned the moſt barbarous; as there are in Italy at preſent perſons acquainted with the new world, and capable of giving an account of more than ſixty American languages. Among the materials we collected for this work, we have the numeral words of the Araucan language, which although it is a more warlike than civilized nation, has words to expreſs millions.

M. de Paw is not leſs wrong in affirming, that the languages of America are ſo poor, that they cannot expreſs a metaphyſical idea; which opinion M. de Paw has learned of M. Condamine. Time, ſays this philoſopher, treating of the languages of America, duration, ſpace, being, ſubſtance, matter, body, all theſe words, and many others, have no equivalents to them in their languages; and not only the names of metaphyſical beings, but alſo thoſe of moral beings cannot be expreſſed, unleſs imperfectly and by long circumlocutions. But M. Condamine knew as much of the language of America as M. de Paw; and he certainly gained his information from ſome ignorant perſon, which is a uſual caſe with travellers. We are perfectly ſure that many American languages have not that poverty Mr. Condamine aſcribes to them; but without attending to that we ſhall examine the ſtate of the Mexican.

It is very true, that the Mexicans had no words to expreſs ſuch conceptions, as matter, ſubſtance, accident, and the like; but it is equally ſo, that no language of Aſia, or Europe, had ſuch words before the Greeks began to refine and abſtract their ideas, and to create new terms to expreſs them. The great Cicero, who knew the Latin language ſo well, and flouriſhed in thoſe times when it was at its greateſt perfec-

Ompoalxiquipilli forty times 8000	320,000, &c.
Centzonxiquipilli four hundred times 8000	3,200,000
Ontzonxiquipilli eight hundred times 8000	6,400,000
Matlactzonxiquipilli four thouſand times 8000	32,000,000
Caltoltzonxiquipilli ſix thouſand times 8000	48,000,000, &c.

We mentioned that they had words to count as far as forty-eight millions at leaſt, but thoſe above are ſufficient to confute M. de Paw.

tion,

tion, although he eſteemed it more copious than the Greek, is often at the greateſt difficulty in his philoſophical works, to find words correſponding to the metaphyſical ideas of the Greeks. How often was he conſtrained to create new terms equivalent in ſome manner to thoſe of the Greek, becauſe he could not find any ſuch in uſe among the Romans; but even at this day, after that language has been enriched by Cicero, and other learned Romans, who, after his example, applied themſelves to the ſtudy of philoſophy, many terms are wanting to expreſs metaphyſical notions, unleſs recourſe is had to the barbarous Latin of the ſchools. None of thoſe languages which are ſpoken by the philoſophers of Europe, had words ſignifying matter, ſubſtance, accident, and other ſimilar ideas; and therefore it was neceſſary that philoſophers ſhould adopt the words of the Latin, or the Greek. The ancient Mexicans, becauſe they had no concern with the ſtudy of metaphyſics, are very excuſable for not having invented words to expreſs thoſe ideas; their language, however, is not wanting in terms ſignifying metaphyſical and moral things, as Condamine affirms thoſe of South America to be; we, on the contrary, affirm, that it is not eaſy to find a language more fit to treat on metaphyſical ſubjects than the Mexican; as it would be difficult to find another which abounds ſo much as it in abſtract terms; for there are few verbs in it from which are not formed verbals correſponding with thoſe in *io* of the Romans; and but few ſubſtantive or adjective nouns from which are not formed abſtracts expreſſing the being, or as they ſay in the ſchools, the quiddity of things: equivalents to which we cannot find in the Hebrew, in the Greek, in the Latin, in the French, in the Italian, in the Engliſh, in the Spaniſh, or Portugueſe; of which languages, we preſume, at leaſt, to have ſufficient knowledge, to make a compariſon. In order to give ſome ſpecimen of this language to the curious among our readers, we ſubjoin ſome words ſignifying metaphyſical and moral ideas, which are underſtood by the rudeſt Indians (*x*).

The

(*x*) Specimen of words in the Mexican language, ſignifying moral and metaphyſical conceptions.

Tlamantli	King	Nejolnonotzaliztli	Reflexion
Jeliztli	Eſſence	Tlachtopaittaliztli	Foreſight
Qualloti	Goodneſs	Nepoltzotzonaliztli	Doubt
Neltiliztli	Truth	Tlalnamiquiiiztli	Remembrance

Ceti-

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The exceſſive abundance of words of this nature has been the reaſon that the deepeſt myſteries of religion have been explained in the Mexican language without great difficulty, and that ſome books of the Holy Writings have been tranſlated into it; among which are thoſe of the Proverbs of Solomon, and the Apoſtles; which like thoſe of Thomas Kempis, and others, tranſlated into Mexican, could not have been done into thoſe languages which are wanting in terms of metaphyſical and moral ideas. The books publiſhed in Mexico on religion are ſo numerous, that of them alone might be formed a large library. To this Diſſertation we ſhall add a ſhort catalogue of the principal Mexican authors, in gratitude to their labours, as well as to illuſtrate what we have advanced.

What we have ſaid of the Mexicans, we may, in great part, affirm alſo of the other languages ſpoken in the dominions of Mexico; as there are Dictionaries and Grammars of them, as well as of the Mexican, and treatiſes in religion have been publiſhed in them all.

Cetiliztli	Unity
Ometiliztli	Binity
Jeitiliztli	Trinity, &c.
Teotl	God
Teojotl	Divinity
Tloque Nahuaque	He who has every thing within himſelf.
Ipalnemoani	Him by whom we live
Amacicacaconi	Incomprehenſible
Cemicacaeni	Eternal
Cenmancanjelitzli	Eternity
Cahuitl	Time
Cenjocoiani	Creator of all
Cenhuelitini	Omnipotent
Cenhueliciliztli	Omnipotence
Tlacatl	Perſon
Tlacajotl	Perſonality
Tajotl	Fatherhood
Nanjotl	Motherhood
Tlaltiepaſtlacajotl	Humanity
Teiolia	Soul
Teixtlamatia	Mind
Tlamatiliztli	Wiſdom
Ixtlamachiliztli	Reaſon
Ixaxiliztli	Comprehenſion
Tlaixmatiliztli	Knowledge
Tlanemiliztli	Thought
Tlalcahualitzli	Forgetfulneſs
Tlazotlaliztli	Love
Tlacocoliztli	Hatred
Tlamauhtiliztli	Fear
Netemachiliztli	Hope
Necocoliztli	Pain
Nejoltequipacholiztli	Repentance
Ellehutliztli	Deſire
Qualtihuani Jeltihuani	Virtue
Aquallotl	Malice
Tolchicahualiztli	Strength
Tlaixjejecoliztli	Temperance
Jollomachiliztli	Prudence
Tlamelahuacachicahualiztli	Juſtice
Jolhueliztli	Magnanimity
Tlapaccaihijohuiliztli	Patience
Tlanemaciliztli	Liberality
Paccanemiliztli	Gentleneſs
Tlatlacajotl	Benignity
Necnomatiliztli	Humility
Tlazocamatiliztli	Gratitude
Nepehualiztli	Pride
Teojehuacatiliztli	Avarice
Nexicolitli	Envy
Tlatzihuiliztli	Sloth

Thoſe

Thoſe Europeans who have learned the Mexican tongue give it the higheſt praiſes, and equal it to the Latin; ſome to the Greek, as we have already obſerved. Boturini affirms, that in urbanity, politeneſs, and ſublimity of expreſſions, no language can be compared with the Mexican. This author was not a Spaniard, but Milaneſe, learned and critical. He knew at leaſt the Latin, Italian, French, and Spaniſh, and of the Mexican ſo much as to be able to make the comparative judgment. Let M. de Paw, therefore, obſerve his error, and learn not to decide on matters of which he is ignorant.

Among the proofs on which count de Buffon would reſt his ſyſtem of the recent organization of the matter of the new world, he ſays, that the organs of the Americans were rude, and their language barbarous. "Obſerve," he adds "the liſt of their animals, their names are ſo difficult "to be pronounced, it is wonderful that any European ever took the "trouble of writing them;" but we do not ſo much wonder at their taking the trouble of writing them as at their negligence in copying them. Among all the European authors who have written the natural and civil hiſtory of Mexico, in Europe, we meet with no one who has not ſo much altered the names of perſons, animals, and cities, that it is impoſſible to gueſs at what they mean. The hiſtory of the animals of Mexico paſſed from the hands of Hernandez to N. A. Recchi, who knew nothing of the Mexican; from Recchi, to the Lincean academicians at Rome, who have publiſhed it with notes and diſſertations; and count de Buffon made uſe of this edition. Among the hands of ſo many Europeans ignorant of the Mexican language, the names of the animals could not at leaſt eſcape alteration. To ſhew the alterations which they have ſuffered in the hands of count de Buffon, it will be ſufficient to compare the Mexican names in the hiſtory of that philoſopher, with thoſe of the Roman edition of Hernandez. It is certain, that the difficulty which we find to pronounce a language to which we are not accuſtomed, and particularly if the articulation of it is different from that of our own, is no proof that it is barbarous. The ſame difficulty which count de Buffon finds to pronounce the Mexican names, would be felt by a Mexican who would pronounce the French names. Thoſe who are accuſtomed to the Spaniſh language, find great difficulty to pronounce the German and Polith, and

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and eſteem them the moſt tough and harſh of all languages. The Mexican language has not been our mother tongue, nor did we learn it in infancy; yet the Mexican names produced by count de Buffon as an argument of the barbarity of that tongue, appear to us beyond compariſon more eaſy to be pronounced than many others taken from other European languages, which he adopts in his Natural Hiſtory (*y*); and, perhaps, will appear ſo to many Europeans who are not uſed to either of the languages; and there will not be wanting perſons who will wonder that count de Buffon has taken the trouble to write thoſe names which are capable of terrifying the moſt courageous readers. In ſhort, with reſpect to the American languages, he ought to repoſe in the judgment of thoſe Europeans who have known them, rather than in the opinion of thoſe who have not.

SECT. VII.

Of the Laws of the Mexicans.

MR. de Paw, deſirous of oppoſing that antiquity which Gemelli, by miſtake, has attributed to the court of Mexico, alledges *the anarchy of their government, and the ſcarcity of their laws*; and treating of the government of the Peruvians, ſays, that there cannot be laws in a ſtate of deſpotiſm; and although they may have once been, it is impoſſible to make an analyſis of them, becauſe we do not know them; nor can we know them, becauſe they were never written, and the memory of them neceſſarily terminated with the death of thoſe who knew them.

No body has made mention of the anarchy of the kingdom of Mexico till M. de Paw came to the world, whoſe brain ſeems to have a particular organization to underſtand things in a manner contrary to all other men. No perſon is ſo ignorant of the hiſtory of Mexico, as not to know that thoſe people were ſubjected to particular heads and

(*y*) The reader will pleaſe to read and compare the following names which the count de Buffon has adopted with thoſe which he has taken and altered from the Mexican language:

Baurd manet-jes	Miſzowzechovva	Niedzwiedz
Brand hirts	Stachel-ſchvvein	Przawviaſka
Chemik-ſkarzeck	Scebeuſchlafer	Meer-ſchvvein
Adgiers diar	Sterzeczleck	Sczurcz, &c.

the

the whole ſtate to a chief who was king of Mexico. All hiſtorians record the great authority of that ſovereign, and the high reſpect his vaſſals bore him: if this is anarchy, then all the ſtates of the world are ſurely anarchiſed.

Deſpotiſm was not introduced into Mexico until the laſt years of the monarchy: in prior times the kings had always reſpected the laws eſtabliſhed by their anceſtors, and attended zealouſly to the obſervance of them. Even in the reign of Montezuma II. who was the only truly deſpotic king, the magiſtrates governed according to the laws, and Montezuma himſelf puniſhed tranſgreſſors ſeverely; and abuſed his power only in things which ſerved to increaſe his wealth and his authority.

Thoſe laws were never written, but they were perpetuated in the memories of men, not only by tradition but alſo by paintings. No ſubject was ignorant of them, becauſe fathers of families did not fail to inſtruct their children in them, that they might avoid tranſgreſſion, and eſcape puniſhment. The copies of the paintings of the laws were unqueſtionably infinite in number, becauſe, although they underwent a furious perſecution from the Spaniards, we have ſeen many of them. The underſtanding of thoſe paintings is not difficult to any perſon, who has a knowledge of the manner in which the Mexicans uſually repreſented things, the characters which they made uſe of, and their language; but to M. de Paw they would be as unintelligible as thoſe of the Chineſe expreſſed in the proper characters of that nation. Beſides, after the conqueſt many intelligent Mexicans wrote in European characters the laws of Mexico, Acolhuacan, Tezcuco, Michuacan, &c.; amongſt others, D. F. de Alba Ixtlilxochitl, wrote in Spaniſh the eighty laws formerly publiſhed by his anceſtor king Nezahualcojotl, as we have already mentioned. The Spaniards afterwards inveſtigated the laws of thoſe nations with more diligence than any other part of their hiſtory, becauſe the knowledge of them was eſſentially requiſite to the chriſtian government civil and eccleſiaſtical; particularly in reſpect to marriages, the privileges of the nobility, the conditions of vaſſalage, and of ſlaves. They gained information from the mouths of the Indians who were the beſt inſtructed, and they ſtudied their ancient paintings. Beſides the firſt miſſionaries, who laboured ſucceſsfully in this under-

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taking, D. A. Zurita one of the principal judges of Mexico, learned on the ſubject of the law, and acquainted with thoſe countries, made diligent enquiry, by order of the catholic king, into their government and compoſed that very uſeful work, which we have mentioned in our catalogue of writers of the ancient hiſtory of Mexico. Thus the laws of the Mexicans came to be known although they were never written.

But what ſort of laws? "Many of them worthy," ſays Acoſta, "of our admiration, and according to which thoſe nations ſhould ſtill "be governed in their Chriſtianity." The conſtitution of their ſtate, with reſpect, to the ſucceſſion to the crown, could not have been better framed, as by means of it they not only avoided the inconveniencies of hereditary ſucceſſion, but thoſe of election alſo. An individual of the royal family was always choſen king, both to preſerve the dignity and ſplendour of the crown, and to hinder the throne from ever being occupied by a man of low birth. As a ſon did not ſucceed but a brother, there was no danger of ſo high and important a charge being expoſed to the indiſcretion of a youth, or the ſtratagems of an ambitious regent.

If the brothers had ſucceeded according to the order of their birth, the crown would neceſſarily have ſometimes fallen to a perſon unfit to govern; and it could have happened beſides, that the preſumptive heir might plot againſt the life of the ſovereign. Both thoſe inconveniencies were obviated by the election. The electors choſe firſt among the brothers of the deceaſed kings; and on failure of brothers, among the ſons of former kings, the fitteſt perſon for the command of the nation. If it had been in the power of the king to have named the electors, he could have choſen thoſe who would have been moſt favourable to his deſigns, and procured their votes in favour of that brother who was moſt dear to him, or perhaps in favour of a ſon, without adhering to the fundamental laws of the ſtate; but it was otherwiſe, for the electors themſelves were elected by the body of the nobility, which included the ſuffrages of the whole nation. If the office of the electors had been perpetual, they might, by an abuſe of their authority, have become the patrons of the monarchy; but as their electoral power finiſhed with the firſt election, and other new electors were choſen for the next election, it was not eaſy for ambition to uſurp

authority. Laſtly, To avoid other inconveniences, the real electors were not more than four in number, men of the firſt nobility, of known probity and prudence. It is true, that after all thoſe precautions, diſorders could not always be avoided: but what government amongſt men has not been expoſed to greater evils?

The Mexican nation was warlike, and required a chief who was intrepid, and experienced in the art of war; what cuſtom, therefore, could be more conducive to ſuch end, than that of not electing any one king who had not, by his merits, obtained the charge of general of the army; and of not crowning him who had not, after his election, taken himelf the victims which, according to their ſyſtem of religion, were to be ſacrificed at the feſtival of his coronation.

The ſpeed with which the Mexicans threw off the Tepanecan yoke, and the glory they acquired by their arms in the conqueſt of Azcapozalco, naturally excited the rivalſhip and jealouſy of their neighbours, and particularly the king of Acolhuacan, who had been, and was at that time, the greateſt king of all that land; but the throne of Mexico being ſtill in a tottering condition, required a firm prop to ſupport it. The king of Acolhuacan, who had recently recovered, by the aid of the Mexicans, that crown which had been uſurped by the tyrant Tezozomoc, had reaſon to apprehend ſome powerful ſubject, following the ſteps of that tyrant, might excite a rebellion in his kingdom, and deprive him, like his father, of his crown and his life. The king of Tlacopan, who was on a newly eſtabliſhed throne not very powerful, had ſtill more to fear. Each of thoſe kings by himſelf was in no ſtate of ſecurity, and had reaſon to be diffident of the other two; but by uniting together, they could form an invincible power. They therefore made a triple alliance, which rendered each of them ſecure with reſpect to the other two, and all three ſo with regard to their ſubjects. This was the alliance which fortified the thrones of Acolhuacan and Tacuba, and paved the way for the conqueſts of the Mexicans; an alliance ſo firm and well concerted, that it laſted until the arrival of the Spaniards. This ſingle political arrangement is ſufficient to evince the diſcernment and ſagacity of thoſe nations.

The judicial forms of the Mexicans and Tezcucans afford many uſeful political leſſons. The diverſity of rank in the magiſtrates con-

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tributed to good order; their attendance in the tribunals, from the break of day until the evening ſhortened the proceſs of cauſes, and prevented many clandeſtine practices which might have intereſted their deciſions. The capital puniſhments preſcribed againſt prevaricators of juſtice, the punctuality of their execution, and the vigilance of the ſovereigns, kept the magiſtrates in check; and that care which was taken to ſupply them with every neceſſary at the expence of the king, rendered any miſconduct in them inexcuſable. Thoſe aſſemblies which were held before the ſovereign every twenty days, and particularly that general aſſembly of the whole of the magiſtrates every eighty days, to terminate all cauſes then depending, beſides avoiding all the evils occaſioned by the delay of juſtice, were productive of a communication between the magiſtrates of their different lights, made the king know thoſe whom he had conſtituted the delegates of his authority, innocence had more reſources, and the form of judicature rendered juſtice ſtill more reſpectable. That law which permitted an appeal from the tribunal of the Tlacatecatl to that of the Cihuacoatl in criminal but not in civil cauſes, evinces that the Mexicans, reſpecting the laws of humanity, diſcerned, that there was more required to prove a man guilty of ſuch crimes than to declare him a debtor. In the trials of the Mexicans they admitted no other proof againſt the accuſed than that of witneſſes. They never made uſe of the torture to make the innocent declare themſelves guilty, nor thoſe barbarous proofs by duel, fire, boiling-water, and ſuch like, that were formerly ſo frequent in Europe, and which we now read of in hiſtory with amazement and abhorrence. "There will be no perſon "who will not wonder," ſays Monteſquieu, ſpeaking on this ſubject, "that our anceſtors made the fame, fortune, and property "of citizens depend on certain things which belonged leſs to law and "reaſon than to chance, and that they ſhould have uſed conſtantly "thoſe proofs which were neither connected with innocence nor "guilt: what we now ſay of thoſe proofs poſterity will ſay of the "torture, and will never ceaſe to wonder that ſuch a kind of proof "was generally in uſe, for ſo many centuries, in the moſt enlightened part of the world." An oath was of great weight in the trials of the Mexicans, as we have already ſaid: becauſe, as they were convinced

vinced of the terrible puniſhments inflicted by the gods on thoſe who perjured themſelves, they conceived no one would dare to offend againſt them; but we do not know that this kind of proof was permitted to the proſecutors againſt the accuſed, but only to the accuſed to clear himſelf from the crime imputed to him.

The Mexicans puniſhed with ſeverity all the crimes which are particularly repugnant to nature, or prejudicial to a ſtate, ſuch as high treaſon, murder, theft, adultery, inceſt, and other exceſſes of this kind; ſacrilege, drunkenneſs, and lying. So far they conducted themſelves wiſely in puniſhing miſdeeds; but they erred in the meaſure of the puniſhment, which in ſome caſes was exceſſive and cruel. We do not attempt to palliate the failings of that nation, but neither can we avoid obſerving, that the moſt famous people of the old continent have afforded ſuch examples of error and vice in their legiſlature, as make the laws of the Mexicans appear comparatively more mild and conformable to reaſon. "The celebrated laws of the Twelve "Tables are full," ſays Monteſquieu, "of the moſt cruel ordina-"tions; attend to the puniſhment of fire, and other ſentences, "which are always capital." Yet this is that moſt famous compilation which the Romans made from the beſt they found among the Greeks. If then the beſt laws of greatly poliſhed Greece were ſuch, what muſt thoſe have been which were not ſo good? What ſort of legiſlature muſt thoſe people have had whom they called barbarous? What can be more inhuman and cruel than that law of the Twelve Tables which permitted creditors to divide the body of a debtor who did not pay, and each creditor to take a portion of in ſatisfaction of his debt? This law was not publiſhed in the rude beginning of that renowned city, but three hundred years after its foundation. What could be more iniquitous than that law of the famous legiſlator Lycurgus, which permitted theft to the Lacedemonians? The Mexicans puniſhed this pernicious crime, but not capitally, except where the thief was unable to pay for the offence with his liberty or with his goods. But this law was not the ſame in caſes of robbery from the fields; becauſe, theſe lying more expoſed to be plundered, required to be more guarded by the laws: but this very law which preſcribed capital puniſhment againſt the perſon who robbed

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bed a certain quantity of fruit or maize, permitted neceſſitous travellers to eat as much as was neceſſary to ſupply preſent want. How much more reaſonable and juſt was this law than that of the Twelve Tables, which condemned without diſtinction every perſon to be hanged who ſtole any thing from the field of another.

Lying, that pernicious crime to ſociety, was left unpuniſhed in moſt countries of the old continent, but in Japan was frequently puniſhed with death. The Mexicans kept at an equal diſtance from both extremes. Their legiſlators, who diſcerned the genius and turn of the nation, perceived, that if they did not preſcribe a heavy pain againſt lying and drunkenneſs, truth would be wanting at trials of juſtice, and faith diſregarded in contracts. Experience has ſhewn how prejudicial impunity in thoſe two crimes has been to thoſe nations.

But in the midſt of their ſeverity the Mexicans were cautious not to involve the innocent in puniſhment with the guilty. Many laws of Europe and Aſia preſcribed the ſame puniſhment againſt thoſe guilty of high treaſon, and their families. The Mexicans made the crime capital; they did not, however, deprive the relations of the traitor of life, but only of liberty; and not all of them neither, but only thoſe who, conſcious of the treaſon, had not made a diſcovery, and thereby made themſelves criminal. How much more humane is this than the law of Japan. "Thoſe laws," ſays Monteſqueu, "by which they puniſh "a whole family for a ſingle crime, or a whole diſtrict; thoſe laws "which do not diſcriminate the innocent where there are any guilty." We do not know that the Mexicans preſcribed any puniſhment againſt thoſe who ſpoke ill of the government; it appears that they did not pay much regard to that liberty of ſpeech in the ſubjects, which is ſo much feared in other countries.

Their laws concerning marriage were unqueſtionably more decent and becoming than thoſe of the Romans, the Greeks, the Perſians, the Egyptians, and other people of the old continent. The Tartars marry their daughters; the ancient Perſians and Aſſyrians took their mothers to wife; the Athenians and Egyptians their ſiſters. In Mexico every marriage was forbid between perſons connected in the firſt degree of conſanguinity or affinity, except thoſe between brothers and ſiſters in law, where the brother in dying left a ſon. That prohibition

hibition ſhews, that the Mexicans judged more juſtly of matrimony than all the above mentioned nations. That exception demonſtrates their humanity of ſentiments. If a widow married a ſecond time, ſhe had frequently the diſpleaſure of ſeeing her children little beloved by a father who did not give them birth: the new huſband little reſpected by his children, who conſidered him as a ſtranger; and the children of each marriage as diſcordant among themſelves, as if they were born of different mothers. What better meaſure could thoſe nations have adopted, than that of marrying widows with their brothers-in-law. Many ancient nations of Europe, imitated by not a few of the modern people of Aſia and Africa, bought their wives; and, on that account, exerciſed over them an authority greater than the Author of nature has intended, and treated them more like ſlaves than companions. The Mexicans did not obtain their wives but by lawful and honourable pretenſions; and though they preſented gifts to the parents, thoſe were not given as a price for the daughter whom they courted, but merely a piece of civility to gain their good will, and diſpoſe the parents to the contract. The Romans, although they did not ſcruple to lend their wives (*z*), had, notwithſtanding, a right by law to take away their lives whenever they found them out in adultery. This iniquitous law, which made the huſband judge and executioner in his own cauſe, inſtead of hindering adulteries, increaſed parricides. Among the Mexicans, that infamous commerce with wives was not permitted; nor had they any authority over their lives. He who took away his wife's life, was, although he caught her in adultery, puniſhed with death. This, they ſaid, was to uſurp the authority of the magiſtrates, to whom it belonged to take cognizance of crimes, and to chaſtiſe criminals according to law. Before that law *Julia de Adulteriis* was made by Auguſtus, we do not know, ſays *Vives* (*a*), that a cauſe of adultery was ever tried in Rome; as much as to ſay, that that celebrated nation failed in juſtice in a point of this importance for ſeven centuries.

(*z*) In Rome, ſays Monteſquieu, the huſband was permitted to lend his wife to another perſon. It is known that Cato lent his wife to Hortenſius, and Cato was incapable of violating the laws of his country. Liv. xxv.

(*a*) L'Eſprit de Loix, liv. xx. chap. 14.

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If, after making a compariſon of the laws, we ſhould alſo compare the nuptial rites of the two nations, we ſhould find in them both a great deal of ſuperſtition; but in other reſpects a ſtrong difference between them; thoſe of the Mexicans were decent and becoming, thoſe of the Romans indecent and reproachable.

In regard to the laws of war, it is ſeldom we meet with them juſt, among a warlike people; the great eſteem of valour and military glory, creates enemies of thoſe who are not otherwiſe hoſtile; and ambition to conquer inſtigates them to treſpaſs on the limits preſcribed by juſtice. Nevertheleſs, in the laws of the Mexicans, traits appear which would do honour to more cultivated nations. They never declared war until they had examined the motives for it in full council, and received the approbation of the high-prieſt. Beſides, they generally endeavoured by embaſſies and meſſages, to thoſe on whom war was deſigned, to bring about what they wiſhed by peaceable meaſures, before they proceeded to a rupture. Thoſe kinds of delay gave their enemies time to prepare themſelves for defence; and beſides, the juſtification of their conduct, contributed to make it attended with honour; as it was eſteemed very baſe to make war on an unguarded enemy without having firſt challenged them, that victory might never be aſcribed to any thing elſe than their bravery.

It is true, that theſe laws were not always obſerved, but they were not therefore leſs juſt; and if there was any injuſtice in the conqueſts of the Mexicans, it was certainly not leſs in thoſe of the Grecians, Romans, Perſians, Goths, and other celebrated nations. One of the great evils attending on war is that of famine, from the waſte committed by enemies on the fields. It is not poſſible totally to prevent this evil; but if there ever has been any thing capable of moderating it, it was certainly that uſage of the Mexicans, and other nations of Anahuac, of having in every province a place appointed for the field of battle. The other cuſtom which they had of making every fifth day, in time of war, a day of truce and repoſe, was not leſs dictated by humanity than reaſon.

Thoſe nations had formed a ſpecies of *jus gentium*, by virtue of which, if the chief, the nobility, and people, rejected the propoſitions made them by another people, or nation, and left the deciſion of a point

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to arms; if they were conquered, the chief loſt his ſovereign power; the nobility, the ſupreme right which they had over their poſſeſſions; the common people were ſubjected to perſonal ſervice; and all thoſe who had been made priſoners in the heat of battle were, *quaſi ex delicto*, deprived of liberty, and the right of life. This is certainly contrary to our ideas of humanity; but the general agreement of thoſe people in ſuch cuſtoms rendered their inhumanity leſs culpable, and examples much more barbarous among the moſt cultivated nations of the old continent, diſſipate the horror which on firſt conſideration is occaſioned by the cruelty of thoſe people of America. Among the Greeks, ſays Monteſquieu (*a*), the inhabitants of a city taken by force of arms loſt their liberty, and were ſold as ſlaves. Certainly, the inhumanity which the Mexicans ſhewed to the priſoners of their enemy, is not to be compared with that which the Athenians uſed towards their own citizens. A law of Athens, ſays the ſame author, ordained, that whenever the city was beſieged, all uſeleſs people ſhould be put to death. We ſhall not find among the Mexicans, or any other poliſhed nation of the new world, a law ſo barbarous as this of the moſt cultivated people of ancient Europe. The greateſt anxiety, on the contrary, of the Mexicans, and other people of Anahuac, whenever any of their cities was beſieged, was to lodge their women, children, and invalids, in a place of ſecurity, by ſending them to other cities, or into the mountains. By theſe means, they protected the defenceleſs members of the community from the fury of the enemy, and prevented all unneceſſary conſumption of proviſions.

The tribute which they paid to the king of Anahuac was exorbitant, and the laws which enforced them were tyrannical; but thoſe laws were the effects of deſpotiſm, introduced in the laſt years of the Mexican monarchy; which, at its greateſt height, never reached that exceſs of monopolizing the lands of an empire, and the property of the ſubjects, which we juſtly condemn in Aſiatic monarchs; nor were there ever laws publiſhed reſpecting tributes ſo extravagant and ſevere as thoſe which have been publiſhed in the old world; as for example, by the emperor Anaſtaſius, who laid a tax even on breathing; "*Ut unuſquiſque pro hauſtu æris pendat.*"

(*a*) L'Eſprit de loix, Liv. xx. ch. 14.

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But if we cenſure the tyrannical ambition of thoſe monarchs in the laws on tributes, we cannot at leaſt but admire and praiſe the refinement of thoſe nations, and the prudence of their legiſlators in the laws of commerce. They had, in every city or village, a public place or ſquare, appropriated for the traffic of every thing which could ſupply the neceſſities and pleaſures of life; where all merchants aſſembled for the more ſpeedy diſpatch of buſineſs, which they tranſacted under the eyes of inſpectors, or commiſſaries, in order that frauds might be prevented, and all diſorder in contracts avoided. Every merchandize had its particular place, which preſerved order and convenience to thoſe who wiſhed to make purchaſes. The tribunal of commerce, eſtabliſhed in the ſame ſquare, to determine diſputes between dealers, and to puniſh inſtantaneouſly every offence committed there, preſerved the rights of juſtice inviolate, and ſecured the public tranquillity. To theſe wiſe diſpoſitions was owing that wonderful order, which, in the midſt of ſuch an immenſe crowd of merchants and merchandize, raiſed the admiration of the firſt Spaniards.

Laſtly, in the laws reſpecting ſlaves, the Mexicans were ſuperior to all the moſt cultivated nations of ancient, and perhaps, modern Europe. If we compare the laws of the Mexicans with thoſe of the Romans, Lacedæmonians, and other celebrated people, we ſhall perceive in the latter a barbarity that is ſhocking and cruel; in the former, the greateſt humanity and reſpect to the laws of nature. We do not ſpeak here of priſoners of war. What could be more humane than that law which made men born of ſlaves free; which allowed a ſlave a property in his goods, and in whatever he acquired with his own induſtry and toil; which exacted of the owner to treat his ſlaves like men, and not like beaſts; which gave him no authority over his life, and even deprived him of the power of ſelling him at market, unleſs it was after he had, in a lawful manner, declared him intractable and incorrigible: how different were the Roman laws? They, from the high authority granted to them by the laws, were not only owners of all the property of their ſlaves, but likewiſe of their lives, of which (*b*) they deprived

(*b*) It is not wonderful that the Romans granted that barbarous authority to owners over their ſlaves, ſince they granted it to fathers over their lawful children: *Endo liberis juſtis jus vitæ, necis, venumdandique poteſtas Patri.*

them

them at pleaſure; treated them with the greateſt inhumanity, and made them ſuffer the moſt cruel torments; and what ſtill ſhews more ſtrongly the inhuman diſpoſition of this nation, while they enlarged the authority of owners of ſlaves, they reſtrained whatever was in their favour. The law *Fuſia Caninia*, forbid owners to free by will more than a certain number of ſlaves. By the *Silanian* law it was ordered, that whenever an owner was killed, all the ſlaves who inhabited the ſame houſe ſhould be put to death, or in any place near where they could hear his voice. If he was killed on a journey, all the ſlaves who were with him, and alſo all thoſe who fled, however manifeſt their innocence, were put to death. The *Aquilian* law made no diſtinction between the wound given to a ſlave, and that given to a beaſt. So far was the barbarity of the very poliſhed Romans carried. The laws of the Lacedæmonians were not more humane, which permitted no ſlave to have redreſs at law againſt thoſe who inſulted or injured him.

If, in addition to what we have ſaid hitherto, we ſhould compare the ſyſtem of education of the Mexicans with that of the Greeks, it would appear that the latter did not inſtruct their youth ſo ſedulouſly in the arts and ſciences as the Mexicans taught their children the cuſtoms of their nation. The Greeks endeavoured to inform the mind, the Mexicans to form the heart. The Athenians proſtituted their youth to the moſt execrable obſcenities in thoſe very ſchools which were deſtined for their inſtruction in the arts. The Lacedæmonians tutored their children according to the preſcriptions of Lycurgus, in ſtealing, in order to make them crafty and active, and whipped them ſeverely when they caught them in any theft; not for the theft, but for their want of dexterity, and being detected. But the Mexicans taught their children, together with the arts, religion, modeſty, honeſty, ſobriety, labour, love of truth, and reſpect to ſuperiors.

Thus we have given a ſhort but true picture of the progreſs in refinement of the Mexicans taken from their ancient hiſtory; from their paintings, and the accounts of the moſt correct Spaniſh hiſtorians. Thus were thoſe people governed whom M. de Paw thinks the moſt ſavage in the world. Thus were thoſe people governed who are inferior in induſtry and ſagacity to the rudeſt people of the old continent. Thus were thoſe people governed of whoſe rationality ſome Europeans have doubted.

DISSERT. VI.

CATALOGUE

OF SOME

European and Creole AUTHORS, who have written on the DOCTRINES of CHRISTIANITY and MORALITY, in the LANGUAGES of New Spain.

A. ſtands for *Auguſtinian.* D. for *Dominican.* F. for *Franciſcan.* J. for *Jeſuit.* P. for *Secular Prieſt*; and (*) denotes, *that the Author printed ſome of his Works.*

IN THE MEXICAN LANGUAGE.

* AG. de Betancurt, F. Creole.
Al. de Eſcalona, F. Span.
Al. de Herrera, F. Spaniard.
* Al. Molina, F. Spaniard.
Al. Rangel, F. Spaniard.
Al. de Truxillo, F. Creole.
And. de Olmus, F. Spaniard.
Ant. Davila Padilla, D. Creole.
Ant. de Tovar Montez. P. Cr.
Arn. Baſſace F. Frenchman.
Baldaſſare del Caſtillo, F. Sp.
Bald. Gonzalez, J. Creole.
Barn. Paez, A. Creole.
Barn. Vargas, P. Creole.
Bart. de Alba, P. Creole.
Ben. Fernandez, D. Spaniard.
Ber. Pinelo, P. Creole.
* Ber. de Sahagun, F. Spaniard.
* Car. de Tapia Centeno, P. Cr.
Fil. Diez. F. Spaniard.
Fran. Gomez, F. Spaniard.
Fran. Ximenez, F. Spaniard.
Garcia de Ciſneros, F. Spaniard.
Juan de la Anunciacion, A. Sp.
Juan de Ayora, F. Spaniard.
Juan Battiſta, F. Creole.
Juan de S. Franciſco, F. Span.
Jean Focher, F. Frenchman.
* Juan de Gaona, F. Spaniard.
* Juan Mijangos.
Juan de Ribas, F. Spaniard.
Juan de Romanones, F. Sp.
* Juan de Torquemada, F. Sp.
Juan de Tovar, J. Creole.
Jerom Mendieta, F. Spaniard.
* Joſ. Perez, F. Creole.
* Ign. de Paredes, J. Creole.
* Louis Rodriguez, F.
* Mart. de Leon, D. Creole.
* Mat. Gilbert, F. Frenchman.
Mich. Zarate, F.
* Pierre de Gante, F. Fleming.
Pedro de Oroz, F. Spaniard.
* Toribio de Benavente, F. Sp.

IN THE OTOMEE LANGUAGE.

Al. Rangel.
Barnaba de Vargas
* Fran. de Miranda, J. Creole.
Gio. di Dio Caſtro, J. Creole.

Orazio

Orazio Carochi, J. Milaneſe.
Pedro Palacios, F. Spaniard.
Pedro de Oroz.
Seb. Ribero, F.
N. Sanchez, P. Creole.

IN THE TARASCAN LANGUAGE.

* Mat. Gilbert.
Juan Battiſta Lagunas, F.
* Angelo Sierra, F. Creole.

IN THE ZAPOTECAN LANGUAGE.

Bernardo de Albuquerque D. Sp. and biſhop of Guajaca.
Al. Camacho, D. Creole.
Ant. del Pozo, D. Creole.
Criſt. Aguero, D. Creole.

IN THE MIZTECAN LANGUAGE.

Ant. Gonzalez, D. Creole.
* Ant. de los Reyes, D. Span.
Ben. Fernandez, D. Spaniard.

IN THE MAYA LANGUAGE.

Al. de Solana, F. Spaniard.
And. de Avendaño, F. Creole.
Ant. de Ciudad Real, Span.
Bern. de Valladolid, F. Span.
Car. Mena, F. Creole.
Joſ. Dominguez, F. Creole.

IN THE TOTONACAN LANGUAGE.

And. de Olmos.
Ant. de Santoyo, P. Creole.
Criſt. Diaz de Anaya, P. Creole.

IN THE POPOLUCAN LANGUAGE.

Fran. Toral, F. Sp. bp. of Yucatan.

IN THE MATLAZINCAN LANGUAGE.

Andrea de Caſtro, F. Span.

IN THE HUAXTECAN LANGUAGE.

And. de Olmos.
* Car. de Tapia Centeno.

IN THE MIXE LANGUAGE.

* Ag. Quintana, D. Creole.

IN THE KICHE' LANGUAGE.

Bart. de Anleo, F. Creole.
Ag. de Avila. F.

IN THE CAKCIQUEL LANGUAGE.

Bart. de Anleo.
Alv. Paz, F. Creole.
Ant. Saz. F. Creole.
Ben. de Villacañas, D. Creole.

IN THE TARAUMARAN LANGUAGE.

Ag. Roa, J. Spaniard.

IN THE TEPEHUANAN LANGUAGE.

Ben. Rinaldini, G. Neapolitan.

There are many other languages, as alſo many other writers; but we omit mentioning any but thoſe whoſe works have been printed, or at leaſt particularly eſteemed by the learned.

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DISSERT. VI.

AUTHORS of GRAMMARS and DICTIONARIES of the above mentioned Languages.

Of the Mexican.

FRAN. Ximenes, Gram. and Dict.
And. de Olmos, Gram. and Dict.
Bern. de Sahagun, Gram. and Dict.
* Al. de Molina, Gram. and Dict.
* Car. de Tapia Centeno, Gram. and Dict.
Al Rangel, Gram.
* Ant. del Rincon, J. Cr. Gram.
* Orazio Carochi, Gram.
Bern. Mercado, J. Cr. Gram.
Ant. Davila Padilla, Gram.
* Ag. de Betancurt, Gram.
Barnaba Paez, Gram.
Ant. de Tovar Montezuma, Gra.
* Ign. de Paredes, Gram.
* Ant. de Caſtelu, P. Cr. Gram.
* Joſ. Perez, Gram.
Gaetano de Cabrera, P. Cr. Gram.
* Ag. de Aldana y Guevara, P. Cr. Gram.
Jean Focher, F. Frenchm. Gram.
* Ant. Cortes Canal, Indian Prieſt, Gram.

Of the Otomee.

Juan Rangel, Gram.
Pedro Palacios, Gram.
Orazio Carochi, Gram.
N. Sanchez, Dict.
Seb. Ribero, Dict.
Giov. di Dio Caſtro, Gram. and Dict.

Of the Tarascan.

* Mat. Gilbert, Gram. and Dict.
* Ang. Sierra, Gram. and Dict.
Juan Battiſta de Lagunas, Gram.

Of the Zapotican.

Ant. del Pozo, Gram.
Criſt. Aguero, Dict.

Of the Miztecan.

Ant. de los Reyes, Gram.

Of the Maya.

And. de Avendaño, Gram. and Dict.
Ant. de Ciudad Real, Dict.
Louis de Villanpando, Gram. and Dict.
* Pedro Beltran, F. Cr. Gram.

Of the Totonacan.

And. de Olmos. Gram. and Dict.
Criſt. Diaz de Anaya, Gram. and Dict.

Of the Populucan.

Franc. Toral, Gram. and Dict.

Of the Matlazincan.

And. de Caſtro, Gram. and Dict.

Of

Of the Huaxtecan.

And. de Olmos, Gram. and Dict.
Car. de Tapia, Gram. and Dict.

Of the Mixe.

* Ag. Quintana, Gram. and Dict.

Of the Cakchiquel.

Ben. de Villacañas, Gram. and Dict.

Of the Taraumaran.

Jerom Figueroa, J. Cr. Gram. and Dict.
Ag. de Roa, Gram.

Of the Tepehuanan.

Jerom Figueroa, Gram. and Dict.
Tom. de Guadalaxara, J. Cr. Gram.
Ben. Rinaldini, Gram.

DISSER-

DISSERTATION VII.

Of the Boundaries and Population of the Kingdoms of Anahuac.

THE miſtakes of many Spaniſh authors concerning the boundaries of the Mexican empire, and the romantic notions of M. de Paw, and other foreign authors, reſpecting the population of thoſe countries, have compelled us to engage in this Diſſertation to aſcertain the truth; which we ſhall do as briefly as poſſible.

SECT. I.

Of the Boundaries of the Kingdoms of Anahuac.

SOLIS, following ſeveral ill-informed Spaniſh authors, affirms that the Mexican empire extended from the iſthmus of Panama to the cape of Mendocina in California; Touron, a French Dominican, deſirous, in his General Hiſtory of America, of enlarging thoſe boundaries, ſays, that all the diſcovered countries in North America were ſubject to the king of Mexico; that the extent of that empire, from eaſt to weſt, was 500 leagues, and from north to ſouth 200, or 250 leagues: that its boundaries were on the north, the Atlantic ocean; in the weſt, the gulf of Anian; in the ſouth, the Pacific Ocean; and in the eaſt, the iſthmus of Panama; but beſides the geographical errors of this deſcription, there is alſo a contradiction in it; becauſe, if it ever were true, that that empire extended from the iſthmus of Panama to the gulf or ſtrait of Anian, the extent of it would not be only 500, but 1000 leagues, as it would not comprehend leſs than 50 degrees.

The origin of this error is, that thoſe authors were perſuaded that there was no other ſovereign in Anahuac, but that of Mexico: that the kings of Acolhuacan and Tlacopan were his ſubjects, and that the Michuacaneſe and Tlaſcalans, alſo depending on that crown, had lat-

terly

terly rebelled. But none of thoſe ſtates ever belonged to the kingdom of Mexico. This appears evident from the teſtimony of all the Indian hiſtorians, and all the Spaniſh writers who received their information from them; namely, Motolinia, Sahagun, and Torquemada. The king of Acolhuacan had always been the ally of Mexico, from the year 1424, but was never the ſubject. It is true, that when the Spaniards arrived there, the king Cacamatzin appeared to depend on his uncle Montezuma; becauſe, on account of the rebellious ſpirit of his brother Ixtlilxochitl he required the protection of the Mexicans. The Spaniards afterwards ſaw Cacamatzin come as ambaſſador from the king of Mexico, and ſerve him likewiſe in other capacities. They ſaw him alſo led priſoner to Mexico, by order of Montezuma. All this renders the errors of the Spaniards, in great meaſure, very excuſable; but it is certain, that thoſe demonſtrations of ſervices towards Montezuma were not thoſe of a vaſſal to his king, but thoſe of a nephew to his uncle; and that Montezuma, in ordering him to be taken to pleaſe the Spaniards, arrogated to himſelf an authority which did not belong to him, and did that king a heavy injury, of which he afterwards repented. As to the king of Tlacopan, it is true, that he was created a ſovereign by the king of Mexico, but he had abſolute and ſupreme dominion over his ſtates, on the ſingle condition of being the perpetual ally of the Mexicans, and of giving them aſſiſtance with his troops whenever it was neceſſary. The king of Michuacan, and the republic of Tlaſcala, were always rivals and profeſſed enemies of the Mexicans, and there is no memory that either the one or the other was ever ſubject to the crown of Mexico.

The ſame thing might be ſaid of many other countries which the Spaniſh hiſtorians believed to be provinces of the Mexican empire. How was it poſſible that a nation, which was reduced to a ſingle city, under the dominion of the Tepanecas, ſhould, in leſs than a century, ſubdue ſo many people as were between the iſthmus of Panama and California? What the Mexicans really did, though far leſs than the above mentioned authors report, was truly ſurpriſing, and would not be credible, if the rapidity of their conqueſts had not been confirmed by inconteſtible proof. Neither in the narratives of the Indian hiſtorians, nor in the enumeration of the ſtates conquered by the kings of

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Mexico, which is found in the collection of Mendoza, nor in the regiſter of the tributary cities explained in that collection, can we find any foundation for aſſenting to that arbitrary enlargement of the Mexican dominions; but, on the contrary, it is entirely contradicted by Bernal Diaz. He, in the xciii[d] chapter of his hiſtory ſays, "the great "Montezuma had ſeveral garriſons and people of war on the frontiers "of his ſtates. He had one in Soconuſco, to defend himſelf on the "ſide of Guatimala and Chiapa; another to defend himſelf from the "Panucheſe, between Tuzapan and that place, which we call *Almeria*; "another in Coatzacualco, and another in Michuacan (*c*)."

We are certain, therefore, in the firſt place, that the Mexican dominions did not extend in the ſouth beyond Xoconocho, and that none of all the provinces which at preſent are comprehended in the dioceſes of Guatimala, Nicaragua, and Honduras, belonged to the Mexican empire. In our iv[th] book we have ſaid, that *Tiltototl*, a celebrated Mexican general, in the laſt years of king Ahuitzotl, carried his victorious arms as far as Guatimala; but there we alſo add, that it is not known that that country remained ſubject to the crown of Mexico; the contrary appears rather from hiſtory to be the truth. Torquemada, in book ii. c. 81. makes mention of the conqueſt of Nicaragua by the Mexicans, but what he affirms there of an army of the Mexicans in the time of Montezuma, is in book iii. c. 10. attributed by him to a colony which had gone out many years before, by order of the gods, from the neighbourhood of Xoconocho; wherefore his account is not to be depended upon.

Bernal Diaz, in chap. clxvi. expreſſly affirms, that the Chiapaneſe were never ſubdued by the Mexicans; but this is not to be underſtood of their whole country, but of a part only; becauſe we know from Remezal, Chronicler of that province, that the Mexicans had a garriſon in Tzinacantla; and it is certain from the tribute liſt, that Tochtlan, and other cities of that country, were tributaries of the Mexicans.

In the north, the Mexicans did not advance farther than Tuzapan, as we are told in the laſt quoted paſſage of Diaz; and we know for certain, that the Panacheſe were never ſubjected to them. In

(*c*) What we have to ſay of the boundaries of the kingdoms of Anahuac will be better underſtood by conſulting our charts.

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the eaſt, we have already fixed their boundaries at the river Coatzacualco. Diaz ſays, that the country of Coatzacualco was not a province of Mexico; on the other hand we find, among the tributary cities of that crown, Tochtlan, Michapan, and other places of that province. We are, however perſuaded, that the Mexicans poſſeſſed all that was to the weſt of the river Coatzacualco, but not that which was to the eaſt of it; and that this river was their boundary in that quarter. Towards the north, their poſſeſſions were bounded by the country of the Huaxtecas, who were never ſubdued by the Mexicans. Towards the north-weſt, the empire did not extend beyond the province of Tulba; all that great tract of land which was beyond this province, was occupied by the barbarous Otomies and Chechemecas, who had no ſociety, nor obeyed any ſovereign. In the weſt it is known that the empire terminated at Tlaximalojan, the frontier of the kingdom of Michuacan; but on the ſea-coaſt is extended as far as the weſtern extremity of the province of Coliman, and no farther. In the catalogue of the tributary cities, Coliman, and other places of that province appear, but none that are beyond it: nor are they mentioned in the hiſtory of Mexico. The Mexicans had nothing to do with California, nor could they expect any advantage from the conqueſt of a country ſo diſtant, ſo unpeopled, and miſerable. If that dry and rocky peninſula had ever been a province of the Mexican empire, ſome population would have been found there; but it is certain, that there was not a ſingle houſe met with upon it, nor the leaſt remains or traces of inhabitants. Laſtly, in the ſouth, the Mexicans had made themſelves maſters of all thoſe great ſtates, which were between the Vale of Mexico and the Pacific Ocean. The greateſt length of their dominions was on the ſea coaſt from Xoconochco to Coliman.

Dr. Robertſon ſays, that the territories belonging to the chiefs of Tezcuco and Tacuba, ſcarcely yielded in extent to thoſe of the ſovereign of Mexico (*d*). But this is very far from being true, and contrary alſo to what all the hiſtorians of Mexico ſay. The kingdom of Tezcuco, or Acolhuacan, was bounded on the weſt partly by the

(*d*) There were three places of the name of *Tochtlan*, (called by the Spaniards Tuſtla), the firſt in the province of Chiapa, the ſecond in Xoconocho, or Soconuſco, and the third in Coatzacualco.

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lake of Tezcuco, partly by Tzompanco, and other Mexican ſtates; and in the eaſt, by the dominions of Tlaſcala; ſo that it could not extend from weſt to eaſt, above ſixty miles; on the ſouth it was bounded by the ſtate of Chalco, belonging to Mexico; and in the north by the independent ſtate of the Huaxtecas. From the frontier of this country to that of Chalco, the diſtance is about two hundred miles, which is the whole extent of the kingdom of Acolhuacan, but does not make one eighth part of that of the Mexican dominions. The ſtates of the petty king of Tlacopan, or Tacuba, were ſo ſmall, that they did not merit the name of a kingdom; for from the Mexican lake in the eaſt, to the frontier of the kingdom of Michuacan in the weſt, the extent was not more than eighty miles; nor from the valley of Toloccan in the ſouth, to the country of the Otomies in the north, more than fifty. The compariſon therefore made by Robertſon, of the dominions of Acolhuacan and Tacuba, with thoſe of Mexico, is erroneous.

The republic of Tlaſcala, ſurrounded by the Mexican and Tezcucan dominions, and by the ſtates of Cholula and Huexotzinco, was ſo confined, that from eaſt to weſt it had ſcarcely fifty, and from ſouth to north not above thirty miles of extent. We have met with no author who gives a greater latitude to this ſtate except Cortes, who ſays, that the dominions of this republic were ninety leagues in circumference; but this is a manifeſt error.

With reſpect to the kingdom of Michuacan, no one, as far as we know, has mentioned all its ancient boundaries except Boturini. This author ſays, that the extent of that kingdom, from the valley of Ixtlahuacan, near Toloccan, to the Pacific Ocean, was five hundred leagues; and from Zacatollan to Xichu, one hundred and ſixty leagues; and that in the dominions of Michuacan, were comprehended the provinces of Zacatollan, Coliman, and that province which the Spaniards called *Provencia d' Avalos*, ſituate to the north-weſt of Coliman. But this author was wholly deceived in his account; for it is certainly known, that the kingdom of Michuacan had not its boundaries in Ixtlahuacan, but Tlaximalojan, where the Mexican dominions reached. We know from the liſt of tributes, that the maritime provinces of Zacatollan and Coliman, belonged to Mexico. Laſtly, the Michuacaneſe could not extend their dominions as far as Xichu, without ſubduing the barbarous

barous Chechamecas, who occupied that quarter; but we know that the laſt were not ſubdued till many years after the conqueſt by the Spaniards. The kingdom of Michuacan, therefore, was not ſo large as Boturini believed it; its extent did not comprehend more than three degrees of longitude, and about two of latitude.

What we have ſaid hitherto, tends to ſhew the exactneſs of our deſcription, and of our geographical charts with reſpect to the boundaries of thoſe kingdoms, founded on the hiſtory of them, the regiſter of the tributes, and the teſtimony of the ancient writers.

SECT. II.

On the Population of Anahuac.

WE do not propoſe here to treat of the population of all America; that would be too large a ſubject and foreign to our purpoſe; but ſolely of that of Mexico which belongs to this hiſtory. There were and there are in America, many populous countries, and there are alſo vaſt deſerts; and they are not leſs diſtant from the truth who imagine the countries of the new world as populous as thoſe of China, than they who believed them as unpeopled as thoſe of Africa. The calculation of P. Riccioli is as uncertain as thoſe of Suſimilch and M. de Paw. Riccioli gives three hundred millions of inhabitants to America. The political arithmeticians, ſay M. de Paw, do not reckon more than one hundred million. Suſimilch, in one part of his work, computes them at one hundred, and in another at one hundred and fifty millions. M. de Paw, who mentions all theſe calculations, ſays, there are not of real Americans, more than from thirty to forty millions. But we muſt repeat, that all thoſe calculations are moſt uncertain as they are not founded on any proper grounds; for if we do not know hitherto the population of thoſe countries in which the Europeans have eſtabliſhed themſelves, ſuch as thoſe of Guatimala, Peru, Quito, Terra Firma, Chili, who is capable of gueſſing the number of inhabitants of the numerous countries little or not at all known to the Europeans, ſuch as thoſe which are to the north and north-weſt of Coahuila, New Mexico, California, and the river *Colorado*, or Red River, in North Ame-

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America? Who can number the inhabitants of the new world, while he does not know the number of provinces and nations which it contains? Leaving aſide therefore ſuch calculations which cannot be undertaken with the leaſt degree of certainty, we ſhall content ourſelves with examining what M. de Paw and Dr. Robertſon ſay on the population of Mexico.

"The population of Mexico and Peru," ſays M. de Paw, "has "undoubtedly been exaggerated by the Spaniſh writers, who are uſed "to repreſent objects with immoderate proportions. Three years after "the conqueſt of Mexico, the Spaniards had occaſion to bring ſome "people from the Lucayos, and afterwards from the coaſt of Africa, to "people the kingdom of Mexico. If this monarchy contained in "1518, thirty millions of inhabitants, why in 1521 was it depopu-"pulated?" We ſhall never deny, that among the Spaniſh writers there are many addicted to exaggerating, as there are alſo among the Pruſſians, the French, the Engliſh, and other people; becauſe the immoderate deſire to magnify things which they deſcribe is a paſſion common to all nations in the world, from which M. de Paw himſelf is not free, as he demonſtrates through the whole of his work: but to cenſure all the Spaniards together is an indiſcriminate charge moſt injurious to that nation, which, like every other, has a mixture of good and bad in it. After having read, at leaſt, the beſt hiſtorians of the cultivated nations of Europe, we have not found two who appear comparable as to ſincerity with the two Spaniards Mariana and Acoſta, who are highly eſteemed therefore, and extolled by all writers. Among the ancient hiſtorians of Mexico, there have been ſome, ſuch as Acoſta, Diaz, and Cortes himſelf, of whoſe ſincerity of relation there is no doubt. But although each of theſe authors had not been poſſeſſed of thoſe qualities which are required to merit our belief, nevertheleſs, the uniformity of their teſtimonies would be an undeniable proof of the fidelity of their accounts. Authors of little veracity diſagree among themſelves, except when they copy each other; but this does not happen to thoſe hiſtorians, who, intent only on relating what they have themſelves ſeen, or found probable from information, did not regard what others had written; on the contrary, it appears from their works, that at the time they they were writing, they had not the writings of

others

others under their eyes. M. de Paw himſelf (*f*), ſpeaking in one of his letters of that rite of the Mexicans of conſecrating and eating the ſtatue of paſte of *Huitzilopochtli*, by him called *Vitzilipultzi*, and of the rite among the Peruvians at their feſtival *Capac-raime*, writes thus to his correſpondent: "I confeſs to you, that the unanimous teſtimony "of the Spaniſh writers does not allow us to doubt of it." If the conſent then of the Spaniſh hiſtorians, concerning what they did not ſee, does not allow us to doubt of it, how ſhould he doubt of that which they depoſe as eye-witneſſes?

Let us enquire therefore what the ancient Spaniſh writers ſay of the population of America. All agree in affirming, that thoſe countries were well peopled, that there were very many large cities, and an infinite number of villages and hamlets; that many thouſands of merchants aſſembled at the markets of populous cities: that they muſtered moſt numerous armies, &c. Cortes, in his letters, and the anonymous conqueror, Alfonſo de Ojeda, and Alfonſo de Mata, in their memoirs, Las Caſas in his work entitled, the *Deſtruction of the Indies*; B. Diaz, in his hiſtory, Motolinia, Sahagun, and Mendieta, in their writings; all eye-witneſſes of the ancient population of America: Herrera, Gomara, Acoſta, Torquemada, and Martinez, are all of the ſame opinion with reſpect to the great population of thoſe countries. M. de Paw cannot produce a ſingle ancient author who does not confirm it by his teſtimony; whereas, we can cite ſeveral authors who do not make any mention of that ſuperſtitious rite of the Mexicans, namely, Cortes, Diaz, and the anonymous conqueror, the three moſt ancient Spaniſh writers on Mexico. Notwithſtanding M. de Paw affirms, that we cannot doubt of ſuch a rite, becauſe of the unanimous teſtimony of the Spaniards; who then would doubt of the great population of Mexico, or rather deny it ſo ſtrongly againſt the uniform depoſitions of all the ancient hiſtorians? But if the population of Mexico was ſo great in 1518, why in 1521 was it neceſſary to bring people there from the Lucayos, and afterwards from the coaſt of Africa, to people it? We confeſs ingenuouſly we cannot read this objection of M. de Paw, without being extremely offended at his affirming with ſuch hardineſs, that

(*f*) Tom. II. Letter i.

which

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which is directly falſe, and contrary to the accounts of authors. Where has M. de Paw read that it was neceſſary to tranſport people from the Lucayos to people Mexico? We defy him to produce a ſingle author who ſays ſo; we know rather the contrary from many writers. We know from Herrera and others, that from 1493, when the Spaniards eſtabliſhed themſelves in Dominica, to 1496, the third part of the inhabitants of that large iſland periſhed in war, and through other diſtreſſes. In 1507, there did not remain more than the tenth part of the Indians which were in 1493, according to Las Caſas, an eye-witneſs; and from that time the population of that iſland diminiſhed to ſuch a degree, that in 1540, there hardly remained two hundred Indians; on which account, from the beginning of the fifteenth century, the Spaniards began to tranſport thouſands of Indians from the Lucayos, to recruit the population of Hiſpaniola; but thoſe having likewiſe died, they began before the conqueſt of Mexico to carry people from Terra Firma, and other countries of the continent of America, according as they diſcovered them. It is known from a letter written to the council of the Indies by the firſt biſhop of Mexico, ſent by Las Caſas to the emperor Charles V. that the cruel governor of Panuco, Nugno Guzman, ſent from thence twenty-eight veſſels loaded with Indian ſlaves to be ſold in the iſlands: ſo that it is far from being true, that the Spaniards carried people from the iſlands to inhabit the continent of North America; that on the contrary they carried people from the continent to inhabit the iſles, which the above authors expreſſly relate. It is true, that after the conqueſt of Mexico, ſlaves were imported there from Africa; not becauſe there was any want of people; but becauſe the Spaniards required them to ſerve in the making of ſugar, and to work in the mines, to which they could not compel the Americans, on account of the laws then recently publiſhed: it is, therefore falſe, and contrary to the depoſition of thoſe above mentioned authors, that Mexico was depopulated three years after the conqueſt; or that it was neceſſary to bring people there from the Lucayos and Africa to recruit its inhabitants. We are rather certain, that ſome colonies were ſent a few years after the conqueſt, from the countries ſubject to the king of Mexico, and the republic of Tlaſcala, to people other lands, namely, Zacatecas, Suis, Potoſi, Saltillo, &c. &c.

But let us ſee what thoſe ancient writers ſay in particular of the population of Mexico. We do not know that any one of them has had the boldneſs to expreſs the number of the inhabitants of Mexico; whether it did or did not contain thirty millions, could have been known from the kings of Mexico and their miniſters; and although the Spaniards might have informed themſelves from them of this particular, we do not find that any one of them has done ſo. That which ſeveral of them affirm is, that among the feudatories of the king of Mexico were thirty who had each about an hundred thouſand ſubjects, and other three thouſand lords who had a ſmaller number of vaſſals. Laurentius Surius affirms *(f)* that this is certain from records which were in the royal archives of the emperor Charles V. Cortes, in his firſt letter to that emperor, ſpeaks thus: "The multitude of inhabitants in thoſe countries is "ſo great, that there is not a foot of ſoil left uncultivated; but notwith-"ſtanding there are many who, for want of bread, go begging through "the ſtreets and markets." B. Diaz, the anonymous conqueror, Motolinia, and other eye-witneſſes, give us ſimilar ideas of the population of Mexico. To come to the particular countries of Anahuac, we are certain, from the depoſitions of the above mentioned, and almoſt all the ancient authors, of the great population of the Mexican vale, of the countries of the Otomies, of the Malatzincas, Tlahuicas, Cohuixcas, Miztecas, Zapotecas, and Cuitlatecas; of the province of Coatzacualco; of the kingdoms of Acolhuacan, and Michuacan, and the ſtates of Tlaſcala, Cholula, Huexotzinco, &c.

The vale of Mexico, although that a great part of it was occupied by the lakes, was at leaſt as well peopled as the moſt populous country of Europe. It contained forty conſiderable cities, which we have already named, and are mentioned likewiſe by the ancient writers. The other inhabited places of it were innumerable, the names of which we could alſo give, if we were not afraid of tiring our readers. The very ſincere B. Diaz, deſcribing, in chap. viii. of his Hiſtory, what he ſaw in his way through the vale towards the capital, ſpeaks thus: "When "we beheld things ſo wonderful we knew not what to ſay, nor whe-"ther the objects before our eyes were real; we ſaw ſo many great cities

(f) Surius in Commentario brevi rerum in orbe geſtarum ab anno 1500 ad 1568.

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" ſituated on the main land, and many others in the lake, and an in-
" finity of little veſſels upon it." He ſays farther, that ſome ſoldiers, his companions, in wonder beyond meaſure at ſeeing ſo great and beautiful a territory, were in doubt whether what they ſaw was the effect of a dream, or inchantment. Thoſe and many other candid confeſſions of Diaz are ſufficient to anſwer Robertſon, who availed himſelf of certain words of that author, which he did not well comprehend, to make his readers believe that the population of Mexico was not ſo great as it certainly was.

Concerning the population of the ancient capital there are various opinions; nor can the caſe be otherwiſe where an attempt is made to judge of the populouſneſs of a great city by the eye: but all the writers who ſaw it, or were informed by eye-witneſſes, are agreed in ſaying that it was very great. Herrera ſays it was twice as large as Milan. Cortes affirms that it was as large as Seville and Cordova; Surius citing certain records which were in the royal archives of Charles V. ſays, that the population of Mexico amounted to an hundred and thirty thouſand houſes. Torquemada, following Sahagun and other Indian hiſtorians, reckons an hundred and twenty thouſand houſes; and adds, that in each houſe were from four to ten inhabitants. The anonymous conqueror ſpeaks thus of it: " this city of Temiſ-
" titan may be about two leagues and a half or near three leagues, more
" or leſs, in circumference; the greater part of thoſe who have ſeen
" it judge that there are upwards of ſixty thouſand fires in it, and ra-
" ther more than leſs." This calculation, adopted by Gomara and Herrera, appears to us to come neareſt the truth, conſidering the extent of the city, and the manner of dwelling of thoſe people.

But the whole of this is contradicted by M. de Paw. He calls the deſcription exceſſive and exaggerated, which is given of this city of America; " which contained, according to ſome authors, ſeventy thou-
" ſand houſes in the time of Montezuma II. ſo that at that time it muſt
" have had three hundred and fifty thouſand inhabitants; whereas it is
" notorious, that the city of Mexico, conſiderably increaſed under the
" dominion of the Spaniards, has not at preſent above ſixty thouſand
" inhabitants, including twenty thouſand negroes and mulattoes." This is another paſſage of the *Recherches Philoſophiques* which will make the

the Mexicans ſmile. But who can avoid ſmiling when they ſee a Pruſſian philoſopher, ſo bent on diminiſhing the populouſneſs of that American city, and angry at thoſe who repreſent it greater than he wiſhes it? Who will not be ſurpriſed to hear that the number of the inhabitants of Mexico is notorious in Berlin, when it is not many years ſince it has been known to the eccleſiaſtics, who every year make an enumeration; we ſhall therefore give M. de Paw ſome certain information concerning that city of America, that he may in future avoid thoſe errors into which he has fallen in ſpeaking of its populouſneſs.

Mexico, he muſt know, is the moſt populous city of all thoſe which the catholic King has in his vaſt dominions. From the bills of mortality publiſhed daily in the cities of Madrid and Mexico, it appears that the number of the inhabitants of Madrid is a fourth leſs than that of Mexico; for example, if Madrid has a hundred and ſixty thouſand inhabitants, Mexico has without doubt two hundred thouſand. There has been a great difference of opinions reſpecting the number of ſouls of the modern city of Mexico, as there was alſo reſpecting the ancient city, and all other cities of the firſt rank; but there being an enumeration made with great accuracy of late years, partly by the prieſts, and partly by the magiſtrates, it has been found that the inhabitants of that capital exceeded two hundred thouſand, although they have not aſcertained how much more. We may form ſome idea of its populouſneſs from the quantity of *pulque* (*q*) and tobacco which is daily conſumed there (*r*). Every day are brought into it upwards of ſix thouſand *arrobas* of pulque, that is a hundred and ninety thouſand Roman pounds; in the year 1774, there were two millions, two hundred and fourteen thouſand two hundred and ninety-four and an half *arrobas* entered, that is more than ſeventy-three millions of Roman pounds; but in this computation we do not comprehend what is introduced by ſmuggling, nor that which the Indians who are pri-

(*q*) *Pulque* is the uſual wine, or rather beer, of the Mexicans, made of the fermented juice of the Maguei. This liquor will not keep above one day, and therefore what is made is daily conſumed.

(*r*) Our account of the daily conſumption of *pulque* and tobacco in Mexico is taken from the letter of one of the chief accomptants of that cuſtom-houſe, of the 23d of February, 1775.

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vileged, ſell in the principal ſquare of the city. This amazing quantity of pulque is almoſt ſolely conſumed by the Indians and Mulattoes, the number of which is ſurpaſſed by that of the Whites and Creoles, few of whom make uſe of this beverage. The tax upon it amounts annually, in the capital alone, to about two hundred and eighty thouſand crowns (peſos fuertes), The daily conſumption of tobacco for ſmoaking, in that capital, is reckoned at one thouſand, two hundred and fifty crowns, or thereabouts; which in one year makes the ſum of four hundred and fifty thouſand crowns and more. But it is neceſſary to be underſtood, that among the Indians very few uſe tobacco; among the Europeans and Creoles very many do not uſe it, and ſome of the Mulattoes do not. Who will put greater faith in the calculations made by M. de Paw than in the regiſters of the capital? or who will place more value on the judgment of a modern Pruſſian, who is ſo extravagant reſpecting the ancient populouſneſs of that city, than on that of ſo many ancient writers who ſaw it.

With regard to the city and court of Tezcuco, we know from the letters of Cortes to Charles V. that it contained about thirty thouſand houſes; but this ought to be underſtood ſolely of the court; for including the other three cities of Coatlichan, Huexotla, and Atenco, which, as Cortes atteſts, appeared to form a ſeparate population, it was, by a great deal, larger than Mexico. Torquemada, following Sahagun, and the accounts of the Indians, affirms, that the population of thoſe four cities, contained an hundred and forty thouſand houſes; from which number, although we deduct an half, a conſiderable population would remain. No hiſtorian has told us the population of Tlacopan, although all affirm it was conſiderable. Of Xochimilco we know, that next to the three royal reſidences it was the largeſt of all. Of Iztapalapan, Cortes affirms, it had from twelve to fifteen thouſand fires; of Mixcoac, he ſays, that it had about ſix thouſand; Huitzilopochco from four to five thouſand; Acolman and Otompan each four thouſand; and Mexicaltzinco, three thouſand. Chalco, Azcapozalco, Cojoacan, Quauhtitlan, were, without compariſon, larger than theſe laſt mentioned cities. All theſe, and a great many others, were comprehended in the vale of Mexico alone: the ſight of which

cauſed

cauſed no leſs admiration than fear to the Spaniards when they firſt obſerved them from the top of the mountains of that delightful valley. They felt the ſame aſtoniſhment when they ſaw the population of Tlaſcala. Cortes, in his letter to Charles V. ſpeaks thus of that city; "It is ſo large and wonderful, that although I omit a great deal of "what I could ſay, I believe that little which I ſay will appear incre-"dible; for it is much larger and more populous than Granada when "it was taken from the Moors, more ſtrong, has as good buildings, "and more abundance of every thing."

The anonymous conqueror ſpeaks of it in the ſame manner, "There "are," he ſays, "great cities, and among others that of Tlaſcala, "which, in ſome reſpects, reſembles Granada, and in others, Sego-"via, but it is more populous than either." Of Tzimpantzinco, a city of the republic, Cortes affirms (*i*), that the enumeration of the houſes having been made at his deſire, there were found to be twenty thouſand. Of Huejotlipan, a place of the ſame republic, he ſays, that it had from three to four thouſand fires. Of Cholula Cortes affirms, that it had about twenty thouſand houſes, and as many in the neighbouring villages, which were like its ſuburbs. Huexotzinco and Tepeyacac were the rivals of Cholula in greatneſs. Theſe are ſome of the peopled places which the Spaniards ſaw before the conqueſt; we omit many others, of the greatneſs of which we are certified by the teſtimony of theſe and other authors.

We are not leſs convinced of the population of thoſe countries from the innumerable concourſe of people which were ſeen at their markets, from the very numerous armies which they raiſed whenever it was neceſſary, and the ſurpriſing number of baptiſms immediately after the conqueſt. With reſpect to the numbers at their markets, and of their armies, we have ſaid enough in our hiſtory on the faith of many eye-witneſſes. We might ſuſpect, that the conquerors had exaggerated the number of the Indian troops, in order to make their conqueſt appear more glorious, but this would appear only when they reckoned the number of the troops of the enemy, not when they counted their own allies, as the more the number of the latter was

(*i*) Cortes ſpeaks of this city without naming it, but it appears from the context to have been the ſame; and Torquemada mentions it expreſsly.

increaſed

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increaſed, their conqueſts became the leſs difficult and glorious. The conqueror Ojeda, however, numbered an hundred and fifty thouſand men among the allied troops of Tlaſcala, Cholula, Tepeyacac, and Huexotzinco, in the review which was made of them in Tlaſcala, as they were going to the ſiege of Mexico. Cortes himſelf affirms, that the allied troops who accompanied him to the war of Quauquechollan exceeded an hundred thouſand, and that thoſe which aſſiſted him in beſieging the capital, exceeded conſiderably two hundred thouſand in number. On the other hand, the beſieged were ſo numerous, that although an hundred and fifty thouſand died during the ſiege, as we have already ſaid, when the capital was taken by the Spaniards, and it was ordered that all the Mexicans ſhould leave it, for three ſucceſſive days and nights the ſtreets and roads were filled with people who were leaving the city to take refuge in other places, according to the teſtimony of B. Diaz, an eye-witneſs. With reſpect to the number of baptiſms, we are aſſured, by the teſtimony of the religious miſſionaries themſelves, who were employed in the converſion of thoſe people, that the children and grown perſons baptiſed by the Franciſcan(*k*) fathers alone, from the year 1524 to the year 1540, were upwards of ſix millions in number; who were, for the moſt part, inhabitants of the vale of Mexico and the circumjacent provinces. In this number are not comprehended thoſe who were baptiſed by the prieſts, Dominicans, and Auguſtinians, amongſt whom, and the Franciſcans, were divided thoſe moſt abundant harveſts; and beſides, it is certain that the Indians were innumerable who remained obſtinate in their paganiſm, or did not receive the Chriſtian faith till many years after the conqueſt. We know alſo, from the noiſy controverſies excited there by ſome religious, and reported to the pope Paul III. that on account of the extraordinary and before unſeen multitude of catechumens, the miſſionaries were obliged to omit ſome ceremonies of the baptiſm, and amongſt others the uſe of their ſpittle, becauſe, from doing it ſo much they dried up and almoſt excoriated their mouths, their tongues, and their throats.

From the diſcovery of Mexico till now the number of the Indians has been gradually diminiſhing. Beſides the many thouſands which

(*k*) Motolinia, one of the religious miſſionaries, baptiſed more than four hundred thouſand Indians; an account of which he left in writing.

periſhed

periſhed by the firſt contagion of the ſmall-pox, carried there in 1520, and in the war of the Spaniards, in the epidemic of 1545 eighty thouſand periſhed, and in that of 1576 upwards of two millions, in the dioceſes alone of Mexico, Angelopoli, Michuacan, and Guaxaca, which is known by the bills of mortality preſented by every curate to the viceroy. Notwithſtanding Herrera, who wrote towards the end of the ſixteenth century, reports, on the faith of authentic documents ſent him by the viceroy of Mexico, that in the dioceſes alone of Mexico, Angelopoli, and Guaxaca, and in thoſe provinces of the dioceſe of Mexico which were circumjacent to the capital, there were, at that time, ſix hundred and fifty-five principal ſettlements of Indians, and innumerable other ſmaller ones dependent upon them; in which were contained ninety thouſand Indian families of tributaries. But it is neceſſary to be known, in thoſe are not included the nobles, nor the Tlaſcalans, and other Indians who aſſiſted the Spaniards in the conqueſt; for in reſpect to their birth, or the ſervices which they rendered the conquerors, they were exempted from tributes. Herrera, who was well informed on this ſubject, affirms, that in thoſe times, four thouſand Spaniſh families, and thirty thouſand Indian houſes were counted in the capital. From that time the number of Indians has gradually been diminiſhing, and the number of the Whites or Spaniards has been increaſing.

M. de Paw will anſwer according to his ſtyle, that all the proofs which we have adduced to demonſtrate the population of Mexico, are of no weight, for they are obtained from ſoldiers who were rude and illiterate, or from ignorant and ſuperſtitious eccleſiaſtics; but if this was the character of all the writers we have quoted, their teſtimony would be ſtill of great force becauſe of their uniformity. Who can believe that Cortes, and the other officers who ſubſcribed his letters, ſhould deceive their king, where they could have been ſo eaſily detected by hundreds of witneſſes, and not a few enemies? is it poſſible that ſo many Spaniſh and Indian writers ſhould all agree to exaggerate the population of thoſe countries, and not one amongſt them ſhew ſome reſpect for poſterity? Of the veracity of the firſt miſſionaries there can be no doubt. They were men of examplary life, and much learning, ſelected from amongſt many to promulgate the goſpel in the new

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world. Some of them had been profeſſors in the moſt celebrated univerſities of Europe; had obtained the firſt rank in their orders, and merited the favour and confidence of the emperor Charles V. Thoſe honours which they reſigned in Europe, and thoſe which they never received in America, clearly demonſtrated their diſintereſted zeal; their voluntary and rigid poverty, their continual treaty with the great Being of nature, their incredible fatigues in ſo many long and difficult journeys on foot, without proviſions, in laborious ſervice, and ſtill more their exceſſive charity, mildneſs, and compaſſion, towards thoſe afflicted nations, will make their memory ever venerated in that kingdom. In the writings of thoſe immortal men, ſo many characters of ſincerity are diſcovered, that we are not permitted to intertain the leaſt doubt of their accounts. It is true, they committed a heavy ſin, in the judgment of M. de Paw, in burning the greater part of the hiſtorical paintings of the Mexicans, becauſe they thought them full of ſuperſtition. We valued ſtill more than M. de Paw thoſe paintings, and lament their loſs; but we neither deſpiſe the authors of that unfortunate burning, nor curſe their memory; becauſe the evil which their intemperate and heedleſs zeal made them commit is not to be compared with the good which they did; beſides, they endeavoured to repair the loſs by their works, particularly Motolinia, Sahagun, Olmos, and Torquemada.

M. de Paw has gone ſo far to leſſen the population of thoſe countries, that he has dared to affirm (who could believe it) in a deciſive magiſterial tone, that in all thoſe regions there was no city but Mexico. Let us attend to him purely for amuſement. "So that as there are "not," he ſays, "the leaſt veſtiges of the Indian cities in all the "kingdom of Mexico, it is manifeſt that there was no more than "one place which had any appearance of a city, and this was Mexi-"co, which the Spaniſh writers would call the Babylon of the Indies, "but it is now a long time ſince they have been able to deceive us "with the magnificent names they gave to the miſerable hamlets of "America."

But all the authors who have written on Mexico unanimouſly affirm, that all the nations of that vaſt empire lived in ſocieties; that they had many well-peopled, large, well-laid out ſettlements; name the cities which

which they ſaw; and they who travelled through thoſe regions two centuries and a half after the conqueſt, ſaw the ſame ſettlements in the places mentioned by thoſe writers; ſo that M. de Paw is either perſuaded that thoſe writers prophetically announced the future population of thoſe places, or he muſt confeſs that they have been from that time where they are at preſent. It is true that the Spaniards founded many ſettlements, ſuch as the cities of Angelopoli, Guadalaxara, Valadolid, and Veracruz, Zelaja, Potoſi, Cordova, Leone, &c. but the ſettlements made by them in the diſtricts of the Mexican empire with reſpect to thoſe made by the Indians are as one to a thouſand. The Mexican names given to thoſe ſettlements are ſtill preſerved to this day, and demonſtrate that the original founders of them were not Spaniards but Indians. That thoſe places of which we have made frequent mention in this hiſtory were not miſerable villages, but cities, and large well formed ſettlements, ſuch as thoſe of Europe, is certified by the united teſtimony of all writers who ſaw them.

M. de Paw is deſirous of being ſhewn the veſtiges of theſe ancient cities; but we could ſhew him more than that, the ancient cities now exiſting. However, if he chuſes to ſee traces of them he may go to Tezcuco, Otumba, Tlaſcala, Cholula, Huexotzinco, Chempoalla, Tulla, &c. where he will find ſo many that he will have no doubt of the ancient greatneſs of thoſe American cities.

This great number of towns and inhabited places, although ſo many thouſands periſhed annually in the ſacrifices and continual wars of thoſe nations, gives us clearly to underſtand the vaſt population of the Mexican empire, and the other countries of Anahuac; but if all this which we have ſaid is not ſufficient to convince M. de Paw, in charity we adviſe him to enter into an hoſpital.

What we have applied againſt M. de Paw may ſerve likewiſe to refute Dr. Robertſon, who, ſeeing ſo many eye-witneſſes contrary to him in opinion, recurs to a ſubterfuge ſimilar to that of the warmth of the imagination which he made uſe of to deny faith to the Spaniſh hiſtorians reſpecting what they ſaid of the excellence of the Mexican labours of caſt metal. Treating of the wonder which the ſight of the cities of Mexico cauſed to the Spaniards in his ſeventh book, he ſays, "In the firſt fervour of their imagination, they compared Chempoalla,

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" though a town only of the ſecond or third ſize, to the cities of " greateſt note in their own country. When afterwards they viſited " in ſucceſſion Tlaſcala, Cholula, Tacuba, Teſcuco, and Mexico itſelf, " their amazement was ſo great that it led them to convey ideas of their " magnitude and populouſneſs bordering on what is incredible . . . For " this reaſon ſome conſiderable abatement ought to be made from their " calculation of the number of inhabitants in the Mexican cities; and " we may fix the ſtandard of their population much lower than they " have done."

Thus Robertſon commands, but we are not diſpoſed to obey him. If the Spaniards had written their hiſtories, letters, or relations *in the firſt fervour of their admiration*, we might then juſtly ſuſpect that ſtupefaction had led them to exaggerate; but it was not ſo; for Cortes, the moſt ancient of thoſe writers, did not write his firſt letter to Charles V. till a year and an half after his arrival in that country; the anonymous conqueror wrote ſome years after the conqueſt; B. Diaz, after forty years continual reſidence in thoſe countries, and the others in like manner. Is it poſſible that this *fervour of their admiration* ſhould endure for one, twenty, and even forty years afterwards? But whence aroſe ſuch wonder in them? Let us hear it from Dr. Robertſon himſelf. " The Spaniards, accuſtomed to this mode of habitation among all " the Indians with which they were then acquainted, were aſtoniſhed, " on entering New Spain, to find the natives reſiding in towns of " ſuch extent as reſembled thoſe of Europe." But Cortes and his companions, before they went to Mexico, knew very well that thoſe people were not ſavage tribes, and that their houſes were not huts; they had heard from thoſe who, a year before, had made the ſame voyage with Grijalva, that there were beautiful ſettlements there, conſiſting of houſes of ſtone and lime, with high towers to them; as Bernal Diaz atteſts, who was an eye-witneſs. That, therefore, was not the occaſion of their wonder, but it was the real largeneſs and multitude of the cities which they ſaw. " It is not ſurpriſing, then," adds Robertſon, " that Cortes and his companions, little accuſtomed to " ſuch computations, and powerfully tempted to magnify, in order to " exalt the merit of their own diſcoveries and conqueſts, ſhould have been " betrayed into this common error, and have raiſed their deſcriptions

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"conſiderably above truth." But Cortes was not ſo weak, and ſaw very well that the exaggeration of the number of his allies, far from raiſing the merit, ſerved rather to diminiſh the glory of his conqueſts. He often confeſſes that he was aſſiſted in the ſiege by eighty, and ſometimes an hundred, and two hundred thouſand men; and as thoſe ingenuous confeſſions diſcover his ſincerity, in the ſame manner thoſe numerous armies demonſtrate the population of thoſe countries. Beſides, Dr. Robertſon ſuppoſes, when the Spaniſh writers wrote concerning the number of the houſes of the Mexican cities, it was only expreſſed by conjecture, and the judgment which they had formed by the eye; but this was not the caſe, for Cortes affirms, in his firſt letter to the emperor Charles V. that he ordered the houſes, which belonged to the diſtrict of Tlaſcala to be numbered, and found there was an hundred and fifty thouſand, and in the ſingle city of Tlaſcala more than twenty thouſand.

DISSERTATION VIII.

On the Religion of the Mexicans.

WE have nothing to ſay in this Diſſertation as we had in the others to M. de Paw, as he ingenuouſly acknowledges the reſemblance there is between the delirium of the Americans, and that of other nations of the old continent in matters of religion. "As," he ſays, "the religious ſuperſtitions of the people of America *(l)* have "had a ſenſible reſemblance to thoſe which other nations of the old con- "tinent have entertained, he has not ſpoken of thoſe abſurdities, but "to make a compariſon of them, and in order to obſerve that, not- "withſtanding the diverſity of climes, the weakneſs of the human "ſpirit has been conſtant and unvariable." If he had delivered himſelf with the ſame judgment in other reſpects, he would have ſaved much contention, and preſerved his work from thoſe heavy cenſures which have been made on it by many wiſe men of Europe. We direct this Diſſertation, therefore, to thoſe who, from ignorance of what has paſſed and paſſes at preſent in the world, or from want of reflection, have made much wonder in reading in the hiſtory of Mexico at the cruelty and ſuperſtition of thoſe people, as if ſuch things had been never heard of among mortals. We ſhall make their error conſpicuous, and ſhew that the religion of the Mexicans was leſs ſuperſtitious, leſs indecent, leſs childiſh, and leſs unreaſonable than that of the moſt cultivated nations of ancient Europe; and that there have been examples of cruelty, perhaps more cruel, amongſt all other nations of the world.

The ſyſtem of natural religion depends principally on that idea which is formed of the Divinity. If the ſupreme Being is conceived to be a Father full of goodneſs, whoſe providence watches over his creatures, love and reſpect will appear in the exerciſe of ſuch religion.

(*l*) In the preface to Recherches Philoſophiques.

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If, on the contrary, he is imagined to be an inexorable tyrant, his worſhip will be bloody. If he is conceived to be omnipotent, veneration will be paid to one alone; but if his power is conceived to be confined, the objects of worſhip will be multiplied. If the ſanctity and perfection of his being is acknowledged, his protection will be implored in a pure and holy ſervice; but if he is ſuppoſed ſubject to imperfections, and the vices of men, religion itſelf will ſanctify crimes.

Let us compare the idea, therefore, which the Mexicans had of their gods with that which the Greeks, Romans, and other nations from whom they learned their religion, had of their deities, and we ſhall diſcover the ſuperiority of the Mexicans, in this matter, over all thoſe ancient nations. It is true, that the Mexicans divided power among various deities, imagining the juriſdiction of each to be reſtricted, "I do not doubt," Montezuma uſed to ſay to Cortes, in their conferences on religion, "I do not doubt of the goodneſs of the God "whom you adore, but if he is good for Spain our Gods are equally "ſo for Mexico.

"Our God *Camaxtle*," the Tlaſcalans uſed to ſay to Cortes, "grants us victory over our enemies; our goddeſs Matlalcueje ſends "the neceſſary rain to our fields, and defends us from the inunda- "tion of Zahuapan. To each of our gods we are indebted for a part "of the happineſs of our life." But they never believed their gods ſo impotent as the Greeks and Romans believed theirs. The Mexicans had more than one deity under the name of Centeotl who took care of the country and the fields, and although they were ſo fond of their children they had but one god for their protection. The Romans, beſides the goddeſs Ceres, had a crowd of deities for the care of the fields alone (*m*), and for the guard and education of their children upwards of twenty, beſides a number which were employed in the generation and

(*m*) *Seja* was charged with the grain which was newly ſown, *Proſerpina* with the grain which was juſt ſprung, *Nodotus* with the knots on the ſtem, *Volatina* with the eyes on buds, *Patelena* with the leaves which were ſpread, *Flora* with the flowers, *Segeſta* with the new grains, *Lactantia* with the grain yet milky, *Matuta* with the ripe grain, *Tutanus* or *Tutilina* with the grain in the granary; to all whom we ought to add the god *Sterculius* who attended the manuring of the fields, *Priapus* who defended the grain from the birds, *Rubigo* who defended it from inſects, and the nymphs *Napæ* who had the care of its nutritive juices.

birth

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birth of infants (*n*). Who would believe that they would have occaſion for their Gods merely to guard their doors? Forculus was charged with the door poſts, Carna with the hinge, and Lamentinus with the threſhold. "Ita," exclaims St. Auguſtin, "ita non poterat, For-"culus ſimul fores, et cardinem limenque ſervare." So wretched was the power of the gods in the judgment of the Romans! Even the names by which ſome of them were called ſhew the pitiful conception entertained of them by their adorers. What names more unworthy of divinity than thoſe of Jupiter Piſtor, Venus Calva, Pecunia Caca, Subigus and Cloacina? Who would ever think that a ſtatue formed by Tatius in the principal ſink of Rome was to become a goddeſs with the name of Cloacina? This was certainly a mockery of their religion, and rendering the very gods whom they adored, vile and contemptible.

But the Greeks and Romans ſhewed the opinion they had of their gods in nothing more ſtrongly than the vices which they aſcribed to them. Their whole mythology is a long ſeries of crimes: the whole life of their gods was compoſed of enmities, revenge, inceſt, adultery, and other baſe paſſions, capable of defaming the moſt degenerate of men. Jove, that omnipotent father, that beginning of all things, that king of men and of gods as the poets call him, appears ſometimes diſguiſed as a man to treat with Alcumena, ſometimes as a ſatyr to enjoy Antiope, ſometimes as a bull to raviſh Europa, ſometimes as a ſwan to abuſe Leda, and ſometimes in a ſhower of gold to corrupt Danae, and at other times aſſumes other forms to accompliſh his guilty deſigns. In the mean time the great goddeſs Juno, mad with jealouſy, thinks of nothing but having revenge of her diſloyal huſband. Of the ſame ſtamp were the other immortal gods; eſpecially the dii majores, or ſelect gods, as they were called by them; ſelect, ſays St. Auguſtin,

(*n*) The goddeſs *Opis* was charged with giving aſſiſtance to the child which was delivering, and to receive it in her lap, *Vaticanus* to open its mouth to cry, *Levana* to raiſe it from the ground, *Cunina* to watch the cradle, the *Carmentes* to announce its deſtiny, *Fortuna* to favour it in all accidents, *Rumina* to introduce the nipple of the mother's breaſt into the mouth of the child, *Potina* took care of its drink, *Educa* of its pap, *Faventia* wiped its ſlabberings, *Venilia* had to cheriſh its hopes, *Volupia* to attend its pleaſures, *Agenoria* to watch its motions, *Stimula* to make it active, *Strenua* to make it courageous, *Numeria* to teach it numbers, *Camena* ſinging, *Conſo* to give it counſel, *Senica* reſolution, *Juventa* had charge of its youth, and *Fortuna Barbata* was enjoined that important office of making hair grow upon adults

for

for the ſuperiority of their vices, not for the excellence of their virtues. But what good examples could thoſe nations imitate in the gods, who, while they boaſted to teach virtue to men, had nothing conſecrated but their vices? What merits obtained deification to Leena among the Greeks, and to Lupa Faula and Faula among the Romans, but that of having been famous courtezans? From thence ſprung various deities, charged with the moſt infamous and ſhameful employments.

But what ſhall we ſay of the Egyptians, who were the firſt authors of ſuperſtition (o)? They not only paid worſhip to the ox, dog, cat, crocodile, hawk, and other ſuch animals, but likewiſe to leeks, onions, and garlick, which was the occaſion of that ſatyrical ſaying of Juvenal, *O ſanctas gentes quibus hic naſcuntur in hortis Numina!* and, not contented with that, they deified likewiſe the moſt indecent things. That cuſtom of marrying with their ſiſters was imagined to be authorized by the example of their gods.

The Mexicans entertained very different ideas of their deities. We do not find, in all their mythology, any traces of that exceſs of depravity which characteriſed the gods of other nations. The Mexicans honoured the virtues not the vices of their divinites; the bravery of Huitzilopochtli, the beneficence of Centeotl, Tzapotlatman, and Opochtli, and others, and the chaſtity, juſtice, and prudence of Quetzalcoatl. Although they feigned deities of both ſexes, they did not marry them, nor believe them capable of thoſe obſcene pleaſures which were ſo common among the Greeks and Romans. The Mexicans imagined they had a ſtrong averſion to every ſpecies of vice, therefore their worſhip was calculated to appeaſe the anger of their deities, provoked by the guilt of men, and to procure their protection by repentance and religious reſpect.

The rites obſerved by thoſe nations were entirely agreeable to the idea they had of their gods. Superſtition was common to them all, but that of the Mexicans was leſs, and not ſo puerile; this the compariſon of their auguries will be ſufficient to ſhew. The Mexican diviners obſerved the ſigns or characters of the days concerning marriages, journeys, &c. as the European aſtrologers obſerved the poſition of the

(o) Nos in Templa tuam Romana accepimus Iſin.
Semicanesque Deos et Siſtra moventia luctum. *Lucanus.*

ſtars,

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ſtars, to foretel from thence the fortunes of men. Both of them were equally fearful of eclipſes and comets, as they ſuſpected them the forerunners of great calamities. This ſuperſtition has been common to all the people of the world. They were alſo all afraid of the voice of the owl, or any other ſuch bird. Theſe and other ſuch ſuperſtitions have been general, and are ſtill common to the vulgar of the old and new continents, even in the center of moſt cultivated Europe. But all which we know of thoſe American nations in this matter, is not to be compared with that which we are told of the ancient Romans by their poets and hiſtorians. The works of Livy, Pliny, Virgil, Suetonius, Valerius Maximus, and other judicious authors, which cannot be read without ſmiling, ſhew us to what exceſs the childiſh ſuperſtition of the Romans arrived. No animal among the quadrupeds reptiles and birds was not employed to foretel future events. If a bird flew towards the left hand, if the raven croaked, if they heard the voice of the crow, if a mouſe taſted honey, if a hare paſſed acroſs the road, all thoſe incidents were prognoſtics of ſome great calamity. Formerly there was a luſtration made of all Rome for no other reaſon than becauſe an owl entered the Capitol (*p*). Not only animals, but alſo trivial and contemptible circumſtances were ſufficient to excite ſuperſtitious dread; as the ſpilling of wine or ſalt, or the falling of ſome meat from table. Who would not have been amazed to contemplate the aruſpices perſons of ſuch high reſpect ſeriouſly occupied in examining the movements of the victims, the ſtate of their intrails, and colour of their blood, to prognoſticate from thoſe ſigns the principal events of that famous republic? "I wonder," ſaid the great Cicero, "that "an aruſpex does not ſmile when he views another of his own profeſſion." What can be more ridiculous than that kind of augury which was called *tripudium?* Who would have imagined that a nation in ſome reſpects ſo enlightened, and alſo ſo warlike, ſhould carry along with their armies, as the moſt important thing to the ſucceſs of their arms, a cage of chickens, and dare not to begin the battle without conſulting them? If the chickens did not taſte the food which was put before

(*p*) Bubo funebris et maxime abominatus publicis precipue auſpiciis... Capitolii cellam ipſam intravit. Sex. Papellio Iſtro L. Pedanis Coſſ. propter quod nonis Martiis urbs luſtrata eſt eo anno. Plin. Hiſt. Nat. lib. x. cap. 12.

them

them it was a bad omen; if, beſides not eating it, they eſcaped out of the cage, it was worſe; if, on the contrary, they eat greedily, the augury was moſt happy; ſo that the moſt effectual means to ſecure victory would have been to keep the chickens without food, until they were conſulted.

To ſuch exceſſes is the ſpirit of man led, when reſigned to the capricious dictates of paſſion, or ſtimulated by fears ariſing from a ſenſe of his own weakneſs.

But Americans, Greeks, Romans, and Egyptians were all ſuperſtitious and puerile in the practice of their religion; not ſo however, in the obſcenity of their rites, becauſe we find not the leaſt traces in the rites of the Mexicans, of thoſe abominable cuſtoms which were ſo common among the Romans and other nations of antiquity. What could be more indecent than the Eleuſinian feaſts which the Greeks made, or thoſe which the Romans celebrated in honour of Venus, in the calends of April, and above all others thoſe very obſcene games which they exhibited in honour of Cybele, Flora, Bacchus, and other ſuch falſe deities? What rite could be more obſcene than that which was obſerved on the ſtatue of Priapus, among the nuptial ceremonies? How could they celebrate the feſtivals of ſuch inceſtuous and adulterous gods but with ſuch obſcene practices? How was it poſſible they ſhould have been aſhamed of thoſe vices which they ſaw ſanctioned by their own divinities?

It is true, that although nothing obſcene mingled with the rites of the Mexicans, ſome of them were ſuch, as on the ſuppoſition of the Divinity of their gods would have been very indecent, namely that of anointing the lips of the idols with the blood of the victims: but would it not have been more indecent to have given them blows, as the Romans gave the goddeſs Matuta at the *Matral* feaſts? Conſidering the error of both, the Mexicans were certainly more rational by giving their gods a liquor to taſte which they imagined was acceptable to them, than the Romans by executing an action upon their goddeſs which has been eſteemed highly inſulting among all nations of the world.

What we have ſaid hitherto, though ſufficient to ſhew that the religion of the Mexicans was leſs exceptionable than that of the Romans,

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Greeks, or Egyptians, we are ſenſible that the compariſon between them ought not to have been ſolely with reſpect to the above articles, but rather with reſpect to the nature of their ſacrifices. We confeſs, that the religion of the Mexicans was bloody, that their ſacrifices were moſt cruel, and their auſterities beyond meaſure barbarous; but whenever we conſider what other nations of the world have done, we are confounded at viewing the weakneſs of the human mind, and the ſeries of errors into which they have fallen from their miſerable ſyſtems of religion.

There has been no nation in the world which has not at ſome time ſacrificed human victims to that god whom they adored. We know from the ſacred writings, that the Ammonites burned ſome of their ſons in honour of their god Moloch, and that other people of Canaan did the ſame, whoſe example was followed by the Iſraelites. It appears from the fourth book of the Kings, that Achaz and Manaſſeh, kings of Judea, uſed that pagan rite of paſſing their ſons through the fire. The expreſſion of the ſacred text appears rather to ſignify a mere luſtration or conſecration, than a burnt-offering, but the hundred and fifth Pſalm does not leave a doubt that the Iſraelites ſacrificed their children to the gods of the Canaanites. Of the Egyptians we know, from Manetho, a prieſt and celebrated hiſtorian of that nation, cited by Euſebius Cæſarienſis, that daily three men were ſacrificed in Eliopolis to the goddeſs Juno alone, in like manner as the Ammonites ſacrificed human victims to their Moloch, and the Canaanites to their Beelfegor; the Perſians ſacrificed to their Mitra or ſun, the Phœnicians and Carthaginians to their Baal or Saturn, the Cretans to Jove, the Lacedæmonians to Mars, the Phocians to Diana, the Leſbians to Bacchus, the Theſſalians to the Centaur Chiron and Peleus, the Gauls to *Heſo* and *Teutate* (*q*), the *Bardi* of Germany to *Tuiſton*, and other nations

(*q*) A certain French author, through a blind attachment to his native country, hardily denies that human victims were ever ſacrificed by the Gauls; but he adduces no authority to confute the teſtimony of Pliny, Suetonius, Diodorus, and in particular Cæſar, who was well acquainted with the Gauls, and knew their cuſtoms. "Natio eſt omnis Gallorum," he ſays, "admodum dedita religionibus, atque ob eam cauſam qui ſunt affecti gravioribus morbis, qui-"que in prælio periculiſque verſantur, aut pro victimis homines immolant, aut ſe immolaturos "vovent, adminiſtris ad ea ſacrificia Druidibus; quod pro vita hominis, niſi vita hominis red-"datur, non poſſe aliter deorum immortalium numen placari arbitrantur, publiceque ejuſdem generis

tions to their tutelar gods. Philon ſays that the Phœnicians in public calamities offered in ſacrifice to their inhuman *Baal* their deareſt ſons, and Curtius affirms that ſuch ſacrifices were in uſe among the Tyrians until the ruin of their famous city. The ſame did the Carthaginians with their countrymen in honour of Saturn the *cruel*. We know that when they were vanquiſhed by Agathocles, king of Syracuſe, with a view to appeaſe their deities, whom they believed incenſed, they ſacrificed two hundred noble children, beſides three hundred youths who ſpontaneouſly offered themſelves for ſacrifice, to ſhew their bravery, their piety towards the gods, and their love to their country; and, as Tertullian affirms, who was an African, and lived little latter than that epoch of which we are ſpeaking, and therefore ought to know it well, ſacrifices were uſed in Africa until the time of the emperor Tiberius, as in Gaul till the time of Claudian, as Suetonius reports.

The Pelaſgians, the ancient inhabitants of Italy, ſacrificed a tythe of their children, in order to comply with an oracle, as is related by D. Halicarnaſſeus. The Romans, who were as ſanguinary as they were ſuperſtitious, did not abſtain from ſuch kind of ſacrifices. All the time they were under the government of their kings, they ſacrificed young children to the goddeſs Mania, mother of the *Lares*, for the proſperity of their houſes, to which they were directed by a certain oracle of Apollo, as Macrobius ſays; and we know from Pliny, that human ſacrifices were not forbid until the year 657 of Rome; but notwithſtanding this prohibition, thoſe examples of barbarous ſuperſtition did not ceaſe; ſince Auguſtus, as authors cited by Suetonius affirm, after the taking of Peruſia, where the conſul, L. Antony, had fortified himſelf, ſacrificed in honour of his uncle Julius Cæſar, who was by this time deified by the

" genuis habent inſtituta ſacrificia. Alii immani magnitudine ſimulacra habent; quorum contexta viminibus membra vivis hominibus complent quibus ſuccenſis circumstanti flamma examinantur homines. Supplicia eorum qui in furto aut latrocinio aut alia noxa ſint comprehenſi gratiora diis immortalibus eſſe arbitrantur. Sed cum ejus generis copia deficit, etiam ad innocentium ſupplicia deſcendunt. Lib. vi. de Bello Gallico, cap. 5. From this it appears the Gauls were more cruel than the Mexicans.

(*r*) DCLVII. demum anno urbis Cn. Corn. Lentulo. P. Licinio Coſſ. Senatus conſultum factum eſt, ne homo immolaretur. Plin. Hiſt. Nat. lib. xxx. cap. 1.

(*s*) Peruſia capta in plurimos animadvertit; orare veniam, vel exeuntibus ſe conantibus una voce occurrens, moriendum eſſe. Scribunt quidam trecentos ex dedititiis electos ordinis ad aram D. Julio exſtructam Idib. Martiis victimarum more mactatos. Suetonius in Octaviano.

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Romans, three hundred men, partly ſenators and partly Roman knights, upon an altar erected to that new deity. Lactantius, who was a man well inſtructed in the affairs of the Romans, who flouriſhed in the fourth century of the church, ſays expreſſly, that even in his time, thoſe ſacrifices were made to Jupiter Latialis (*t*). Nor were the Spaniards free from this barbarous ſuperſtition. Strabo recounts, in book iii. that the Luſitanians ſacrificed priſoners, cut off their right hand to conſecrate it to their gods, obſerved their entrails, and examined them for auguries; that all the inhabitants of the mountains uſed to ſacrifice priſoners as well as horſes, offering their victims by hundreds at a time to the god Mars; and ſpeaking in general, he ſays, it was peculiar to the Spaniards to ſacrifice themſelves for their friends. This is not very different from what Silius Italicus reports of the *Betici*, his anceſtors, which is, that after they had paſſed the age of youth, grown weary of life, they committed ſuicide; and which he praiſes as an heroic action. Who would believe, that ancient cuſtom of Betica would be revived at this time in England and France. To come to later times, Mariana, in ſpeaking of the Goths, who occupied Spain, writes thus: "Becauſe they were perſuaded that the war would "never be proſperous when they did not make an offering of human "blood for the army, they ſacrificed the priſoners of war to the god Mars, "to whom they were principally devoted, and uſed alſo to offer him "the firſt of the ſpoils, and ſuſpend from the trunks of trees the ſkins "of thoſe whom they had ſlain." If thoſe Spaniards who wrote the hiſtory of Mexico, had not forgotten this, which happened to their own peninſula, they would not have wondered ſo much at the ſacrifices of the Mexicans.

Whoever would wiſh to ſee more examples, may conſult Euſebius of Cæſarea, in book iv. *de Preparatione Evangelica*, where he gives a long detail of the nations by whom ſuch barbarous ſacrifices were practiſed: what we have ſaid is enough to ſhew that the Mexicans have done nothing but trod in the ſteps of the moſt celebrated nations of the old continent, and that their rites were neither more cruel, nor leſs rational. It is, perhaps, greater cruelty and inhumanity to ſacrifice

(*t*) Lactantius, Inſtit. Divin. lib. i. cap. 21.

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fellow-citizens, children, and themſelves, as the greater part of thoſe nations did, than to ſacrifice priſoners of war as was practiſed among the Mexicans. The Mexicans were never known to ſacrifice their own countrymen, unleſs it was thoſe who forfeited their lives by their crimes; or the wives of nobles, that they might accompany their huſbands to the other world. That anſwer which Montezuma gave to Cortes, who reproached him for the cruelty of the Mexican ſacrifices, ſhews us that although their ſentiments were not juſt, they were leſs inconſiſtent than thoſe of other nations who had fallen into the ſame ſuperſtitions. "We," he ſaid, "have a right to take away the life of our "enemies; we could kill them in the heat of battle, as you do your "enemies. What injuſtice is there in making them, who are con- "demned to death, die in honour of our gods."

The frequency of ſuch ſacrifices was certainly not leſs in Egypt, Italy, Spain, and Gaul, than in Mexico. If in the city of Eliopolis alone, they annually ſacrificed, as Manetho ſays, more than a thouſand victims to the goddeſs Juno; how many muſt have been ſacrificed in the other cities of Egypt to the famous goddeſs Iſis, and other innumerable deities, adored by that moſt ſuperſtitious nation? How frequent muſt they have been among the Pelaſgians, who ſacrificed a tenth part of their children to their gods? What numbers of men muſt have been conſumed in thoſe hecatombs of the ancient Spaniards? And what ſhall we ſay of the Gauls, who, after having ſacrificed priſoners of war and malefactors, made alſo innocent citizens die in ſacrifice, as Cæſar relates? The number of the Mexican ſacrifices has certainly been exaggerated by the Spaniſh hiſtorians, as we have already obſerved.

The very humane Romans, who had ſcruples in obſerving human entrails, although at the end of ſix centuries and a half after the foundation of their famous metropolis they forbid the ſacrifices of men, ſtill permitted with great frequency the gladiatorian ſacrifices. So we call thoſe barbarous combats, which, as well as ſerving for the amuſement of that fierce people, were likewiſe preſcribed by their religion. Beſides the great quantity of blood ſpilt at the Circenſian games, and at banquets, there was not a little alſo ſhed at the funerals of wealthy perſons, either of gladiators, or priſoners who were put to death to appeaſe the manes of the deceaſed; and they were

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ſo firmly perſuaded of the neceſſity of ſome human blood being ſpilt for this purpoſe, that when the circumſtances of the dead could not bear the expence of gladiators or priſoners, *preficæ* were paid, that they might draw blood from their cheeks with their nails. How many victims muſt thus have fallen by the ſuperſtition of the Romans, at their funerals, eſpecially as they vied with each other who ſhould exceed in the number of gladiators and priſoners whoſe blood was to celebrate the funeral pomp? It was this bloody diſpoſition of the Romans which made ſuch havoc on the people of Europe, Aſia, and Africa, and which, beſides overflowed Rome with the blood of its own citizens, eſpecially during thoſe horrid proſcriptions which ſullied the glory of that famous republic.

The Mexican were not only inhuman towards their priſoners, but likewiſe towards themſelves, by their barbarous auſterities mentioned in this hiſtory. But the drawing of blood with the prickles of the aloes from their tongues, arms, and legs, as they all did, and the boring their tongue with pieces of cane, as the moſt auſtere amongſt them uſed to do, will appear but ſlight mortifications compared with thoſe dreadful and unheard of auſterities executed upon themſelves by penitents of the Eaſt-Indies and Japan, which cannot be read without horror. Who will ever think of comparing the inhumanities of the moſt famous *Tlamacazqui* of Mexico, and Tlaſcala, with thoſe of the prieſts of Bellona and Cybele (*u*)? When did the Mexicans tear their limbs, or their fleſh, with their teeth, or caſtrate themſelves in honour of their gods, as thoſe prieſts did in honour of Cybele?

Laſtly, the Mexicans, not content with ſacrificing human victims, eat alſo their fleſh. We confeſs in this their inhumanity ſurpaſſed other

(*u*) Deæ Magnæ Sacerdotes, qui Galli vocabantur, vilitia ſi i amputabant, & furore perciti caput rotabant colt iſque faciem muſculoſque totius corporis diffecabant: morſibus quoque ſe ipſos impetebant. *Auguſt. de Civ. Dei.* lib. ii. cap. 7.

Ille viriles ſibi partes amputat, ille lacertos ſecat. Ubi iratos Deos timent, qui ſic propitios merentur? . . . Tantus eſt perturbatæ mentis & ſedibus ſuis pulſæ furor, ut ſic Dii placentur, quemadmodum ne homines quidem ſæviunt teterrimi, & in fabulas traditi crudelitatis Tyranni laceraverunt aliquorum membra; neminem ſua lacerare juſſerunt. In regia libidinis voluptatem caſtrati ſunt quidam; ſed nemo ſibi, ne vir eſſet, jubente domino manus intulit. Se ipſi in templis contrucidant, vulneribus ſuis ac ſanguine ſupplicant. Si cui intueri vacet quæ faciant, quæque patiuntur, inveniet tam indecora honeſtis, tam indigna liberis, tam diſſimilia ſanis, ut nemo fuerit dubitaturus furere eos, ſi cum paucioribus furerent; nunc fanitatis patrocinium inſanientium turba eſt. *Seneca, lib. De Sap. ſtat.*

nations;

nations; but examples of this kind have not been ſo rare even among cultivated nations of the old continent, as to make the Mexicans be claſſed with nations abſolutely barbarous. That horrible cuſtom, ſays the hiſtorian Solis, of men eating each other, was ſeen firſt among the barbarians in our hemiſphere, as is confeſſed by Gallicia, in his Annals. Beſides the ancient Africans, whoſe deſcendants at this day are in part canibals, it is certain, that many of thoſe nations which were formerly known by the name of Scythians, and alſo the ancient inhabitants of Sicily, and the continent of Italy, as Pliny and other authors ſay, were men-eaters likewiſe. Of the Jews, who lived in the times of Antiochus *the illuſtrious* Appion, an Egyptian, not Greek writer, as M. de Paw ſays, has written, that they uſed to keep a Greek priſoner to eat him at the end of one year. Livy ſays of the famous Hannibal, that he made his ſoldiers eat human fleſh to encourage them to war. Pliny ſeverely cenſures the Greeks for their cuſtom of eating all the parts of the human body, to cure themſelves of different diſtempers (*x*). Is there any wonder then that the Mexicans ſhould do that from a motive of religion, which the Greeks obſerved as a rule of medicine? But we do not pretend to apologiſe for them on this head. Their religion, with reſpect to Canibaliſm, was certainly more barbarous than that of the Romans, Egyptians, or thoſe other cultivated nations; but, at the ſame time, in other points, it is not to be denied, that it was leſs ſuperſtitious, leſs abſurd, and leſs indecent.

(*x*) Quis invenit ſingula membra humana mandere? Qua conjectura inductus? Quam poteſt medicina iſta originem habuiſſe? Quis veneficia innocentiora fecit quam remedia? Eſto, barbari externique ritus invenerint; etiam ne Græci ſuas fecere has artes? &c. *Plin. Hiſt. Nat.* lib. xxviii. cap. 1.

DISSER-

DISSERTATION IX.

On the Origin of the French Evil.

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IN the preſent Diſſertation we have not only to diſpute with M. de Paw, but alſo with almoſt all Europeans, who are generally perſuaded that the French evil had its origin in America; for ſome nations of Europe having reciprocally accuſed each other of propagating this opprobrious diſtemper, at laſt agreed to charge it upon the new world. We ſhould certainly deſerve to be taxed with raſhneſs in combating ſo univerſal an opinion, if the arguments which we are to offer, and the example of two modern Europeans, did not render our attempt pardonable (*a*). As among the ſupporters of the common opinion, the principal, the moſt renowned, and he who has written moſt copiouſly and learnedly upon the ſubject, is Mr. Aſtruc, a learned French phyſician, he will neceſſarily be principally oppoſed by us, for which purpoſe we ſhall make uſe of thoſe very materials which his work preſents to us (*b*).

SECT. I.

The Opinion of the firſt Phyſicians concerning the Origin of the French Evil.

DURING the firſt thirty years after the French evil began to be known in Italy, there was not a ſingle author, as we ſhall mention afterwards, who aſcribed the origin of it to America. All the authors

(*a*) Theſe two authors are William Becket, a Surgeon of London, and Antonio Ribero Sanchez. Becket wrote three Diſſertations, which were inſerted in vol. xxx. and xxxi. of the Philoſophical Tranſactions, to prove, that the French evil was known in England as far back as the fourteenth century. Ribero wrote a Diſſertation, which was printed in Paris, with this title, *Diſſertation ſur l'Origin de la Maladie Venerienne, dans la quelle on prouve qu'elle n'a point été portée de l'Amerique.* Having read the title of this Diſſertation in the Catalogue of Spaniſh books and manuſcripts, prefixed to Dr. Robertſon's Hiſtory of America, we ſought for it in Rome, in Genoa, and Venice, but without ſucceſs.

(*b*) De Morbis Venereis, vol. ii. Venice Edition.

who

who wrote upon it, before 1525, and even ſome of thoſe who wrote after, attributed it to different cauſes, the mention of which will excite the ſmiles and pity of our readers.

Some of the firſt phyſicians then living, namely, Corradino Gillini, and Gaſpare Torella, were perſuaded, according to the ideas of thoſe times, that the French evil was occaſioned by the near conjunction of the Sun with Jupiter, Saturn, and Mercury, in the ſign of Libra, which happened in 1483.

Others, in agreement with the opinion of the celebrated Nicolaus Leonicenus (*c*), attributed it to the very abundant rains and inundations which happened in Italy that year in which the contagion began.

G. Manardi, a learned profeſſor of the univerſity of Ferrara, aſcribed the origin of the evil to the impure commerce of a Valentian gentleman who was leprous, with a courtezan; and Paracelſus to the commerce of a French perſon who was alſo leprous, with a proſtitute. Antonia Muſa Braſavola, a learned Ferrareſe, affirms, that the French evil took its beginning from a courtezan, in the army of the French in Naples, who had an abſceſs in the mouth of the *uterus*.

Gab. Fallopio, a celebrated Modeneſe phyſician, affirms, that the Spaniards, being few in number in the war of Naples, and the French extremely numerous, one night poiſoned the water of the wells, of which their enemies were to drink, and that from thence the diſtemper aroſe.

Andrea Ceſalpino, phyſician to Clement VIII. ſays, he knew from thoſe who were preſent at the war of Naples, when the French beſieged Somma, a place of Veſuvius, where there is a great abundance of excellent Greek wine; that the Spaniards eſcaped one night in ſecret, leaving behind them a great quantity of that wine, mixed with the blood of the ſick of San Lazaro, and that the French when they entered that place drank of this wine, and ſoon after felt the effects of the venereal diſorder.

(*c*) Itaque dicimus, malum hoc, quod *morbum Gallicum* vulgo appellant inter epidemias debere connumerari . . . Illud ſatis conſtat, eo anno magnam aquarum per univerſam Italiam fuiſſe exuberantiam . . . æſtivam autem ad illam veniſſe intemperiemm calidam ſcilicet & humidam, &c. *Opuſc. de Morbo Gallico.* Leo-

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Leonardo Fioravanti, a learned Bologneſe phyſician, ſays in his work, entitled, *Caprieci Medicinali*, that he was informed by the ſon of one who had been ſutler to the army of Alfonſo, king of Naples, about the year 1456, that the army of the king, as well as the French, becoming ſhort of proviſions from the length of the war, the ſutler ſupplied them both with dreſſed human fleſh, and that from thence ſprung the French evil. The celebrated chancellor Bacon, lord Verulam, adds (*d*), that the fleſh ſupplied them, was of men killed in Barbary, which they prepared like the tunny fiſh.

As no body knew, nor could know, who was the firſt in Europe that ſuffered that great evil, neither can we know the cauſe of it: but let us attend to what may have happened.

SECT. II.

The French Evil could be communicated to Europe from other Countries of the old Continent.

TO prove that the French evil could be communicated by means of contagion to Europe, from other countries of the ſame continent, it is neceſſary, but will be alſo ſufficient to ſhew that that evil was firſt felt in ſome of thoſe countries, and that they had commerce with Europe before the new world was diſcovered. Both of theſe points ſhall be fully demonſtrated.

Vatablo, Pineda, Calmet, and other authors, have maintained, that among the diſtempers with which Job was afflicted, the French evil was one. This opinion is ſo ancient, that as ſoon as that evil appeared in Italy, ſome called it the evil of Job, as Battiſta Fulgoſio, an author then living, atteſts (*e*). Calmet attempts (*f*) to prove his opinion with a great deal of erudition; but as we know nothing of the complaints of Job, except what is mentioned in the ſacred books, which may eaſily be conceived to ſpeak of other diſtempers then known, or of ſome one entirely unknown to us, we can therefore build little on this opinion.

(*d*) Sylva Sylvarum centur. 1. art. 2^.
(*e*) In a work entitled, Dicta Factaque Memorabilia, lib. i. c. 4.
(*f*) Diſſert. in Morbum Jobi.

Andre

André Thevet, a French geographer (*g*), and other authors affirm, that the French evil was endemic in the internal provinces of Africa, ſituate on both ſides of the river Senegal.

And Cleyer, firſt phyſician of the Dutch colony, in the iſland of Java, ſays (*h*), that the venereal diſeaſe was proper and natural to that iſle, and as common as the quotidian fever. Thuanus has affirmed the ſame thing (*i*).

J. Bonzius, phyſician to the Dutch in the Eaſt-Indies, teſtifies, that (*k*) that diſtemper was endemic in Amboyna and the Moluccas, and that it was not neceſſary to have any previous carnal commerce to catch the infection. This was confirmed in part by the account of the companions of Magellan, the firſt who made the tour of the world in the famous veſſel, *Victory*, who atteſted, as Herrera ſays (*l*), that they found in Timor, an iſland of the Moluccan Archipelago, a great number of the iſlanders infected with the French evil; which was certainly neither carried there by the Americans nor Europeans, previouly diſeaſed.

Forneau, a French Jeſuit, learned, accurate, and experienced in the affairs of China, having been aſked by Mr. Aſtruc (*m*), if the phyſicians of China thought the venereal diſtemper originated in their country, or brought there from other places; anſwered, that the Chineſe phyſicians whom he had conſulted were of opinion, that that diſtemper was ſuffered there ſince the earlieſt antiquity; and that the Chineſe books written in Chineſe characters, which were eſteemed by them to be ancient, ſaid nothing of the origin of that diſeaſe, but make mention of it as a diſtemper very ancient even at that time, in which theſe books were written; that alſo it was neither known, nor probable, that the diſtemper was carried there from other countries.

Laſtly, Dr. Aſtruc ſays, according to his opinion (*n*), after having examined and weighed the teſtimonies of authors, that the venereal

(*g*) Coſmographie Univerſelle, liv. i. cap. 11. (*h*) Epiſt. ad Chriſt. Mentzalium.

(*i*) Hiſt. Sui Temporis, cap. 71.

(*k*) In Methodo medendi quo in Indiis Orientalibus oportet uti in cura morborum illic vulgo ac popnlariter graſſantium.

(*l*) Dec. III. lib. iv. cap. 1.

(*m*) Diſſert. de Origine Morborum Venereorum inter Simias. Ad Calc. tom. i.

(*n*) De Morbis Venereis, lib. i. cap. 11.

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diſeaſe was not peculiar ſolely to the iſland Haiti, or Hiſpaniola, but alſo common to many regions of the old continent, and, perhaps, to all the equinoctial countries of the world in which it prevailed from antiquity. This ingenuous confeſſion, from a perſon ſo well informed on this ſubject, and beſides ſo prejudiced againſt America, as well as the teſtimonies above mentioned, are ſufficient to demonſtrate, that although we ſuppoſe the French evil to have been anciently exiſting in the new world, nothing can be adduced on this ſubject by the Europeans againſt America, that cannot be ſaid by America againſt many countries of the old world, and that if the blood of the Americans was corrupted, as M. de Paw would argue, that of the Aſiatics and Africans was not more wholſome.

Dr. Aſtruc adds, that from thoſe countries of Aſia and Africa, in which the French evil was endemic, it might be communicated by commerce to the neighbouring people, though not to the Europeans; becauſe, the torrid zone having been deemed uninhabitable, there was no commerce between thoſe countries and Europe. But who is ignorant of the commerce which Egypt had for many centuries with the equinoctial countries of Aſia, and on another ſide with Italy? Why therefore, might not the Aſiatic merchants have brought along with their drugs the French diſeaſe into Egypt, and from thence the Venetians, Genoeſe, and Piſans, carry it into Italy, as they had for along time a continual commerce with the city of Alexandria, in the ſame manner as other Europeans carried into Italy from Soria and Arabia, the leproſy and ſmall-pox? Beſides, among the many Europeans, who, from the twelfth century forward, undertook to travel into the ſouthern countries of Aſia, namely B. di Tudela, Carpini, Marco Polo, and Mandeville; amongſt whom ſome, as M. de Paw ſays, advanced as far as China, might not one bring with him on his return to Europe, the infection from thoſe Aſiatic countries? Here we do not treat of what actually did happen, but only of that which might have happened.

The French evil might not only paſs from Aſia, but alſo from Africa into Europe, before the diſcovery of America; as the Portugueſe, thirty years before the glorious expedition of Columbus, had diſcovered a great part of the equinoctial countries of Africa, and carried on commerce there. Might not ſome Portugueſe, therefore, infected thence with the

the French evil, communicate it to his country people, and in courſe to other nations of Europe, as poſſibly did happen from what we ſhall ſay preſently? Dr. Aſtruc may thus obſerve, by how many channels the French evil might be communicated to Europe without the intervention of America, although the ancients conceived the torrid zone inacceſſible.

SECT. III.

The French Evil might ariſe in Europe without Contagion.

BEFORE we handle this argument, it is neceſſary to ſay a little on the nature and phyſical cauſe of this diſtemper. The French diſtemper is, according to phyſicians, a ſpecies of *cachexia*, in which the lymph, and particularly the wheyiſh part of it, aſſumes a ſingular thickneſs and acrimony. The venereal poiſon, ſays Aſtruc (*o*), is of a ſalt, or rather acid ſalt, corroſive, and fixed nature. It occaſions the condenſation and acrimony of the lymph, and from thence proceed the inflammations, warts, ulcers, eroſions, pains, and all the other horrid ſymptoms known to phyſicians.

This poiſon, when communicated to a ſound man, ought not to be conſidered, ſays this author, as a new humour added to the natural humours, but rather as a mere *dyſcraſia*, or vicious quality of the natural humours, which degenerating from their natural ſtate, are changed into acid ſalts.

Almoſt all phyſicians have been perſuaded, that this evil cannot ariſe otherwiſe than by means of contagion communicated by the ſeminal liquor, or by milk, or ſaliva, or ſweat, or by contact with venereal ulcers, &c. But we preſume to maintain, that the French evil can poſitively be produced in man, without any contagion or communication with thoſe infected; becauſe it can abſolutely be generated in the ſame manner as it was generated in the firſt perſon who ſuffered it; ſuch perſon could not get it by contagion, becauſe he would not in that caſe been the firſt who ſuffered it, but from another cauſe very different; therefore, by a ſimilar cauſe, whatever it was, ſome

(*o*) Ibid. Lib. ii. cap. 2.

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cachexia might have been produced without contagion, in other individuals of the human ſpecies. This is true, ſays Aſtruc in America, or another ſuch country, but not in Europe. But wherefore exempt Europe? Becauſe, ſays this author, the cauſes which could at firſt have occaſioned this evil in America, do not take place there; and what are thoſe cauſes? Let us examine them.

In the firſt place Dr. Aſtruc ſays (*p*) that the air ought not to be numbered among the cauſes, as although it might occaſion other diſorders in the iſland of Hiſpaniola, it could not cauſe the venereal diſeaſe, becauſe the Europeans who for two hundred years and upwards inhabited that iſland have not contracted that diſtemper but by means of contagion; and the air is not at preſent different to what it was three hundred years ago: and if it ſhould be different at preſent, at leaſt it was not ſo in the beginning of the fifteenth century. We ought, therefore, to make no concluſions from the air in treating of the origin of this evil. Although Dr. Aſtruc excludes the air from the number of the cauſes of the French evil, he has recourſe to it in open contradiction to himſelf, in another place.

Two cauſes alone are aſſigned by Dr. Aſtruc; theſe are food and heat. As to food, he ſays, that the inhabitants of Hiſpaniola, when their maize, caſava, &c. was ſcarce, fed on frogs, worms, bats, and ſuch like ſmall animals. With reſpect to heat he affirms, that the women of hot countries are much afflicted with acrid, and, as it were, virulent courſes, particularly if they eat unwholeſome food. On that ſuppoſition the author ſpeaks thus: "Multis ergo & graviſſimis morbis "indigenæ inſulæ Haitì affici olim debuerunt, ubi nemo a menſtruatis "mulieribus ſe continebat: ubi viri libidine impotentes in venerem "obviam belluarum ritu agebantur: ubi mulieres, quæ impudentiſſimæ "erant, viros promiſcue admittebant, ut teſtatur Conſalvus de Oviedo "Hiſt. Indiar. lib. v. cap. 3. immo eoſdem & plures impudentius "provocabant menſtruationis tempore, cum tunc incaleſcente utero

(*p*) Videtur quidem e numero cauſarum expungendus aer, qui in Hiſpaniola morbos alios forſan inferre potuit, at vere luem veneream minime. Utique conſtat, Europæos, qui eam inſulam jam a 300 annis (*immo fere* 300) incolunt luem veneream ibidem nunquam contraxiſſe niſi contagione. Europæi tamen aerem ibidem ducunt & eundem, quem olim ducebant indigenæ, & dubio procul eodem modo temperatum & conſtitutum. Aſtruc De Morbis Venereis, lib. i. c. 12.

"libi-

" libidine magis insanirent pecudum more. Quid igitur mirum varia, " heterogenea, acria multorum virorum semina una confusa, cum a- " cerrimo & virulento menstruo sanguine mixta intra uterum æstuantem " & olidum spurcissimarum mulierum coercita, mora, heterogeneitate, " calore loci brevi computruisse, ac prima morbi venerei seminia con- " stituisse, quæ in alios, si qui fortè continentiores erant, dimana- " verè?"

This is the whole discourse of Dr. Astruc on the origin of the venereal distemper, and is full from beginning to end of falsity, as we shall presently demonstrate: but allowing that it was true what he says happened in Hispaniola, the same thing might have happened in Europe; because as those Americans when they were in want of maize and other food fed on frogs, worms, &c. in like manner the Europeans, when they were in want of wheat and other good aliment, have been obliged to eat rats, lizards, and such little animals, the excrements of other animals, and even bread made of human bones, which brought them various disorders. It is sufficient to call to mind the horrid famine formerly suffered in Europe, partly by severe weather, partly by war. There have been men too there who have, like beasts, allowed themselves to be led away by intemperate lust to the most execrable excesses. There have always been abandoned and filthy women too, and what Plautus said might be affirmed with respect to them, *Plus scortorum ibi est, quam muscarumtum, cum caletur maxumè.* Extreme acrid seminal fluids, *uteri æstuantes* and virulent courses, have never been wanting either. Such causes therefore could have produced the French evil in Europe, as they produced, it according to Astruc, in America.

" No," answers this author; " they could not; because the air being " more temperate in Europe, (he has recourse to the air, after he had ex- " cluded it from the number of causes of the French evil) *non adest eadem* " *in virorum semine acrimonia, eadem in menstruo sanguine virulentia, idem* " *in utero mulierum fervor, quales in insula Haiti fuisse probatum est:* (the " proofs of Dr. Astruc are no others than those above set forth whence " he adds,) that those symptoms cannot be produced there from a similar " concourse of causes. Of diseases, and their causes also, we ought to " judge, as of the generation of animals and plants. As lions are not bred

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" bred in Europe, nor apes propagate, nor parrots build their neſts nor, " many Indian or American plants grow in Europe, although they are " ſown there; in like manner, the French evil could never be pro- " duced in Europe by theſe cauſes, from whence, as we have already " ſaid it was, produced in Hiſpaniola; becauſe every clime has its par- " ticular properties, and thoſe things which ariſe in one clime ſpon- " taneouſly can by no art be produced in another; for as the poet ſays, " *non omnis fert omnia tellus*".

We ſhall grant many things to Dr. Aſtruc which would not be granted to him by any other perſon. We grant that there has never been in Europe that abuſe of *feminiarum menſtruatarum*, nor that acrimony nor virulence in the fluids of the human body, nor that heat in the *uterus* which he ſuppoſes in the iſland of Hiſpaniola; although the contrary appears from the books of medicine publiſhed in theſe laſt two hundred years. We grant to him that they have no examples there of luxurious exceſſes; becauſe to him it appears too much to confeſs them to have been in Europe (*q*); and we grant to him alſo, that all the women of Europe have been moſt healthy and chaſte. All that we grant to him, though it is contradicted by hiſtory, and the common opinion of Europeans themſelves. Notwithſtanding, we affirm, that the French evil could be generated in Europe without contagion; becauſe all thoſe diſorders which Aſtruc ſuppoſes to belong to the iſland of Hiſpaniola, could alſo take place in Europe, although they never had been known there. Thoſe chaſte women induced by violent paſſions, which are common to all the children of Adam, might become as incontinent and abandoned as that author ſuppoſes the Americans of Hiſpaniola were. Thoſe ſound and healthy men might find an aliment as pernicious as that which was the food of the natives of *Haiti*. The human ſperm, which of itſelf is very acrid, as Aſtruc ſays, might, by reaſon of unwholeſome food, become more and more ſo, until it had that degree of acrimony, which produces the venereal ailment. The *menſes* might become virulent; either from ſuppreſſion, or plethora, or many other cauſes in the fluids or the veſſels. It ap-

(*q*) Sed eſto: demus in Europa venerem æque impuram, atque in Hiſpaniola exerceri; neque enim contra pugnare placet, quanquam ea tamen nimia videantur. *Aſtruc* De Morbis Venereis, lib. 1. cap. 12.

pears

pears from the letters of Chriſtopher Columbus, quoted by his learned ſon D. Ferdinand, that he landed the firſt time in Hiſpaniola, on the 24th of December, 1492, becauſe a veſſel of his miſerable fleet had ſtruck upon a ſand bank; that all the time he remained there from the 24th of December to the 4th of January, they were employed in getting the wood and timbers of the veſſel up from the ſand, to erect a little fortreſs, in which he left forty men, and embarked that ſame day with the reſt of his people for Spain, to bear the news of the diſcovery of that new world. All the circumſtances of their arrival in that iſland do not allow us to ſuſpect, that the Spaniards had opportunity to have ſuch commerce with any of the American women as to depart infected by them. Their mutual admiration of each other, the ſight of ſo many new objects, and the very ſhort ſtay of only eleven days, which were employed in the great fatigue of getting up the wreck, and erecting that fort in ſo much haſte, after the inconveniencies of the longeſt and the moſt dangerous voyage which had ever been performed, make a conjecture of this kind entirely improbable. It is not leſs improbable, from the ſilence of Columbus himſelf, his ſon D. Ferdinand, and of Peter Martyr d'Angheira, who in deſcribing the ſufferings of that voyage, ſay nothing of ſuch a diſtemper.

But although we ſhould grant, that thoſe Spaniards who returned from the firſt voyage were infected by the French evil, we ſhould ſtill ſay, that the contagion of Europe did not proceed from them, according to the teſtimony of ſome reſpectable authors then living. Gaſpare Torrella, a learned phyſician above mentioned, ſays, in his work, entitled, *Aphrodyſiacum* (*r*), that the French evil began in Alverne, a province of France, very diſtant from Spain, in 1493. B. Fulgoſio or Fregoſo, doge of Genoa, in 1478, in his curious work, entitled, *Dicta Factaque Memorabilia*, and printed in 1509, affirms (*s*), that the French evil began to be known two years before Charles VIII. came into Italy.

(*r*) Incepit hæc maligna ægritudo in Alvernia anno M.CCCCXCIII. & ſic per contagionem pervenit, &c.

(*s*) Biennio antequam in Italiam Carolus (VIII.) veniret, nova ægritudo inter mortales detecta fuit, cui nec nomen, nec remedia Medici ex veterum Auctorum diſciplina inveniebant, varie, ut regiones erant, appellata. In Gallia Neapolitanum dixerunt morbum, at in Italia Gallicum appellabant. Lib. i. cap. 4. ſect. ultimo.

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He came into Italy, in September 1494, therefore that evil was known ever ſince 1492, or at the lateſt in 1493, that is, ſome years before Columbus returned from his firſt voyage. Juan Leone, once a Mahometan, a native of Granada in Spain, vulgarly called *Leone Africano*, in his deſcription of Africa, written in Rome, under the pontificate of Leo X. after he was converted, ſays, that the Hebrews, when driven from Spain, in the times of Ferdinand the Catholic, carried the French evil into Barbary, and infected the Africans; on which account it was then called the *Spaniſh evil* (*t*). The edict of the Catholic kings reſpecting the expulſion of the Hebrews, was publiſhed in March 1492, as Mariana ſays, allowing them no more than four months to ſell all their effects, if they did not chuſe to carry them along with them; and in the following month, another edict was publiſhed by T. Torquemada, inquiſitor-general, in which it was prohibited to Chriſtians, under the heavieſt penalties, to treat with the Hebrews, or to furniſh them with proviſions after the term preſcribed by the king; ſo that all but thoſe who became, or feigned to be Chriſtians, were compelled to quit Spain, before Columbus ſet out to diſcover America, as he did not weigh anchor before the 3d of Auguſt that year; the French evil, therefore, began in Europe before America was diſcovered. We find beſides, among the poetry of Pacificus Maximus, a poet of Aſcoli, publiſhed in Florence, in 1479, ſome verſes, in which he deſcribes the *gonorrhœa virulenta* and venereal ulcers which he ſuffered, occaſioned by his exceſſes (*u*).

Oviedo, not content with affirming, that the French evil came from Hiſpaniola, attempts to prove it. Behold his firſt proof. 1. *That horrid complaint of the biles is cured by the* guaiacum *better than any other medicine; and Divine mercy where it permits evil for our ſins, provides there, in compaſſion to us, a remedy.* If this argument could

(*t*) Hujus mali ne nomen quidem ipſis Africanis notum erat antequam Hiſpaniarum Rex Ferdinandus Judæos omnes ex Hiſpania profligaſſet: qui ubi in patriam jam rediiſſent, cæperunt miſeri quidam ac ſceleratiſſimi Æthiopes cum illorum mulieribus habere commercium, ac ſic tandem veluti per manus peſtis hæc per totam ſe ſparſit regionem, ita ut vix ſit familia, quæ ab hoc malo remanſerit libera. Id autem ſibi firmiſſime atque indubitate perſuaſerunt ex Hiſpania ad illos tranſmigraſſe. Quamobrem & illi morbo *Malum Hiſpanicum* (ne nomine deſtitueretur) indiderunt. Lib. 1.

(*u*) Hecatalegii, lib. iii. Ad Priapum et lib. viii. ad Mentulam. We do not copy the verſes on account of their indecency.

hold,

hold, we ſhould conclude, that Europe, rather than Hiſpaniola, was the native country of the French evil: as many perſons know that the moſt powerful remedy againſt that diſorder is mercury, which is common in Europe, but has not been found in Hiſpaniola, nor known by the Indians: it is certain, that as ſoon as the French diſeaſe appeared in Europe mercury was employed, and that Carpi, Torella, Vigo, Hoock, and many other famous phyſicians of that time, made uſe of it, although it was diſcredited afterwards by the indiſcretion of ſome empyrics, and grew for ſome time into diſuſe. *Guaiacum* was not firſt made uſe of until 1517, twenty-five years after the diſcovery of the French evil. Sarſaparilla began to be employed in 1535, and China root about the ſame time; and ſaſſafras a little after.

The other proof by Oviedo, for he only offers two, is, that among the Spaniards who returned with Columbus from his ſecond voyage in 1496, was D. P. Margarit, a Catalonian, "who," he ſays, "was ſo ailing, and complained ſo much, that I do believe he felt thoſe pains "which perſons infected with ſuch diſtempers feel, though I never ſaw "a pimple in his face. A few months after in the ſame year, this ailment began to be felt amongſt ſome proſtitutes; for, at firſt, the diſtemper was confined to low people. It happened afterwards, that the "great captain was ſent with a large and fine army into Italy, . . . and "among thoſe Spaniards who went in this force were many infected with "this diſtemper; from whom, by means of women, &c." ſuch are Oviedo's proofs, which have not merited even this mention.

M. de Paw thinks he has gained the argument, and demonſtrated the truth of the common opinion, from the teſtimony of Roderigo Diaz de Iſla, a phyſician of Seville, whom he calls a contemporary author, as he thinks his teſtimony deciſive; but Diaz was neither a contemporary author, having written ſixty years after the diſcovery of the French evil, nor does his account merit any faith. He ſays, that the firſt Spaniards, when they returned with Columbus from Hiſpaniola, in 1493, carried the contagion to Barcelona where the court was then held; that this city was the firſt infected; that it made ſuch havoc there, that prayers, faſting, and almſgiving were appointed to appeaſe the anger of God; that Charles of France, having gone the year after into Italy, certain Spaniards who were infected there,

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or many regiments, as M. de Paw ſays, ſent by Spain, to repel the invaſion of king Charles, gave the French the infection. But we know from hiſtory, that no regiment, either ſound or infected, nor any other Spaniard were ſent into Italy before Charles went out of Naples with his army, then infected, to return into France. With reſpect to the contagion of Barcelona, we know that when Columbus arrived, Oviedo was then at that place. But if that which the Sevillian phyſician relates is true, Oviedo, who was ſearching every where for proofs to confirm his extravagant opinion, would moſt unqueſtionably have alledged the havoc occaſioned there, thoſe prayers, faſtings, and charities, and not have made uſe of thoſe miſerable proofs of *guaiacum*, and the complainings of Margarit. But beſides, the French evil is ſtill more ancient than that epoch in Europe, as we have already explained.

It appears, that the phyſicians of Seville in thoſe times were the worſt informed with reſpect to the origin of the French evil; as Nicolas Monardes, a phyſician alſo of that city, and contemporary of Diaz, gives ſo fabulous an account of it, that we cannot read it without loſing all patience. He ſays, "that in the year 1493, in the war of "Naples, between the Catholic and the French kings, Columbus ar-"rived after his firſt diſcovery of the iſland of Hiſpaniola, and brought "with him from that iſland a multitude of Indians, men and women, "whom he carried to Naples, where the Catholic king then was, af-"ter the war was over. And as there was peace between the two "kings, and the armies communicated together, when Columbus "came there with his Indian men and women, the Spaniards began "to have commerce with the Indian women, and the Indians with the "Spaniſh women, and in that manner the Indian men and women, "infected the Spaniſh army, the Italians, Germans, &c." Who could believe, that a literary Spaniard would disfigure the public facts of his own nation, which occurred not more than eighty years before, ſo much that not one of his propoſitions is correct; but when he means to diſparage America he loſes all regard to truth. It is certain and notorious, that there was no war between Spain and France in 1493; that the Catholic king was not then in Naples, but in Barcelona, nor recovered of his wounds which he had received from a mad perſon; that

that Columbus did not bring with him a multitude of Indian men and women, but only ten men; that Columbus did never come into Italy after his glorious expedition; that the Indians he brought with him never ſaw Italy.

After having made the moſt diligent enquiry, we diſcover no grounds for believing the French evil came from America into Europe; we rather find ourſelves induced to believe it as well as the ſmall-pox, was brought from Europe to America. 1. Becauſe, neither Columbus, in his journal, nor his ſon, in the life of his renowned father, who ſaw thoſe countries, and noted their peculiarities, make mention of the French evil, although they relate minutely the hardſhips and ſufferings of the firſt voyages. Neither is there any mention made of it in the hiſtories of thoſe countries written by Peter Martyr of Angheira (*x*), an author contemporary with Columbus, and well-informed, having been prothonotary to the council of the Indies, and abbot of Jamaica. Oviedo, the firſt who attributed that diſtemper to America, did not go there till twenty years after the iſland Haiti had been inhabited by the Spaniards. What we ſay of the ſilence of theſe authors reſpecting the Antilles, we may alſo ſay of that of the firſt hiſtorians of the other countries of America. 2. If America had been the real native country of the French evil, and if the Americans had been the firſt who ſuffered it, it would have been more prevalent there than in any other country, and the Americans would have been more ſubject than any other nation to that evil; but this is not the caſe. Of the Indians of the Antilles we can ſay nothing; for it is now two centuries ſince they have been totally extinct: but among the preſent inhabitants of thoſe iſlands, that contagion is leſs frequent than among the people in Europe, and ſeldom appears but where there are a great concourſe of ſoldiers and ſeamen. In the capital of Mexico, ſome Whites and Indians are infected with the venereal diſorder, but very few in proportion to the number of the inhabitants. In other great cities of that vaſt kingdom, the contagion is extremely rare, and in ſome it is hardly known; but in thoſe ſettle-

(*x*) Of all things which were brought from the Weſt Indies belonging to the art of medicine. Part i. cap. 9.

DISSERT. IX.

ments of Americans, where there is no reſort of ſeamen or ſoldiers, the diſtemper is never ſeen or heard of. With reſpect to South America, we have been informed by perſons of accuracy, ſincerity, and great acquaintance with thoſe countries, beſides what we have known ourſelves, that in the provinces of Chili, and thoſe of Paraguay, that diſtemper is extremely uncommon among the whites, and never ſeen among the Americans. Some miſſionaries who have reſided ſome twenty, others thirty years among different nations of America, agree in affirming, that they have never ſeen a perſon infected with that diſeaſe, nor ever known that any was.

As to the provinces of Peru and Quito, Ulloa ſays (*y*), that although in thoſe countries the venereal diſtemper is common among the whites, and other races of men, it is very rare to ſee an Indian infected. America, therefore, is not the parent of that diſeaſe, of that evil, as has been vulgarly ſaid, nor ought ſuch a diſtemper, as M. de Paw would inſinuate, to be, conſidered as a conſequence of the corrupted blood, and vitiated conſtitution of the Americans.

What then is the native country of the French evil; as it neither derives its origin from Europe nor America? We do not know. But in the midſt of uncertainty if we may be allowed to conjecture, we ſuſpect that contagion to have come from Guinea, or ſome other equinoctial country of Africa. The very learned Engliſh phyſician Sydenham was of this opinion (*z*), and it is ſtrengthened by what is affirmed by Battiſta Fulgoſio, an eye-witneſs of the beginning of the French evil in Europe. He ſays, in the work which we have already cited (*a*), that the French evil was brought from Spain into Italy, and from E-

(*y*) It appears, that this author has confounded the French evil with the ſcurvy; for we know that Dr. Giulio Rondoli Peſareſe, a famous phyſician of Sierra, affirmed to a perſon of credit, that amongſt many who were thought infected with the French evil, and whom he cured, he had not found any who was really infected with that diſtemper; but that all were ſcorbutic, and that he had ſucceeded in curing them by uſing the remedies for the ſcurvy.

(*z*) Sydenham affirms in one of his letters, that the French evil is as foreign to America as to Europe, and that it was brought there by the Moors from Guinea; but it is not true, that the Moors brought it to America, for the diſtemper was known before they were brought to Hiſpaniola.

(*a*) Quæ peſtis (ita enim vifa eſt) primo ex Hiſpania in Italiam allata ad Hiſpanos ex Æthiopia, brevi totam terrarum orbem comprehendit. Fulgo. Dict. Pactoriam pue Memorab. lib. i. cap. 4.

thiopia

thiopia into Spain. Aſtruc pretends that Fulgoſio means America, under the name of Ethiopia. This is a curious method of ſolving a difficulty. But who ever called Ethiopia America? We know, on the contrary, that it was common among the authors of that century, to give the name of Ethiopia to any country inhabited by black men, and to call ſuch men Ethiopians; ſo that the natural ſenſe of the words of Fulgoſio is, that the French evil was brought from the equinoctial countries of Africa into Luſitanian Spain, or Portugal; but this we dare not take upon us to maintain, unleſs we had made more enquiries, and obtained ſtronger proofs from authors of faith and authenticity.

FINIS.

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